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DIOCESE OF MIAMI
OFFICE OF COMMUNITY SERVICE
240 SECURITY TRUST BUILDING
119 E. FLAGLER STREET
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131

October 21, 1966

TO: PARTIES INTERESTED IN THE MIGRANTS

FROM: REV. MARTIN A. WALSH

SUBJECT: MEETING FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, AT STS. PETER & PAUL CATHOLIC CHURCH - 2:00 P.M. TO 4:00 P.M.

There will be another meeting of the various groups working in one way or another with the migrants, October 28, 1966, from 2:00 P.M. to 4:00 P.M. at Sts. Peter & Paul Catholic Church (Auditorium), 1435 S.W. 12th Avenue, Miami, Florida.

The purposes of the meeting will be as follows:

1. To discuss the enclosed Resolutions.
2. To discuss the steps to be taken by the various concerned groups between now and the IUD Board meeting of November.
3. To discuss among the groups and the farm workers general approaches and strategy to be employed in the coming months.
4. To set up a permanent committee composed of members of the concerned groups whose function will be to implement the program adopted at this meeting.

Since we feel that the meeting is of utmost importance, we trust that you will make every effort to be present.

For the meeting to be as fruitful as possible would it be possible for each one to bring two or three farm workers who have exhibited leadership qualities to be present with you at the meeting.

Martin A. Walsh

REV. MARTIN A. WALSH

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RESOLUTIONS

WHEREAS, the condition of the more than 100,000 Farm Workers in South Florida is morally, economically, physically and socially intolerable, exhibiting the following characteristics:

a) The average annual wage of the Florida Farm Worker is less than $900 - not even one-third that of the national poverty level.

b) The health condition of the Farm Workers continue to exhibit high rates of disease and sickness incomprehensible in Modern 20th Century America. For example, in one of Florida's smallest counties 100% of all Migrant children between the ages of 0 and 15 years have parasitic diseases, 43% of these also have skin diseases and 86% of them under 5 years of age suffer from diarrhea.

c) Studies demonstrate the pathetic state of education among the Farm Workers where the average adult has an educational level of less than 6 years. Less than 1% of Farm Workers finish high school, and it is the rare individual who has ever entered college.

d) Housing conditions are in such a deplorable state that "new" 1966 farm family housing is an 8 x 16 ft. wooden shack without electricity or toilet facilities and other housing is inadequate, dirty, unsafe, and expensive. In Collier County alone last year fires destroyed 175 beds in 7 camps with 4 deaths and the destruction of 13 buildings;

e) A Farm Worker's infant's chances to live and enjoy life are significantly less than those of his urban counterpart. In one area over one third of the Migrant births reported were delivered by midwives outside of hospitals and without a physician present;

f) Sanitation conditions are so basically deplorable that privies are almost totally lacking in the fields and drinking water is contaminated by sewage. In the Florida Health Projects Report one county was reported as stating that there were more health violations than privies;

What?

g) The morals of the Farm Worker and his family are daily undermined by the almost total lack of privacy in their housing and toilet facilities;

h) Social Security laws; Child Labor laws, School Attendance laws, and other protective laws of the State are often unenforced with reference to the Farm Workers;

i) Unemployment insurance coverage, unemployment disability insurance coverage, workmen's compensation, fair employment coverage, and Social Security coverage are either nonexistent or inadequate;

j) Economic exploitation in the form of "company stores" and exhorbitant interest rates is the pattern among the Farm Workers;

k) Mothers with young infants and young school children are forced to work to subsist while their infants are either left on their own or cared for by school-age children;

WHEREAS, the local communities, often oblivious to the plight of the Farm Worker, manifest their "cruel concern" for the Farm Worker by

a) "Imprisoning" the Farm Worker in the camps and other types of ghettoes;

b) Generally denying the Farm Worker the protective function of the law;

c) Effecting in the communities' economic and moral life the grower's adage of "We used to buy our slaves. Now we just rent them."

d) Disavowing the plight of the Farm Worker in the hospitals, doctors offices, and clinics as exemplified in instances where doctors refuse to treat Farm Workers even when offered adequate remuneration, and hospitals refuse to admit them;

e) Refusing to implement Federal ameliorative programs geared to uplift the Farm Worker;

WHEREAS, the State of Florida has portrayed an image of total unconcern with the plight of the Farm Worker on a State level by:

a) Being remiss in the enforcement of housing codes, sanitation laws, compulsory school attendance laws, automobile safety inspection laws;

b) Allowing camps once closed for health reasons to reopen with identical unsanitary and unhealthy conditions;

c) Failing to enact basic programs to correct the existing conditions spelled out above;

d) Not cooperating in the development of imaginative approaches in education, housing, community development, manpower training, and others to restore dignity and self actualization to a people exploited by and forgotten in the State of Florida.

WHEREAS, the Nation's conscience, characterized principally by total apathy and only recently pricked by such events as the Edward R. Murrow documentary "Harvest of Shame", the hearings by Senator Williams' Committee, and the recent marches in Delano and Texas, has responded with token measures which either inadequately or not at all address such major existing problems as:

a) The lack of Unemployment Compensation Benefits to Farm Workers;

b) The lack of total coverage of all Farm Workers by the Minimum Wage Law;

c) The lack of the safeguards of the National Labor Relations Board;

d) The lack of proper legislation regarding national housing codes, minimum national health standards, proper safety codes, standardized sanitation laws, and national crew-leader registration laws;

e) The lack of national welfare laws applying to all the poor;

f) The inadequate Federal Programs and Money to attack the problems of the Farm Worker in a massive, imaginative, and planned manner;

g) The rigid Federal Loan Programs which eliminate the vast majority of Farm Workers from their benefits;

h) The lack of a Legal Aid Program designed to actively seek the rectification of all inequities wrought upon the often unsuspecting and uninformed Farm Worker;

i) The lack of a Nation's and Federal Government's enthusiastic commitment to erase a stain of such magnitude that it calls out unceasingly for remedy in a Nation built on the principles of Freedom, Justice, Equality, and Humanity.

WHEREAS, the Diocese of Miami Human Relations Board, The Florida Migrant Ministry, The American Friends Service Committee, The Florida Chapter of NAACP, the Community Action Fund, The Inter-Faith Agency for Social Justice and Farm Workers throughout Florida, meeting on October 28, 1966, at Sts. Peter and Paul Church, realize that the above conditions are true and that these conditions can only unite men of good will everywhere in calling out for their remedy,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

That a resolution be sent to all International Union Presidents calling upon them to:

a) Reassume the humanitarian concern which was once theirs and to accept the responsibility which is theirs by virtue of their office and the labor tradition to organize the unorganized Farm Work in order that he may attain the economic benefits which are his due as a human being and as a laboring man;

b) Seek union contracts incorporating the following:

1. Increased hourly wages;
2. Improved incentive rates;
3. Guaranteed minimum daily wage (when work is available);
4. Show-up pay (when worker reports to work and work is not available);
5. Life, hospitalization and medical insurance for employee and dependents;
6. Transportation allowance;
7. Standards for sanitation, health and safety;
8. Mandatory direct payment from grower to worker (eliminates crew leader as paymaster).
9. Mandatory Social Security deductions;
10. Workmen's Compensation coverage;
11. Housing or housing allwance at workers option;
12. Access to property by non-workers;
13. Grievance procedure and arbitration;
14. Other fringe benefits normally incorporated in union contracts;

c) Join with the above mentioned Churches, Service Groups, Organizations, Community and Grass-Roots leaders in alleviating the above stated conditions of the poor through such wide-range corrective programs as:

1. Cooperative self-help housing
2. Cooperative stores
3. Credit unions
4. Medical and dental clinics
5. Legal care centers
6. Day care centers
7. Recreational centers
8. A full worker education-vocational training program incorporating:
    a. Youth Education Centers
    b. Adult Education Centers
    c. Neighborhood Youth Corps
    d. Opportunities Industrialization Centers
    e. On-the-Job Training
    f. Training through the Office of Manpower and Training (OMAT).

9. A comprehensive mobility program to provide resettlement after training.

d) Join with the above mentioned groups in securing local, State, and Federal Legislation in the following areas:

1. Coverage under the National Labor Relations Act
2. Extension of the Fair-Labor Standards Act
3. Mandatory coverage under Workmen's Compensation Act
4. Coverage under Unemployment Compensation Laws
5. Federal Minimum Standards on Housing, Sanitation, Health and Safety
6. Enforced and strengthened crew leader registration laws
7. More and better programs through Federal Agencies.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED

(1) That a delegation be sent to the Governor-elect on the night of his election calling for his commitment to a State program incorporating the following:

a) An assistant to the Governor, or a State Cabinet Office of Farm Worker Coordination, or a State Commission to be appointed by the Governor to address itself entirely to the affairs of the Farm Workers;

b) A State Minimum Wage Law to encompass all the workers;

c) Coverage of the Farm Worker under State Workmen's Compensation and Unemployment Compensation Laws;

d) Effective and enforced laws and programs regarding health, safety, housing, and sanitation;

e) Enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws among the Farm Workers;

f) A State Crew-Leader Registration Law;

g) New and dynamic programs to upgrade the educational achievement of the Farm Worker;

h) A concerted program to bring into Florida massive Federal Programs and Money such as Poverty Funds, Manpower Training, Education, etc., so that the Farm Worker may take his place in American society as a productive and responsible member;

i) A visit by the Governor-elect to the farm labor camps to see at first hand this State and national disgrace.

(2) That a delegation of the above mentioned groups meet with the Florida Senators and Congressmen to alert them to the gravity of the conditions mentioned above, to make them aware of the combined concern of said groups, and to secure from them a commitment to unite in securing the following legislative program:

a) Coverage under the National Labor Relations Act.

b) Extension of the Fair-Labor Standards Act.

c) Mandatory Coverage under Workmen's Compensation Laws.

d) Coverage under Unemployment Compensation Laws.

e) Federal Minimum Standards on Housing, Sanitation, Health, and Safety.

f) Enforced and strengthened Crew Leader Registration Laws.

g) More and better programs through Federal Agencies.

h) More imaginative and adaptive programs and policies and increased appropriations in the following Federal Programs as they particularly relate to the Farm Worker:

1. The OEO
2. Farm Housing Act
3. Manpower Development and Training Act
4. Elementary and Secondary Education Act
5. Higher Education Act.

(3) That a resolution be sent to Presidnet Johnson and to the Nation incorporating the following:

a) The Farm Worker has been subsidizing the Nation through his back-breaking, undercompensated and inhumanitarian labor.

b) The Nation can not permit this disgraceful condition to remain as a symbol of apathy, exploitation, and evil.

c) The plight of the Farm Worker cries out to our Nation's conscience for immediate and effective help.

THE CONDITION OF FLORIDA FARM WORKERS

A POSITION PAPER

of the

COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR FARM WORKERS

1

CONCERNING ORGANIZED LABOR

November 7 1966

POSITION PAPER

Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers

On November 1, 1966, the Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers (CCFW) officially came into being. Rev. Fr. Martin A. Walsh of the Diocese of Miami was elected the first Chairman. The CCFW is composed of the following groups and organizations which have been working with the farm workers in various capacities throughout the State of Florida:

The Diocese of Miami
The NAACP State Conference of Branches
The Florida Christian Migrant Ministry
The Florida Citizens Committee on Farm Labor
The Community Action Fund
The Florida Council on Human Relations
The American Friends Service Committee

Following a series of meetings at which the urgency of the situation of farm workers and the necessity of immediate coordinated action was mutually explained, both realistically and emotionally. be the concerned groups and the Farm Workers themselves, the CCFW was formed to coordinate and plan with the farm workers all efforts to uplift the farm workers and to restore to these most forgotten and oppressed of the poor their basic rights and dignity.

One of the first actions undertaken by the CCFW was the appointment of an official delegation to meet with Mr. Walter Reuther concerning the committment of organized labor to the organization and unionization of the Farm Workers. There the delegation will present a resolution concurred in by all members of CCFW, calling upon Mr.

Reuther and other labor leaders to reassume the humanitarion concern which was once theirs, and to accept the responsibility which is theirs by virtue of their office and the labor tradition, to organize the unorganized farm worker to the end that he may attain the economic benefits which are his due as a human being and as a laboring man.

CCFW, with eyes and ears in all the fields and camps, knows that the time has arrived for a massive and concerted effort. That the time is here and now is evidenced by the following:

1) More than 20,000 farm workers in Florida have signed union cards;

2) The talk among the farm workers in the camps and in the fields excited, agitated and impatient for organization and unionization now;

3) Religious, Humanitarion, Social Service, Civil Rights, Community and Grass Roots groups are organized into the CCFW and are committed to complete involvement;

4) Growers have been contacted on an informal basis and have responded better than could be anticipated;

5) Various important politicians have been approached and have given significant support.

In general, the CCFW is convinced that the time is ripe now, and the events have so coalesced that the organization of the farm workers must and can succeed.

Below is a brief statement of the conditions exisiting among the farm workers in Florida, and a brief sketch of the work being done by the groups joined together in CCFW. All of the service programs of the member organizations of CCFW still leave an important gap to be filled. We trust that organized labor will fill that gap, and that the efforts of organized labor will join those of the CCFW in a dynamic and bold manner.

POSITION PAPER

Part II

The Condition of Florida Farm Workers

The condition of the more than 100,000 farm workers in Florida is morally, economically, physically and socially intolerable, exhibiting the following characteristics:

A) Wages:

If figured by Social Security records:	(annual)	$1,055
If figured from Statistical Analysis of the United States:	(annual)	$500
If figured by Dept. of Agriculture:	(annual)	$698-$1,379

Dale Wright (journalist): "No one will challenge 40¢ - 60¢ per hour".

Figured anyway, it is miserable.

B) Health conditions:

1. Farm workers continue to exhibit high rates of disease and sickness incomprehensible in Modern 20th Century America. For example, in one of Florida's smallest counties 100% of all migrant children between the ages of 0 and 15 years have parasitic diseases, 43% of these also have skin diseases and 96% of them under 5 years suffer from diarrhea.
2. Above figures apply only to those who have been examined. Authorities estimate that only 1/6 of the Florida farm workers have had a physical examination in the last ten years, if at all.

3. Disabling work-related accidents (among those reported) total just under 10% of the total number of workers, and the reported number of work-related fatalities is 4-1/2 times the number reported in the mining industry.
4. Infant mortality is significantly higher. In one area over one third of the migrant births reported were delivered by midwives outside of hospitals and with no physician present. Of the numbers of unreported births, many occur in buses, trucks, or at "the end of the row". A farm worker's infant has a very poor chance to live and enjoy life.

C) Education:

Studies demonstrate the pathetic state of education among the farm workers, where the average adult has an educational level of less than 6 years. Fewer than 1% of farm workers finish high school, and it is the rare individual who has ever entered college.

D) Housing:

Housing conditions are in such a deplorable state that "new" 1966 farm family housing is an 8 x 16 wooden shack without electricity or toilet facilities, and other housing is inadequate, dirty, unsafe, and expensive ($10 to $15 per week is the most frequent rate).

Collier County (Immokalee) last July adopted a progressive standard for migrant housing stating that no quarters can be smaller than 8 x 8, and that all units must have electricity. Still, there is no provision for individual toilet and bathing facilities, and only a "portable water supply", which means a faucet from which the farm worker can fill a pail and carry it to the house. Collier County is the County where last year alone, fires destroyed 175 beds in 7 camps with 4 deaths and the destruction of 13 buildings.

E) Sanitation:

Sanitation conditions are so basically deplorable that privies are almost totally lacking in the fields, and drinking water is contaminated by sewage. The Florida Health Project Reports state that in one county there were more health violations than privies; one can only imagine the alternatives available to the field worker who must labor from dawn to dusk where there are neither toilet facilities or facilities for handwashing.

F) Morality:

The morals of the farm worker and his family are daily undermined by the almost total lack of privacy in their housing and toilet facilities; the almost total lack of recreation facilities, and the easy access to cheap alcohol and narcotics.

G) Legislation:

Protective laws of the State, including Social Security laws, Child Labor laws, School Attendance laws, and others, are most often unenforced with reference to the Farm Workers; Unemployment Insurance coverage, unemployment disability insurance coverage, workman's compensation, fair employment coverage, and Social Security coverage are either non-existent or inadequate; CCFW Member staff personnelknow and have observed children, some as young as five - seven years old, working in the fields; and they are aware that at the cry of "It sure looks like rain", the children disappear.

H) Economic Exploitation:

Economic exploitation in the form of "company stores" and exhorbitant interest rates is the pattern among the Farm Workers.

I) Child Care:

Mothers with young infants and young school children are forced to work to subsist (there are 1.4 wage workers on the average per farm worker family, and in Florida this more frequently represents a mother-child work force as opposed to a husband-wife work force). There are so few places where children of farm worker mothers can be left with safety, that these young children are either left on their own, cared for by other school age children, or in the hands of the "grannies" who although well-intentioned, are incapable of providing sanitary and desirable day care for infants and young children.

J) Automation:

In 1965, the foreign work force in Florida was reduced from over 50,000 workers to slightly under 10,000 workers. Even with this reduction, there remained a net "jobs available" loss of about 32,000, and a new increase of jobs for domestic workers of only about 1800. (USDL)

The above comments and figures state generally the present condition of Florida farm workers. In one sense these are the truly forgotten people of the United States. In another sense CCFW feels that local communities, the State of Florida and the United States Government have not "forgotten but have deliberately, for whatever reasons, excluded the farm worker from the protections to which he is entitled by reason of citizenship". Unfortunately this exclusion is not merely a negative ommision, but a positive attempt to be sure that the farm worker is kept in a position where he is unable to resist exploitation.

A) Local communities, often oblivious to the plight of the Farm Worker, manifest their cruel concern for the Farm worker by

1. "Imprisoning" the farm worker in the camps and other types of ghettoes;
2. Generally denying the farm worker the protective function of the law;
3. Effecting in the communities' economic and moral life the grower's adage of "we used to buy our slaves. Now we just rent them."
4. Disavowing the plight of the Farm Worker in the hospitals, doctors offices, and clinics, as exemplified in instances where doctors refuse to treat Farm Workers even when offered adequate remuneration, and hospitals refuse to admit them;
5. Refusing to implement, or permit to be implemented, Federal ameliorative programs geared to uplift the farm worker.

B) The State of Florida has portrayed an image of total unconcern with the plight of the farm worker on a State level by:

1. being remiss in the enforcement of housing codes, sanitation laws, compulsory school attendance laws, automobile safety inspection laws;
2. allowing camps once closed for health reasons to reopen with identical unsanitary and unhealthy conditions;

3. failing to enact basic programs to correct the existing conditions spelled out above;
4. not cooperating in the development of imaginative approaches in education, housing, community development, manpower training and others to restore dignity and self actualization to a people exploited by and forgotten in the State of Florida.

C) The Nation's conscience, characterized principally by total apathy and only recently pricked by such events as Edward R. Murrow documentary "Harvest of Shame", the hearings by Senator Williams' Committee, and the recent marches in Delano and Texas, has responded with token measures which either inadequately or not at all address such major existing problems as:

1. the lack of Unemployment Compensation Benefits to farm workers;
2. the lack of total coverage of all farm workers by the Minimum Wage Law;
3. the lack of the safeguards of the National Labor Relations Board;
4. the lack of proper legislation regarding national housing codes, minimum national health standards, proper safety codes, standardized sanitation laws, and national crew leader registration laws;

5. the lack of national welfare laws applying to all the poor;
6. The inadequate Federal Programs and Money to attack the problems of the Farm Workers from their benefits;
8. The lack of a Legal Aid Program designed to actively seek the rectification of all inequities wrought upon the often unsuspecting and uninformed farm worker;
9. The lack of a Nation's and Federal Government's enthusiastic committment to erase a stain of such magnitude that it calls out unceasingly for a remedy in a Nation built on the principles of Freedom, Justice, Equality, and Humanity.

The Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers, with its Member Orgznizations, their Directors, staffs, and countless volunteers, realize that the above conditions are true and that these conditions can only unite men of good will everywhere in calling out for their remedy.

ADDENDUM TO THE POSITION PAPER OF CCFW

Brief Summaries of the Work and Influence of the Member Organizations (with respect to Farm Workers)

The Diocese of Miami

A. At the Diocesan level the strongest asset to the program among Farm Workers is Bishop Carroll himself. The Bishop is strongly committed to the efforts bing made to assist farm workers to uplift themselves. In the wake of such strong leadership there is new determination throughout the Diocese that farm workers shall have their basic rights and dignity.

Also at the Diocesan level: the Human Relations Board, Chairman, Fr. Martin Walsh, agroup of dedicated and action-oriented priests, nuns and lay members, who strongly committed and a potential force for community attitudinal change, jobs, letter writing and speech making. The Office of Community Service, which administers the service programs of the Diocese, including the OEO programs, has strongly committed personnel both in the camps and in the communities.

B. East Coast Deanery: (Indian River, St. Lucie, Martin, Palm Beach, and Okeechobee Counties)

St. Vincent de Paul Major Seminary: twenty seminarians work closely with a group of professors in the camps along the Range Line around Delray Beach.

Marymount College: the college has run two summer programs at five major centers, and is presently conducting programs in five labor camps and other resident-workers quarters.

The College is staffed by a dedicated group of Sisters, who have profound influence among the workers.

Human Relations Board, East Coast Deanery, composed of strong dedicated Catholics, a tremendous force in the community.

Individuals:

Fr. Hugh Flynn, Pastor, St. Helen Church, Vero Beach, Chairman of the Deanery Human Relations Board, strongly committed priest with great influence among Negro Farm Workers in Indian River County.

Fr. Michael Hannon, Pastor Sacred Heart Church, Okeechobee (also mission church in Indiantown), excellent contacts with the farm workers in this area, and free access within the communities.

Fr. Paniaqua, the Migrant Priest on the Range Line, committed and potentially of great influence.

Sister Aquinas, the Nun Among the Migrants, has been working, with her companion, for more than 15 years among the farm workers, especially among the Texas-Mexicans. She is loved and trusted by all the workers, and is profoundly influential.

C. Broward County Deanery:

Marymount College's influence extends throughout the Pompano Beach area of Broward County. Many alumnae and parents are supportive of the effort on behalf of the Farm Workers.

The Human Relations Board-Broward Deanery, Fr. Laurence Conway, Chairman. This board, as that in the East Coast Deanery, is a potentially strong instrument.

D. South Dade Deanery:

Barry College has a large number of students and several Nuns working in the camps of South Dade. Potentially a strong force, not only with the workers, but through alumnae and community respect, also with the greater community.

Minor Seminary, twenty seminarians and two professors, who have been working in tutorial and counselling programs in the South Dade Camp, are strongly committed and have expressed interest in giving whatever help is needed in this area.

Rosa Mystica, Assumption Academy and Carrollton, all have volunteer student and teacher geoups working in the camps. They are well thought of, enthusiasitic, and a potential source of strong support.

Human Relations Board, South, Judge Richard Hickey, Chairman, is, as the other Board, a potentially strong instrument for support.

Individuals particularly known for concern with, and work to relieve the farm workers' condition:

Fr. De la Calle, Pastor of St. Ann's Mission, Naranja, has been working in South Dade for years and has a solid backing from the Puerto Rican and Texas-Mexican workers;

Fr. Morras, Pastor of Sacred Heart Church, Homestead, a dedicated priest deeplyinvolved with the lives of farm workers.

E. West Coast Deanery: (Collier, Lee, Hendry, Charlotte, Glades, DeSoto, Highlands, and Hardee Counties)

Fr. Rene Gracida, Chairman of the Human Relations Board, West Coast Deanery, and Pastor, St. Ann's Church, Naples, strongly committed to the entire program, including the organization and unionization of the workers. Excellent following in the community.

Fr. Villacoba, the Migrant Priest in Ft. Myers, very influential among the Puerto-Ricans, persuasive and committed.

Fr. Martin Cassidy, President of Florida Citizens Council on Farm Labor, and Pastor of St. Catherine's Church, Sebring, is particularly dedicated to this program.

Many other committed priests and laity in strategic locations for support of the program.

The Community Action Fund

The Fund, a non-profit educational corporation, President, Thomas P. Hardeman, Ph.D., is the sponsoring agency for an O.E.O. program for farm workers. This program, directed by Richard Wiggins, is active in fourteen counties across South Florida, with programs in the general areas of Citizen Educarion, Tutorial, Counselling, Home Management, Community Organization, Housing and Sanitation, and Literacy These programs are carried out by a staff of 63, including many Migrant Community Aides who were recruited from among the farm workers and trained by the Fund, plus 120 VISTA Volunteers.

The CAF Migrant project is regionalized under the direction of six Regional Directors, all of whom have prior experience and expertise in community organization. These are:

Region I (Hillsborough, Hardee, Manatee and Sarasota Counties
Claude Neyman, Regional Director)

Region II (Lee, Hendry and Collier Counties
Reuben Mitchell, Regional Director)

Region III (Highlands, Okeechobee and St. Lucie Counties
Fran Sutcliffe, Regional Director)

Region IV (Martin and Palm Beach Counties
Margaret Taylor, Regional Director)

Region V (Broward County
William Johnson, Regional Director)

Region VI (Dade County
Roscoe Webb, Regional Director)

The entire administration and staff of CAF and the CAF Migrant Project is committed to the effective organization of the farm worker.

The primary thrust of the Project is in the areas of Citizen Education and Community Organization, A strong voter registration drive was held during the months of July, August, and September, with a follow up program of voter education during October and early November. This successful program has resulted in the farm workers becoming enlightened in the areas of what it means to be a citizen in the United States. Many farm workers, elgible to vote for the first time have begun to raise questions concerning the conditions under which they are forced to live and work.

The Community Organization programs have resulted in indigenous groups organized in communities and camps across fourteen counties. Over 25 such groups are now active. Many have written or are in the process of writing constitutions and by-laws, and a few have already received their charters. The leaders in these groups are beginning to speak out for themselves as farm workers, as they present petitions to school systems, local government officials, landlords, and others in positions to improve conditions.

The Officers, Staff and Volunteers of Community Action Fund are uniquely able to offer support because the project has always been operated as an outreach program. Staff members and Volunteers have continually taken their programs into the camps rather than setting up formal situations in schools (for example). Consequently, they have easy access to the camps and quarters, and more importantly the trust of the workers. Six of these workers sit as members of the Board of Directors of Community Action Fund. The remainder of the Board is composed of community service and church leaders from 23 cities throughout South Florida. Through this network of worker and community support, Community Action Fund is able to marshall impressive, supportive and technical resources.

Florida Christian Migrant Ministry

The Florida Christian Migrant Ministry, Director, The Rev. Ben Fraticelli, has as its program objectives (highlights) first, Legislation: Coverage under NLRA for farm workers, and a meaningful minimum wage for farm workers; and second, Community Development: the establishment of indigenous, democratic associations which develop leadership, define goals and initiate activities of self- help and community improvement.

The FCMM, operated under the direction of the Rev. Fraticelli, with a staff of two Administrative Assistants, three local project directors, and a related staff of two Denominational Project Directors, and 25 non-salaried Denominational Volunteers. The organization maintains administrative relationships with: the National Council of Churches, the United Church Women of Florida, the Brethren Voluntary Service, and the Mennonite Voluntary Service.

Among its Program Relationships are the Orange County Migrant Services Association, the Polk County Migrant Ministry, the Lee County Migrant Mission Board, the Redland Christian Migrant Association (Dade County) and the Broward County Migrant Opportunity Committee.

The FCMM counts as its constituency:

1) Fiscal support and administrative or public relationships 2600 churches throughout Florida, both local and denominational.

2) Fiscal support and program relationships with 860 Women's groups throughout Florida.

3) Fiscal support and program relationships to Migrant Ministry organizations in 37 states or areas through the National Council of Churches.

4) Fiscal support, administrative and program relations to five county organizations encompassing over 200 volunteers and 400 functioning members.

The FCMM is strongly committed to the farm worker's struggle to lift himself out of a near slave state, and as indicated above can marshall strong support.

The Florida Citizens Committee on Farm Labor

The Florida Citizens Committee on Farm Labor is affiliated with the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. Its present Officers are: Chairman, the Rev. Fr. M. J. Cassidy' Vice Chairman, G. E. McClain' Secretary, Miss Arliss Steider; Treasurer, the Rev. Mr. Richard Wiggins' Immediate Past Chairman, Dr. Jack Ross (Sociology Department of the University of South Florida).

The initial organization of this state group was centered around two main concerns: (1) legislation as it relates to the importation of contract labor from Mexico and the off-shore islands; safety in transportation of farm workers; work-opportunity and earnings; education, especially for children; housing; and child labor; and (2) information and co-ordination of publicity on problems and developments in the farm labor scene.. It was recognized that all the members must be informed and able to share their information if they are to be effective in pressing for needed legislation.

This Committee numbers among its members some of the most distinguished professional people of the State, and supports fully the objectives and plans of the CCFW.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Florida Conference of Branches:

The President of the Florida Conference of Branches is a a representative of the Laundry Workers Union, Mr. Rutledge Pearson, of Jacksonville, Florida. Under his direction, the NAACP in Florida, has taken fresh impetus in the direction of encouraging the organization of the Florida Farm Worker. Having seen Negroes in other ranks of Society moving steadily toward real freedom and the true mainstream of American life, the NAACP can only look with anger and dismay at the bondage in which the farm workers are still held. This concern goes beyond the 80% of the farm workers in Florida who are Negro, to include the 20% who suffer identically day after day.

Rev. Isadore Edwards, Jr., a Vice President of the Conference, has been named Chairman of the State Migrant Protection Committee. This Committee will concentrate its efforts on working alone or with others in bringing to light the miserable housing conditions which are so well hidden from the public's view. There will be added emphasis placed on the degradation of human beings during working hours where no restroom facilities are provided and even a walk to the end of the field, where there might at least be a covering bush or tree, many times results in loss of pay.

A large part of the NAACP's work in Florida during the past several months, and in the coming months will be voter education, registration and community organization among these oppressed people.

The NAACP stands ready at any time to assist the farm worker in his every attemp to gain for himself the dignity to which he is entitled. Some of these ways include passing resolutions at the State and National level, including the farm workers' demands in its Legislative program, and should it be the wish of the Farm Workers, the NAACP is ready to assist them with planning and carrying out whatever demonstrations or marches they feel will further their chances for basic rights and dignity. In every town and villeage where there are farm workers in Florida, there are also NAACP members, fully committed to these programs.

American Friends Service Committee:

The work of this historic agency is too well known to need detailing here. Specifically with migrants and other farm workers, the traditional concern of the Friends with these benighted people who provide our bountiful harvest is manifested in Florida through an extensive program of family planning for migrant mothers, and a program of leadership training and education. The staff of the AFSC Migrant Program has given technical assistance and encouragement to the organizational attempt from the very beginning and pledges its continued support. It must be pointed out, however, that AFSC will not tolerate any further betrayal of the workers' best interest, and calls strongly upon organized labor to stand behind its promises, and give substance to the hope it has raised in the workers' hearts and minds.

CCFW

COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR FARM WORKERS

A COALITION OF ORGANIZATIONS DEDICATED TO ASSISTING FARM WORKERS
SECURE THEIR BASIC RIGHTS AND DIGNITY

Father Martin A. Walsh, Chairman
240 SECURITY TRUST BLDG. MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131 PHONE 377-9541

THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR FARM WORKERS IS COMPOSED OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS:

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

★

COMMUNITY ACTION FUND

★

THE DIOCESE OF MIAMI HUMAN RELATIONS BOARD

★

FLORIDA CHRISTIAN MIGRANT MINISTRY

★

FLORIDA CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR

★

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

★

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO

★

NAACP STATE CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES

January 9, 1967

TO: ELECTED FEDERAL AND STATE REPRESENTATIVES, FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS & AGENCIES, STATE DEPARTMENTS & AGENCIES, COUNTY AND LOCAL DEPARTMENTS & AGENCIES, FOUNDATIONS, PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS, CHURCHES, AND CONCERNED INDIVIDUALS.

FROM: COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR FARM WORKERS
Father Martin A. Walsh, Chairman

SUBJECT: FLORIDA MIGRANT WORKERS POVERTY CONFERENCE, JANUARY 26th-27th, 1967, Sts. PETER & PAUL AUDITORIUM, 1431 S.W. 12th Avenue, Miami, Fla.

On November 1st, 1966, the Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers (CCFW) officially came into being. The CCFW is composed of eight organizations which have been working with the Farm Workers in various capacities throughout the STate of Florida.

Following a series of meetings, at which the urgency of the situation of the farm workers and the necessity of immediate coordinated action was mutually explained by the concerned groups and the farm workers themselves, the CCFW was formed to coordinate and plan with the farm workers all efforts to improve the conditions of the farm workers and to restore to these most forgotten and oppressed of the poor their basic rights and dignity.

Realizing that a coalition of groups working on various problems facing farm workers can depend on the support of the public, concerned elected officials, private foundations, governmental agencies, and others, the CCFW intends to explore all means to enable farm workers achieve their rights and dignity.

In the past two months the CCFW has been meeting, planning programs, and holding rallies with and for the farm workers. In developing a total comprehensive program to enable the farm workers to achieve their basic rights and dignity and to become full fledged citizens and contributing members of our society, CCFW early realized that it would require the combined efforts of government, foundations, private agencies, and elected officials working together to make a meaningful approach to the pathetic conditions of the farm workers effective in accomplishing the necessary change.

Because of the scope of the problems and the required coordinated efforts of the various groups, the CCFW is sponsoring a Florida Migrant Workers Poverty Conference in Miami, at Sts. Peter & Paul Auditorium, 1431 S.W. 12th Avenue, on January 26th and 27th, 1967. At this meeting will be present elected Federal and State representatives, officials of Government (Department of Labor, OEO, HEW: Children's Bureau and Public Health, and the Department of Agriculture), State Agencies (Education, Welfare, Labor, Health), Foundations, private organizations, representatives of various churches, concerned individuals and the Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers with their representative bodies.

You will note, in the attached material dealing with "The Comprehensive Human Development Program for Farm Workers", that the Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers (CCFW) in its planning has arrived at a consensus that training and educational programs, together with the necessary support of social service programs are essential. We are, therefore, exploring the full range of program possibilities and of governmental agencies and private agencies which can help implement this approach. Included are various training programs and services encouraged by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Agriculture, other Federal Departments and Agencies, State Agencies, Foundations and private agencies.

Our Committee is now determined to bring to Florida, one of the three main base States for farm workers, all the programs for which need is evident and can be documented.

These programs will be operated under the continuing evaluation of the Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers. Each organization on the Committee plus the farm workers themselves has representatives on the Board of Directors of the operating agencies.

This shall ensure that the farm workers will receive maximum benefit, that our elected officials can be assured of prudent administration of the various programs, and that the governmental personnel know of continuing safeguards regarding the programs.

In order that the programming of the Migrant Worker Poverty Conference can be facilitated, the CCFW would appreciate your comments concerning this conference as soon as possible and your designated representative who would be able to address himself to those specific areas of the comprehensive program within the competence of each Department, Agency, Foundation, etc.

Sincerely,

Martin A. Walsh

REV. MARTIN A. WALSH
Chairman

MAW:ic

CONFIDENTIAL
NOT FOR PUBLICATION

A REPORT ON "MIGRANT FARM WORKERS IN FLORIDA"

BY: H.L. Mitchell

FARM WORKERS ORGANIZE OWN UNION

The first concerted drive ever made to organize East Coast migrant farm workers is now under way. This drive is unique in many ways. The initial impetus came from farm workers who were involved in a training project of the War on Poverty in Florida. These men formed an independent agricultural workers' union and called on local union leaders for assistance early in 1966. But the local unions, beset by their own problems, were not interested in getting too much involved in an undertaking of the sort required to organize migrant farm workers. Eventually, the farm workers were directed to the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department whose chief, Walter P. Reuther, has for years talked about the historic mission of the labor movement to organize the unorganized - including farm workers.

THE I.U.D. ENTERS FARM LABOR FIELD

The assignment to assist the migrant farm workers on the Atlantic Coast was given to James Pearce, Regional Director for the Industrial Union Department in Charlotte, N.C. Pearce was the co-ordinator of the most recent and partially successful campaign among textile mill workers in the Carolinas and Virginia. Jim Pearce is himself unique, in that he is a professional trade union organizer who, after taking a real look at the problems of farm workers who follow the crops up and down the Atlantic Coast, had the foresight to throw away the book on how to organize in other industries, and to try something new to help the farm workers do it themselves.

FARM WORKERS AND CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS FIELD ORGANIZERS

The Industrial Union Department hired about 20 organizers for the summer of '66, and they fanned out to follow migrant workers from Florida to up state New York. Among these organizers were participants in O.E.O. and other War on Poverty programs. Others were college students, many of them veterans of the civil rights revolution in the South, who were seeking a new way to help people at the bottom of the economic heap to help themselves. No professional union organizers were among them.

CREW LEADERS PROVIDE CONTACTS

Early in the year, someone in the I.U.D. had an idea. The I.U.D. secured the names and addresses of those crew leaders who cross state lines and who are required by federal law to register each year with the U.S. Department of Labor. The crew leaders on the Atlantic coast have many of the attributes of the West coast farm labor contractor, in that they recruit workers for the employers, transport them by bus or truck, sometimes operate the labor camp, supervise their crews in the fields, and often act as time keeper and paymaster for the farm operator. Some of the crew leaders exploit the farm workers in their crews, and are in turn exploited by farm operators, local business men and state officials as well. The U.S. Employment Service has always considered the crew leader system a necessary evil in the harvesting of fruits and vegetables produced in the eastern part of the country. The crew leader system is also proving of equal value in organizing migrant farm workers, as it was through these crew leaders that the contacts were made with the migrant workers themselves. The farm workers in 800 crews have signed with the union. While it is estimated that as many as 25,000 individual workers have signed pledge cards, the significance of the campaign at the present lies in the leadership coming into the union from 20 eastern states, rather than in the numbers signed.

LABORERS INTERNATIONAL UNION "CHICKENS OUT"

Soon after the Industrial Union Department was contacted on behalf of the farm workers, in accordance with the usual procedure, Nick Zonarich, the Director of Organization, called in those international unions which had shown interest in, or had some bonafide claim to jurisdiction in agriculture. Strange as it may seem, the Laborers International Union, (the former AFL Hodcarriers and Common Laborers) one of the old line building trades organizations, appeared willing to spend some money on organizing migrant farm workers. For several months representatives of the Laborers International Union appeared at farm worker and field organizers' staff meetings. They talked about how their organization was in a position to assist the migrant farm worker by providing him with a construction job when the harvest season was over. This made sense to the farm workers but the officials of the Laborers International Union soon lost interest when they were called upon to pay the bills, and initiation fees and per capita payments were slow in coming. The I.U.D. was left holding the bag. Fortunately, the harvest was finished in the North and the migrant workers were again back in Florida, harvesting vegetables south of Miami and west of Palm Beach, as well as around Lake Okeechobee. The I.U.D. reduced its staff drastically - two students and two farm workers were left to organize more than 100,000 farm workers in Florida.

FARM WORKERS NOT DEPENDENT ON IUD ALONE

However, the organizers paid by the I.U.D. are not alone, as they have the resources of a supporting committee composed of social welfare organizations in south Florida. Among those serving on the co-ordinating committee are representatives of the NAACP State Branch, American Friends Service Committee, the Florida Migrant Council, and the South Florida Diocese of the Catholic Church, whose Bishop Carroll has long been interested in the welfare of the migrant farm workers. There are also other groups participating in the co-ordinating committee of local origin, such as the Florida Committee on Farm Labor. Except for a few individuals holding positions in state and local AFL-CIO organizations, the Industrial Union Department appears to be carrying the ball among migrant farm workers for organized labor.

Technically, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, whose director is Cesar Chavez of Delano, Calif., is the organization the Florida migrant workers are now joining.

UNITED STEEL WORKERS IN ORANGE GROVES

In addition to the I.U.D. operation among farm workers in Florida, the United Steel Workers of America represent workers employed in the citrus fruit production and processing. Among the Florida workers represented by the steel workers' organization are those employed by the Minute Maid Co., the largest processor of frozen orange juice in the country. Minute Maid juice is put up in tin cans and therefore comes under the steel union's jurisdiction.

80% OF MIGRANTS NEGRO

More than 80 per cent of the estimated 100,000 migrant farm workers are Negroes. However, there is a growing number of Puerto Ricans and Spanish speaking farm workers from Texas helping to harvest the crops in Florida each year. The regular workers fan out in the late spring or early summer to work in the crops as they mature throughout the eastern part of the United States. On the job, they are joined by countless thousands of short term farm workers. Just before the snow flies in upper state New York, the regular harvest hands start the long trek back to Florida for another winter of work when it is available - or starvation when it is not.

BWI'S STILL IN FLORIDA - AFTER TWENTY YEARS

There are still nearly 5,000 British West Indians imported each year to cut the sugar cane crops produced by the U.S. Sugar Corporation, Clewiston, Fla., and a handful of other large scale producers of sugar cane in Florida. The U.S. Department of Labor approves annually the importation of the BWI's on the basis that after 20 years of dependence on importation of labor from the West Indies, there are no longer any experienced, skilled wielders of the long knives to cut the cane in the United States. Louisiana producers of sugar cane have long since mechanized the cane cutting, loading and all other field operations. The U.S. Sugar Corporation says the Florida muck lands are unsuited to the heavy farm machine operation required to cut the cane.

A GUIDED TOUR OF AGRICULTURE

However, the Guided Tours of Agriculture advertize a daily 3 hour tour, starting from the Holiday Inn at Belle Glade, which features the sights of 1,000 acres of sugar cane burned over each day to make way for the hand cutters, who are followed by mechanical loaders weighing several tons, but which apparently do not bog down in the mucklands, as perhaps slightly heavier machines would do if they were used in cutting the cane.

On these Guided Tours of Florida's agriculture, one also sees heavy machines planting and harvesting miles of radishes. Also, according to the brochure, you will see the cutting, field packing and machine loading of tons of celery shipped to eastern markets every year. 180,000,000 stalks were needed to make up the 10,000 carloads shipped in 1966.

LARGE FARMS TO VISIT

The most modern methods of production and mechanical harvesting are observed on the guided tours leaving Belle Glade twice a day during the tourist season. One is promised that, "Only on this conducted tour do you see farms, not normally open to the public, ranging from 7,000 to 35,000 acres." Farm operation in Florida, as elsewhere, is big business. But unlike most other big business, agriculture's labor force is mostly unorganized by unions. The employees are specifically excluded by Congress from the protection of their right to organize under the National Labor Relations Act.

WAGE AND HOUR LAW STARTS TO OPERATE ON FARMS

Beginning February 1, 1967, most of Florida's migrant farm workers will come under the Wage and Hour law. Employers will have to pay them not less than $1 per hour for their work. Most farm workers who will be covered are earning about $1.00 per hour. Overtime rates do not apply on the farms. However, this law, weak as it is, may eventually be changed and farm workers may be covered by other protective legislation as well.

In most Florida towns along the main highways and railroads, there are countless packing sheds where once all of the vegetables were packed and shipped to market. Today, the packing sheds appear to be deserted, except for an occasional one where vacuum cooling is done on a custom basis. Normally, on the larger farm the entire operation of preparation for marketing is performed in the fields.

PACKING SHEDS IN FIELDS

In Florida, as in other states, it is going to be difficult for unions to organize the packing shed workers and leave the field hands to the mercy of the growers. It will also be difficult for a big union to make a deal with a corporate giant in agriculture to represent the packing house employees, but not the farm workers.

NLRB MAY BE AFFECTED BY WAGE AND HOUR CHANGE

A few students of law believe the National Labor Relations Act has already been affected because of the changing of the criteria for determining agricultural workers. Up to this point, the NLRB has relied on the Wage and Hour Administration's rulings as to which group of workers are non-agricultural and may be guaranteed their right to organize. It is believed by some lawyers that the annual rider tacked onto the NLRB appropriation prohibiting the use of funds appropriated by Congress to assist agricultural workers as defined in the Wage and Hour Act, to organize and bargain collectively may no longer be considered effective in view of the change in the Wage and Hour Act to include some 400,000 farm workers.

MIGRANT WORKERS STRIKE

On January 5, one of the migrant union organizers was jailed on a charge of unlawful picketing of a celery farm near Belle Glade. The organizer, 22 year old Thomas A. Martin, a recent graduate of the University of Arkansas, was accused of having blocked the entrance of the Crissman Farms. Martin, who weighs 150 pounds, was also assaulted by a burly 200 pound field foreman for the nearby Sam Senter Farms, Inc. which packs celery hearts under the brand name of "Sambo." Afterwards, the growers directly involved had difficulty in getting migrant workers to board their buses at the morning shape-up in Belle Glade's Negro slum area.

Florida's newest attraction promises to be one of the most outstanding tours you have ever experienced, most educational and exciting.

Only on this conducted tour do you see farms, not normally opened to the public, ranging from 7,000 to 35,000 acres.

Stops are made for pictures to be taken.

Capable Guides make your tour very enjoyable.

You will see this mountain of raw sugar. This two acres of building stores 60,000 tons.

FLORIDA'S GREATEST ENTERTAINMENT BARGAIN.
Children half price.

LAKE OKEECHOBEE

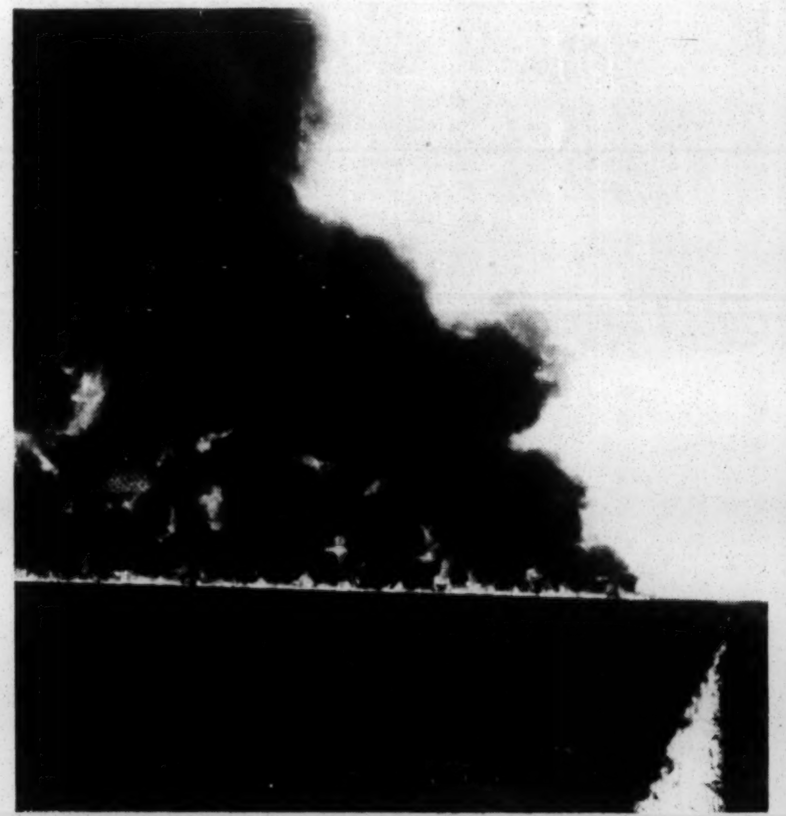
GUIDED TOURS
INC.

NOVEMBER 1 APRIL 15
For Information and Reservation

Call Belle Glade 996-7222

Guided Tours
OF
Agriculture
PALM BEACH COUNTY

Bring Your Camera.



Over 1,000 acres of Sugar Cane are burned daily to remove excess foliage.

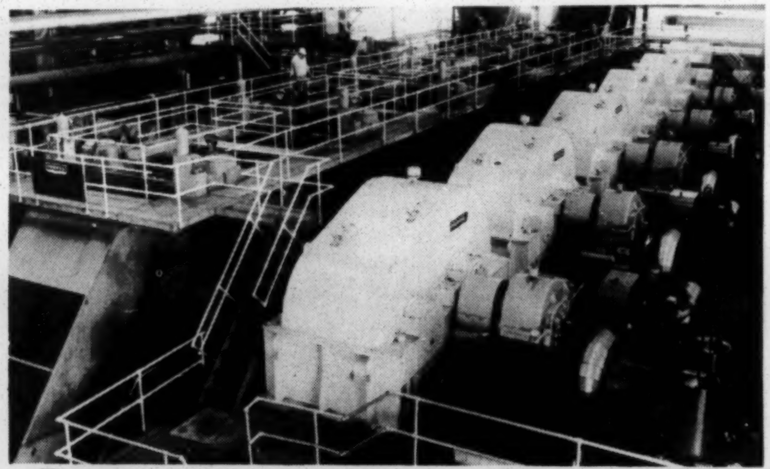
TWO 3 HOUR TOURS DAILY
9:00 A. M. 1:00 P. M.
Seven Days A Week

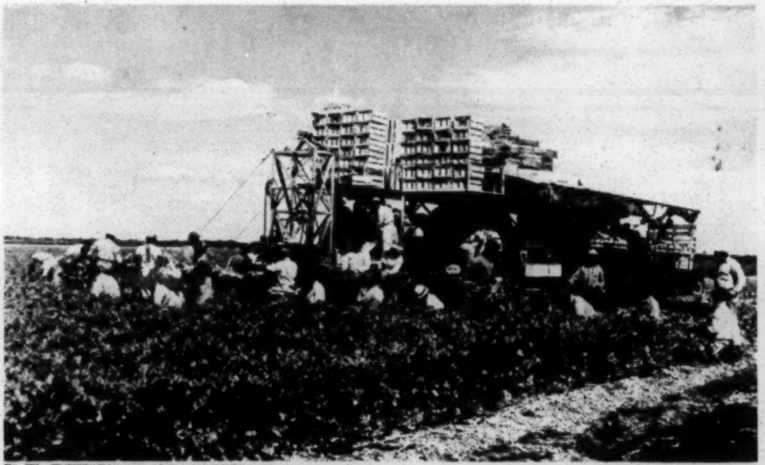
TOURS START AT
Holiday Inn®
Belle Glade, Fla.

Coffee break during tour

Cane cutters with machetes, cut and stack the stalks. The cane is then picked up by mechanical loaders. This area cultivates 196,000 acres of cane.

You see machines planting and harvesting miles of radishes. This area plants over 100 acres daily. They are never touched by hand.


This mill grinds a maximum of 10,000 tons of sugar cane daily to produce 1,000 tons of Raw Sugar. There are nine mills in this area.

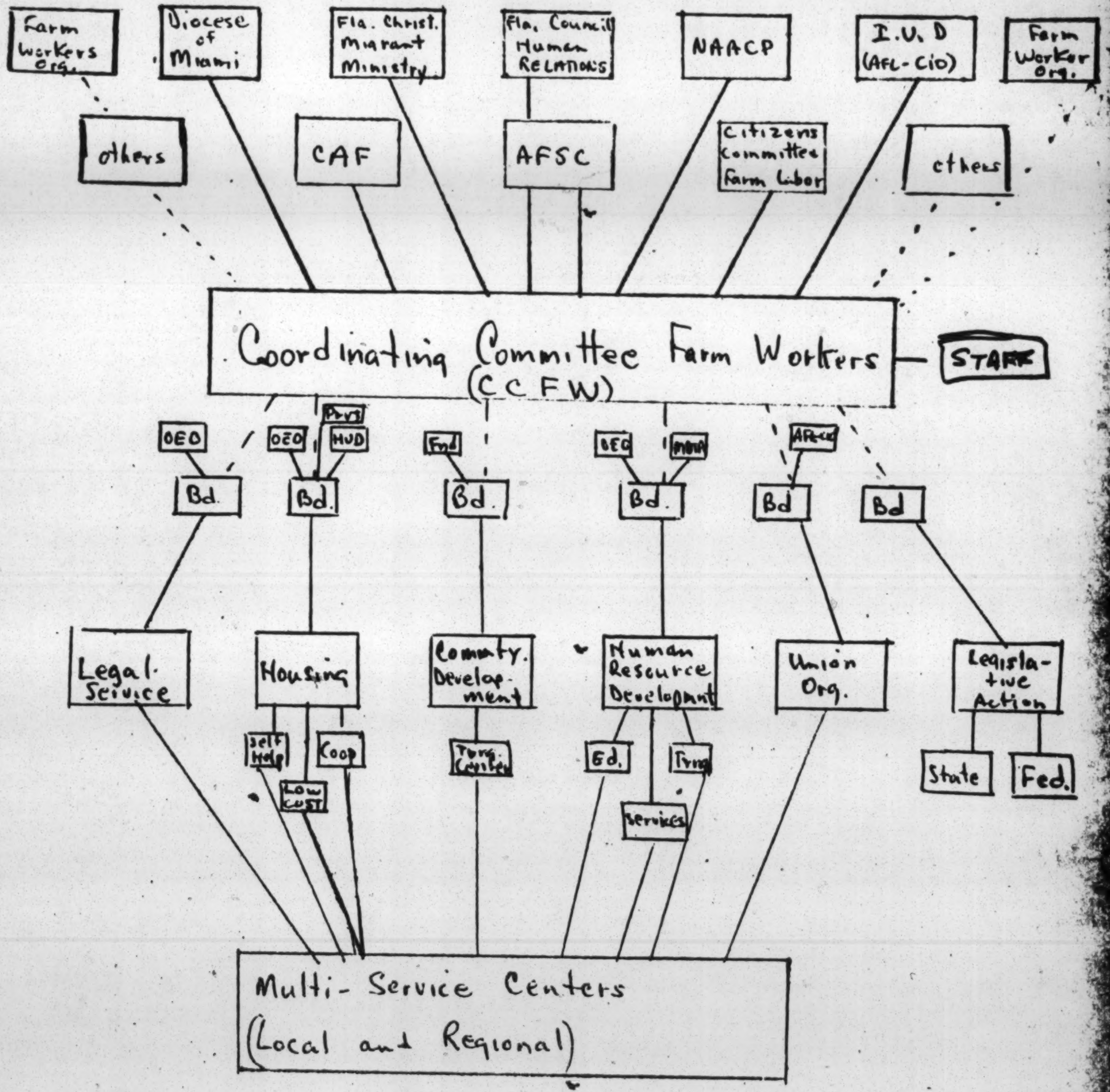

You will see miles of celery coming from the richest mucklands in the world. Over 10,000 carloads last season or 180,000,000 stalks.

The original Aloe House Plant is nature's healer. This Aloe is used in Sun-tan lotion's and Cosmetics.
It may be obtained here.

This Santa Gertrudis Bull is the only American pure-bred, worth $52,000. This area pastures 2 animals per acre.

DRAFT
ONLY

PROPOSED ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE.


Farm Workers Org.
Diocese of Miami
Fla. Christ. Migrant Ministry
Fla. Council Human Relations
NAACP
I.U.D (AFL-CIO)
Farm Worker Org.
others
CAF
AFSC
Citizens Committee Farm Labor
others
Coordinating Committee Farm Workers (CCFW)
STAFF
OEO
OEO
Prvt
HUD
Fnd
OEO
MDTA
AFL-CIO
Bd.
Bd.
Bd.
Bd.
Bd
Bd
Legal Service
Housing
Commnty. Development
Human Resource Development
Union Org.
Legislative Action
Self Help
Coop
Low Cost
Trng. Center
Ed.
Trng
Services
State
Fed.
Multi-Service Centers (Local and Regional)

STATEMENT ON DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES AFFECTING PROGRAMS OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

TO: Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture

FROM: National Sharecroppers Fund - August 29, 1963

This statement is intended not as a full-scale review of USDA agencies, policies, and practices in relation to Negro farmers, but as a brief report of how certain USDA programs have been unequally administered, with the result that thousands have been forced off the land.

We are concerned with the slowness of progress in ending traditional exclusion from local USDA committees of those who most need many of the Department of Agriculture's assistance and remedial services; with the apparent lack of dynamic and imaginative planning in assisting to remain on the land those whose present farm operation is not now considered economically viable; with the continuing disparity in the ratio between the number of Negro rural people in the South and the number of Negro field employees of the Department at all levels; and with the lag between the announcement of the Rural Areas Development program and the implementation of that program in the poorest sections of the rural South, particularly in predominantly Negro areas.

The slowness in modifying old practices and the delay in implementing new policies is unnecessarily dooming two generations of the rural poor -- the older farmer and the just maturing young -- to being thrust off the land and into an unreceptive urban labor market for which they are totally unprepared. We recognize that new legislation and new appropriations are needed, but much can be done now within the existing facilities of the Department of Agriculture. We submit these concerns to you today because we know of your own deep concern with them.

We believe that the techniques now being employed to reach the 1.2 million family farms which gross between $2,500 and $9,999 a year will, in fact, help many to reach the $10,000 level defined as necessary for minimum adequacy. For most, however -- particularly those in the South -- we fear these techniques will not make available in time those additional opportunities needed to have a decent standard of living on the land.

These techniques are not even beginning to cope with the problems of those whose gross farm income is less than $2,500. Our concern is primarily with this lowest income group. These are the people who suffer the most neglect and are least prepared for alternative employment. Existing USDA programs have very little effect on these families, who make up the large majority of U.S. farmers.

As you stated to the House Agriculture Subcommittee on Farm Families on July 11, 1963, "There is a clear need for an action program to provide alternative economic opportunities for the farm family with less than adequate resources." We hope that the following observations and suggestions will help expedite that program.

Farmers Home Administration

Farm credit is the life-blood of the small farmer. Its availability at reasonable terms usually determines whether or not the small farmer can stay in business.

Last December, several representatives of the National Sharecroppers Fund met with you and presented a summary of a study that Mr. Ira Kaye, Sumter, South Carolina, attorney, had made of the operation of federal agricultural assistance programs over a three-year period in nine predominantly Negro South Carolina counties. This study, later published by the Southern Regional Council, showed that Negro farm families were receiving only 5% of the funds lent for farm purchase and less than one-third of those lent for farm operation under the Farmers Home Administration. The report suggested a causal relationship between these percentages and the facts that no Negroes were members of the local FHA committees which certify eligibility for loans, and that, generally, Negroes were not employed on the local FHA staffs.

As a result of this presentation, Mr. Howard Bertsch, FHA Administrator, sent a representative to investigate. We are happy to note that steps toward correcting this specific situation are being taken. Negro committeemen have been appointed in a number of these counties. Negro applicants are receiving more careful consideration and a somewhat larger number of loans to Negroes is being made. We are advised that the pattern of "minor" indignities and discourtesies practiced in the local FHA offices which discouraged Negroes from even filing applications will be ended. While we doubt that full equality of treatment has been achieved here, we believe that progress in this direction will continue to be made.

It is unlikely that these nine South Carolina counties are unique. Our experience shows that comparable discriminatory conditions exist in most FHA county committees and FHA offices throughout the South. This example of positive action by the Department is a hopeful beginning of needed corrective action.

However, far more is needed to give help to farmers not now considered to have viable operations, because it is clearly the long years of neglect and discriminatory practices which have rendered them presently ineligible for FHA aid. Here are some of the actions we urge upon you to undo some of the injustices of the past and to prevent further erosion of the rights of small Negro farmers:

1. Instruct State Administrators to select qualified Negroes to serve on the committees in every county where there is a substantial number of Negro-operated farms.

2. Give special attention and special efforts to the needs of small farmers whose present operations are not considered viable, and who may be ineligible now for FHA credit. FHA should consider a moratorium on many small loans (as was done in the 1930's) to enable farmers to qualify for the assistance they urgently need.

3. Initiate a stepped-up program of recruitment through colleges and employment offices of qualified Negroes for employment at all local levels -- blue-collar, secretarial-clerical, and supervisory; qualified Negro Assistant County Supervisors should be given a genuine opportunity to become County Supervisors.

4. Have the FHA Administrator issue a directive setting forth standards of local office conduct and procedure to assure that common courtesy is accorded to all.

5. Issue a directive that no one be discouraged from filing a loan application merely because the local staff doubts his eligibility; this step is important not only to eliminate pre-application discrimination, but also to supply the

Department with information necessary to develop new programs of assistance for those not presently qualified under FHA.

6. Revise FHA informational materials and gear them for comprehension by those of limited education, and institute a positive program for their dissemination to everyone who could possibly benefit by any of the FHA facilities. Local newspapers, radio stations, and Extension Service agents cannot now be relied upon to accomplish this.

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service's responsibility for production adjustment, conservation assistance, and price and market stabilization is the key to the economic health for most of the farms of the country. Its local committees, through their control over acreage allotments, and its local staffs, through their actual land measurements and enforcement powers, literally control the survival on the land of many farm families.

Mr. Robert Moses and Mr. Timothy Jenkins, Mississippi field workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have received numerous complaints of discrimination against Negro operators in such allotments and measurements. Here is one example:

> A Negro farmer, Thomas C. Johnson, owns a 979-acre farm near Lexington, Mississippi, of which 315 acres are cleared for farming. His initial 1962 cotton allotment was 45 acres, and he was granted another 10 acres when he applied for 15 more. In 1963, he was allotted 41½ acres, and received an additional 3 acres when he sought 15 more.
>
> On the three-year remeasurement of the land, one of Mr. Johnson's fields, which had always been 3 acres, was determined to be 4.3 acres, and he was ordered to plough up 1.3 acres of it. When he complained, the ASC office made a new measurement and decided it was 4.1 acres. Johnson was charged $9.00 for the remeasuring.
>
> A white farmer in the vicinity, H. U. Brock, has a farm of approximately 800 acres, 75 to 100 of which are cleared; he was given a cotton allotment of 65 acres.

We realize that crop history and other factors can affect the allotment, but it seems unlikely that these could account for this gross discrepancy. Even though the ASC review committee can only correct technical violation of the rules by the local committee in its initial determinations, the fact that it generally has no Negro members tends to increase the Negro farmers' fear that they will be unfairly treated. As the allotment approaches the legal minimum, the essential cash crop nears extinction; therefore, federal court appeal becomes economically unavailable.

The Southern Regional Council's nine-county South Carolina study revealed that no member of the review committee in South Carolina is a Negro, that no member of the county or local committees in the survey is a Negro, that no Negroes have ever been employed as land surveyors, office clerks, or supervisors, and that, by custom, Negro farmers do not participate in local committee elections. It is our belief that this situation is widespread throughout the South. In reply to our inquiry, Mr. Ray Fitzgerald, Deputy Administrator, State and County Operations, disclaims any responsibility for the failure of local offices to employ Negroes, and suggests that it is natural for the office manager to select employees of his own choice as long as they meet the minimum standards. He states his belief,

> "...that the negroes /sic/ failure to secure county office employment could stem in part from this failure of the negro /sic/ to participate in these /local ASC/ elections."

Surely this begs the question and avoids a solution. Negroes do not participate in the local elections because they are positively and effectively discouraged from such participation by the local white community. The ASCS, which pays all the local wages and salaries, has some responsibility under Executive Order No. 10925.

The ultimate responsibility, of course, lies with the Secretary of Agriculture. Section 8-B of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act as amended, provides:

> "The Secretary shall make such regulations as are necessary relating to the selection and exercise of the functions of the respective committees, and to the administration, through such committees, of such programs."

This power, in practice, has long since been abdicated. As stated in the current Yearbook of Agriculture, After One Hundred Years:

> "In some regions,..notably in the South, leadership in local administration was shared at the outset with county agents and other officials of the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Service. This variation in administrative pattern developed out of the widespread assistance given by the Extension Service on the educational phases of the programs and the development of administrative machinery."

We believe that the time is ripe for a review of this policy.

Pending such overall review of ASCS policy in the South, some steps can be taken now:

1. The ASCS should use all of the resources of the Department to educate the Negro farmers to their right to participate in local committee elections, to encourage such participation, and to invalidate elections where such participation is not freely granted.

2. The Secretary should promulgate new regulations controlling the administration, through the local committees, of the employment policies of the county ASC offices, to encourage the recruitment and employment of applicants regardless of color.

3. The Secretary should appoint to the State committees only such farmers who are dynamically committed to preventing discrimination in administering the ASC programs.

The Agricultural Extension Service

As the educational and organizational arm of the USDA, the Agricultural Extension Service wields enormous power as it provides or withholds its information and services to small farmers. We are aware that many of the problems arise from the fact that the Agricultural Extension Service is a joint federal-state venture with the various states maintaining primary control over employment policies and the actual operation of the program at the local level. This fact, however, has been too long used by the Department of Agriculture to excuse its involvement in the gross discrimination in the quantity and quality of services rendered the rural Negro and in the notorious discrimination in employment practiced by the Extension Service.

As just one example: The Southern Regional Council's report, referred to above, points out that there were only five Negro extension agents and six women home demonstration agents in the nine counties studied, while there were full staffs of white extension service personnel in each of the counties. Three of the counties had no Negro 4-H Club members whatsoever. Also, as a result of the shortage of trained Negro Extension personnel, these agents had to cover more territory and deal with far more people than their white counterparts, with the consequence that their work could not begin to compare with the quality of work done in the white communities. This situation is typical in the South.

At a conference of Negro Extension agents at South Carolina A. & M. College on January 30, 1963, the National Sharecroppers Fund's field representative learned that these agents had been completely excluded from usable knowledge and planning for Rural Areas Development programs and that none of them knew that 22 South Carolina counties were eligible for ARA assistance. He further learned that the State Extension Service Director, Mr. G. B. Nutt, had discouraged the Negro Extension agents from attending a privately sponsored conference called for February 13-15, 1963, to inform rural families and state and local officials of these and other federal programs to aid rural people. (The conference was attended by South Carolina officials from the Department of Education and the Employment Service, and by Agriculture and ARA officials from Washington.)

Certainly, the Department can develop procedures to see to it that local Extension agents have full knowledge of all rural aid programs and are encouraged to assist those who need them most to make use of them. A full review and reappraisal of the administration of the Extension Service on the national level is called for. If new legislation is needed, it should be proposed by the Secretary. How much longer must the federal government subsidize the largest segregated educational system in the world?

Rural Areas Development

We share your enthusiasm for the potentials of the program for Rural Areas Development, and we have confidence in the RAD director, Mr. John A. Baker. Your July 11th statement to the House Subcommittee outlined how it could "bring new life and opportunity to rural America...to town and country alike." The obstacles delaying the RAD program are so great, however, that we fear its exciting hope will not be fulfilled. The time has come for you to intervene directly to remove some of these obstacles.

At the March 7-8, 1963, meeting of the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development, the Subcommittee on Broader Opportunities for the Disadvantaged submitted a report on some of the problems facing the RAD in assisting this group in the rural population. The Subcommittee made a series of recommendations which it modestly entitled "Approaches to Solutions." While all of these recommendations should be carried out, we consider the implementation of the first one to be particularly urgent. The Subcommittee's recommendations are:

1. Provide a specialist for each state RAD Committee to give full time and attention to the promulgation of the RAD and other USDA programs with disadvantaged groups.

2. Accelerate special RAD projects to deal with the most difficult problems through employing personnel to inventory human resources and stimulate action by persons in a position to develop remedial action.

3. Gear programs to different categories of need, e.g., farmers over 45, young people, etc.

4. Develop procedures that would insure equitable treatment for all in lending, SCS, technical assistance, ACP cost sharing, and Extension Service programs.

5. Sponsor FHA Act amendments to authorize loans to assist the disadvantaged in their education.

6. Encourage and assist in developing OMAT education and demonstration training projects for farm youth and older farm workers, and develop such programs through USDA's own agencies.

7. Plan and propose strong basic education programs, in addition to the work experience, under the Youth Conservation Corps plan.

8. Encourage and assist in developing ARA feasibility studies in disadvantaged rural areas.

9. Explore means of tying resources of community, college, and other educational institutions into the RAD program.

10. Take bold and positive action to get state and local USDA agency personnel to give special attention to the needs and problems of disadvantaged groups.

While these Subcommittee proposals must be initiated on the Departmental level, they cannot be successful in promoting the interests of the most disadvantaged unless they are under constant review in the field. That is why we consider the appointment of the recommended specialist to state RAD committees so important. He cannot function effectively, however, isolated from daily cooperative contact with other agency personnel. We recommend, therefore, that he have his base in the Technical Action Panels. The mobilization of technical skills needs the leaven of his full time attention if the programs developed are going to truly serve those who need them most.

Conclusion

In the limited scope of this statement we have not attempted to discuss all the agencies of the Department that play a critical role in the lives of small farmers and other low-income rural people. Nor have we attempted to catalogue all the reforms that we would like to see come to pass in the agencies that we have discussed. What we have pointed out are a few of those more glaring inequities which we believe you can take prompt and positive action to correct.

We present these matters to you now because of our confidence in your determination to imaginatively use the resources of government to help build a more fruitful life for all rural Americans.

FALL NEWSLETTER September, 1965

FRANKLINTON CENTER
Bricks, N. C.

During the spring and summer of 1965 we have not only maintained our regular programs of camps and conferences but have worked intensively with the people to whom the program against poverty and general deprivation is directed. This work has been done with service teams from our own church, the American Friends and the Luther league:

1. The children of the Bricks Community from the ages of five years up to twelve have had a program aimed at enriching their cultural environment. They have had reading, story telling, arts and crafts, and group expression through music and dancing. They have visited the Public Libraries in the area, the children's museums, and plays given in the summer children's playhouses. As you must gather, this was through inclusive agencies or we made them so.

   There have been for junior and senior high school groups classes to help them to catch up or improve their subject matter. Among these were some people who hope to attend college next fall. These people enjoyed the Summer Playhouse and other special programs given by the colleges for white youth in the area.

2. A second special group of 65 had a special "Readiness Program" aimed at helping them to adjust to the former all white schools which they will be attending during the next school year. The instruction staff was inter-racial and they, too, had access to the many summer activities and educational opportunities offered by the schools and colleges of the area and the recreational facilities. This program touched four counties.

3. The third community service team of eight was from the Lutheran Church and represented five states including the Carolinas. Their project was that of developing basic community resources. The various communities who need the various state and federal programs must have some facilities both material and personal. We have a series of projects in renovating old school buildings and other structures to meet the need of a given community. This special team which was based at Franklinton Center did a very impressive job at Whitakers, which is only three miles away. It was our task to supply the general planning and direction of this task. The point is that these were all pilot projects which serve as demonstrations for the whole area. We find them a stimulating influence on the various regions which have been brought in contact with them.

Our small dining room was woefully inadequate to care for 75 or more commuters who would come to Bricks for each day's activity. This was more true as our regular camps were in session while all this extra was taking place.

I would now like to quote from letters that the Service Team from the United Church of Christ wrote after returning home in late August.

"When Karen and I left Bricks, we were not the same Yankees that had arrived in the community nine weeks earlier. We had learned a lot about eastern North

Carolina. Eating grits and southern fried chicken, working with the peanut, soybean and tobacco crops, and listening to stories told by our new neighbors made us feel at home in another section of the country.

Our only hope is that we were able to teach as much as we learned. Every weekday morning we met with local children from the second through fifth grades. This "school" included reading, crafts, singing and recreation. We showed free educational films. The class also took two field trips, visiting the public library and the children's museum in nearby Rocky Mount. Our students' smiles and enthusiasm gave encouragement when we became frustrated with evidence of the inferior, segregated schools of that rural district. Two nights a week we met with a study session for high school and post-high school students. We tried to help them with algebra, English and chemistry. This program wasn't as successful as the other. I guess you can't expect too much from so few meetings - especially when the students have worked for ten to twelve hours in the fields.

Although our work was only a small step, we hope it was in the right direction. Anyway, since Franklinton Center sponsors many worthwhile projects and activities, we can afford to be optimistic."

"I recently returned home after spending nine of the most profitable weeks of my life in Bricks, North Carolina. I was working with one other girl, Elizabeth Carlson of Oberlin, Ohio, on a community service team sponsored by the United Church of Christ. We worked at Franklinton Center under the leadership of Dr. W. Judson King and Reverend Joseph H. Garlic. Each morning, Monday through Friday, Betty and I ran a school for children of the Bricks community who will be entering the 2nd - 6th grades in the fall. We divided the morning into reading classes, singing, arts and crafts, and recreation. I found working with these children most rewarding and enjoyable and I am happy to say that there was a noticeable improvement in the reading ability of many of them by the end of the summer. On two occasions we took the children into Rocky Mount -- first, to the Children's Museum and zoo, and second, to the library and on a nature trail sponsored by the Children's Museum.

Betty, Reverend Garlic, and I also held classes two nights a week for high school and post graduate students in the three subjects requested by them: English, algebra, and chemistry. I enjoyed these classes and they afforded a good opportunity to get to know some of the teenagers of the community. A number of social events for teenagers were held while we were there, and I especially enjoyed these and all opportunities to be with and get to know the teenagers.

Betty and I were also in charge of the crafts program for the junior high camp and participated in many of the activities of the senior high camp. I enjoyed immensely all my contacts with the various camps which came to the Center throughout the summer.

Many of my afternoons were spent working in the fields of various farmers in the community or in helping them to "put in" tobacco. Through this experience and from talking with the Bricks people, I learned a lot about farming, particularly about the main crops grown in that area. I found this extremely interesting, but even more exciting to me was the opportunity afforded by living in

Bricks and to get to know its people and to learn something of what it is like to be a farmer, or a member of a farmer's family, in the South. My knowledge of life in the rural South and of its problems was also broadened by Dr. King's tours of the countryside and discussions on the subject.

I feel that I learned a great deal from my summer in Bricks; I met a lot of wonderful people and had a lot of fun. I only wish I could have given as much as I gained from the experience." (end quote)

It is gratifying to us that so many of our campers keep up with us over the years since their work at the Center. We receive letters about their experiences and they sometimes flatter us by asking our counsel on some important matters. We get invited to weddings and have couples bring their children by to see us. This is true of both white and Negro young people whom we have the joy of sharing a task and a dream.

Many of us are looking forward with great expectation to formation of our Southern Conference and some of us are seeking to do our bit to help make it what we know it can be.

The writer has had the most trying year from the standpoint of health that he has suffered in all his life. His eyes began bothering him early in February and he is still taking treatments for them. Then in July he picked up a virus that sapped his energy and sent him off to bed for a few days. He is back at his work but is still a bit wobbly on his pins. The term for the Interne who has helped us for the past fifteen months is out in October, so that one can only forsee some necessary curtailment of some of the things that we have been doing in the areas of poverty and community development.

This letter must not close without a word of thanks from Ora and me for the staunch support that you have given our efforts here. The Thrift Shop, the Dormitory, the Library, the Young People's work, the Dining Hall Fund and many other smaller, but important, projects have been made possible by you. No words of ours can convey the inspiration and strength that your interest and help afford us here. We are grateful to God for friends like you, for we must continue to look to you if our efforts are to continue here.

Sincerely yours,

W. Judson King

FRANKLINTON CENTER

BRICKS, NORTH CAROLINA

WINTER NEWSLETTER

1965

Dear Friends:

We at Franklinton Center are one with those who say that this is a great time to be alive. And we would also add that this is a splendid time to be serving some of God's most deprived children in this era when so many are becoming actively concerned. Our work has been made possible through the many friends about the country, in the United Church of Christ predominantly, whose abiding interest and material assistance sustain our efforts. It is of some satisfaction too that we have been pioneers in this work of keeping a candle of hope burning in the black night of trouble for a harassed and often despairing people. Franklinton Center, as you perhaps know, is the continuing embodiment of two former institutions - Bricks School which began in 1895 and Franklinton Christian College which opened its door about a decade earlier.

The initial aim of these institutions was to bring a measure of literacy to the masses of ex-slaves so severely handicapped by the lack of education. This work continued through more than a generation. When it seemed best to leave the task of formal education to the public school authorities both these institutions readily found other urgent tasks to do. Franklinton Christian College began to work as the training center for the churches of which the leaders had enjoyed very little formal training. Bricks School initiated a new phase of its traditional work in the deprived rural areas through the Rural Life School program. This work was to increase the competence of Negro sharecroppers, to raise the level of aspiration, and to create a sense of hopefulness and fellowship among them.

Someone has said that the nation discovered poverty in 1962. The people who founded, nurtured, and sustained Bricks through the years, discovered poverty in 1895 and have been working with people trapped in it for all the years since.

The State Director of a Federal Agency said not long ago that what has been done at Franklinton Center serves as a pattern for some of the work that they are now doing with rural people. We have had the honor of being one of the counseling team that works to prepare the initial teams which have gone out under the direction of the North Carolina Fund, the 14 million dollar agency sponsored by the Ford and Reynolds Foundations and the state of North Carolina to help communities break out of the cycle of poverty. But the greater pleasure for us here is that we stand in line among those of other years who gave the best they had of mind, heart, and hand in assisting those who have struggled so long to attain their God given rights as American citizens, and to be accorded the dignity of human beings. Anyone who has ears to hear and eyes to see knows that the great struggle is by no means over, but it is our good fortune to be a continuing part of it.

It is in the atmosphere of the grim fact of this struggle that we would now express our gratitude to you for your prayers, your confidence, and your material assistance. And we would also relate some of the recent privilages to serve that have come to us at Franklinton Center.

Let's start with the month of November. Here in the Brick Community we had a very interesting series of programs. The Senior Citizens who no longer are able to get around were given a special Sunday on which we of the community provided some clothing, transportation, a dinner party, followed by a fellowship hour in the late afternoon during which they sang old songs, gave readings, reminisced, and wept for joy together. This we hope is the beginning of a worthwhile program for our senior citizens.

The Lord's Acre service is another annual project through which money is raised for missions outside our vicinity and to make it possible for some of our local youngsters to attend camps both here and out of state. The Thanksgiving worship is one of a dozen special programs that the local people sponsor which gets attendance from a wide area, many coming from distances of more than 25 miles.

December seems to be the month that is most distressing to the poorest among us. Some landlords will not settle up with their sharecroppers until after the new year so that there is no money with which to buy adequate food much less any gifts for the family. This is why we have a Community Christmas Tree with the feature of a Gift Caravan. Some of you sent valuable wrapped and labeled gifts and several sent checks to buy needed articles. Ora and I with two other people of the Brick Community spent most of our Christmas at the task of delivering clothing to almost naked women and children. Some of this was from the nicer things in the Thrift Shop and others were purchased when the needed articles were not available from the clothing which many of you sent. Of course some of this kind of help must be given during all the months of the cold winter and often in warmer weather too.

The Christmas Tree had the usual program, with toys and goodies to be distributed. There were baskets of groceries, too, one of which was the special project of the lower junior Sunday School class.

Hardly were Christmas and the new year's activities passed, before the Winter Institute, Annual Board meeting and our other varied community groups begun. We had a splendid two week's school for pastors mostly from our rural churches in North Carolina and Virginia and all the while there were meetings of the Community Development organization through which the Bricks Community was awarded first place in Edgecombe county. Tillery, our other Center won first place in both county and the regional which included six counties of eastern Carolina. Other vicinity activities were numerous and will only be mentioned here. They comprise homemaking, sewing classes, flower gardens, the Bricks Federal Credit Union and many more. As this is being written in early February the Franklinton Center is busy largely with groups from the vicinity and with specific problems which engulf the more helpless among us during these winter days. Among these pressing problems are finding a place to move and sustaining one's family under conditions of deprivation.

Among the larger vicinity interests have been the effort to develop an inclusive Conference for all the churches in North Carolina and southern Virginia. Membership on various committees has meant a lot of travel and increased work. This task is urgent and the results when measured against the effort expended are not always encouraging but somehow we must get this job done.

The need to have Negroes share across the board in the fight against poverty is another constant vigil which requires a lot of those who are interested and happen to be situated so that they are free to express their interest. We organized a seven-county group more than a year ago which has helped to keep Negroes in full consideration in the area planning of the fight against poverty.

Finally our Dining Hall project weighs heavy upon us. We had hoped to have it ready for the full summer program of 1965. About half of the estimated cost is in sight but the remaining sum of $35,000 is coming in very slowly. However, we are cheered from time to time by gifts from a variety of sources. A girl who was in one of the 1964 camps from Ohio sent a check saved from her small weekly allowance; a boy from Michigan got his parents interested and several primary and junior Sunday school classes from about the country are sending their accumulated pennies. Then from time to time a few much larger gifts help to keep us hopeful. We shall enclose a brochure of the Dining Hall Project with this letter for your information.

With abiding gratitude for all that you are helping us to do, I am

Gratefully yours,

W. Judson King

Enclosure

THE MESSAGE OF THE BIBLE ON POVERTY

Msgr. Edward W. O'Rourke, Executive Director,
National Catholic Rural Life Conference,
3801 Grand Avenue,
Des Moines, Iowa 50312[1]

REASONS FOR THE WAR ON POVERTY

A war on poverty is warranted for many reasons. Some of these reasons are economic, social and patriotic. But by far the most cogent reasons are moral. It simply is not right to tolerate widespread poverty in a nation so affluent as ours. Admittedly, poverty weakens our nation, causes social unrest and hurts our pocketbooks. More importantly, poverty hurts our consciences.

It is appropriate that we turn first to the Bible for statements concerning moral reasons for combating poverty. The majority of Americans belong to the Judeo-Christian faiths. Some accept the Old Testament; many accept both the Old and New Testaments as sources of authoritative precepts on moral issues.

The inspired writers of the Bible have much to say about poverty. The Bible contains 276 explicit references to poverty and the poor. In an additional 131 passages which treat riches, the wealthy, etc., poverty is indirectly treated. The substance of the Bible's message on poverty is inescapably clear. In those details in which interpretations differ, I shall acknowledge differences of opinion. In the treatment on poverty, we find the usual progression and elaboration as we move from Old to New Testament. The New Testament restates the substance of the Old Testament message and further developes it.

The following are typical biblical references to poverty, catalogued according to the several main themes they present:

1. Poverty is a wretched condition, particularly when it occasions ostracism and loss of self-esteem. This, in my estimation, is the most basic principle upon which all other biblical references to poverty depend, even those which extol voluntary poverty. Poverty is a physical evil. When poverty reaches the more advanced stage of destitution, it usually brings about spiritual deterioration, which is much worse. Proverbs 15, 15: "All the days of the poor are evil." Job 24, 12: "They tread the wine presses, yet suffer thirst; and famished are those who carry sheaves. From the dust the dying groan; and the souls of the wounded cry out." Proverbs 19, 4: "Riches make many friends; but from the poor man, even they whom he had, depart." Proverbs 10, 15: "The substance of a rich man is the city of his strength; the fear of the poor is their poverty."

These passages are most pertinent to poverty in our nation. The minority poor, the poor surrounded by affluence, are denied a sense of belonging; they are often deprived of human dignity; they are robbed spiritually.

2. Poverty which brings about a spiritual good is a blessing. Poverty, rightly accepted, should create humility and an openness to God which are conducive to salvation. Isaiah 66, 2: "But to whom shall I have respect, but to him that is poor and little and of contrite spirit and that trembles at my words." Psalm 149, 4: "The Lord loves his people, and he adorns the lowly with victory." Psalm 33, 11: "The powerful have become poor and have suffered hunger; but they who seek the Lord shall not lack any good." Throughout Psalms 9A, 9B, 33, 36 and 149, the

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[1] Presented at Rural Pastors' and Lay Leaders' Short Course. February 8, 1965. University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

poor, the lowly ones are almost identified with "those who know and fear the Lord." There is a strong inference that the wealthy and powerful tend to oppress the poor and are enemies of the Lord.

This brings us to the conclusion that riches endanger salvation by creating pride and a false sense of self-sufficiency. Matthew 5, 23-26: "Jesus said to his disciples, 'Amen I say to you, with difficulty will a rich man enter the kingdom of heaven.'" I Timothy 6, 9: "For the love of money is the root of all evils, and some by grasping after it have perverted from the faith and have found themselves pierced with many sorrows." Psalm 36, 17: "Better is the little which the just man has, than the great wealth of the wicked." Proverbs 15, 16: "Better is a little with the fear of the Lord, than great treasures without content."

Attachment to riches is folly because God is incomparably more worthy of love and earthly riches soon perish. Matthew 19, 17: "Why dost thou ask me about what is good? One there is who is good, and he is God." Matthew 6, 19-21: "Do not lay up for yourselves treasures on earth, where rust and moth consume, and where thieves break in and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither rust nor moth consumes, nor thieves break in and steal. For where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be."

These passages pertain to several modern problems. For example, many Whites resist the movement of Negroes into their neighborhoods for fear that it will bring about a lowering of the value of their property. All too often, material possessions prompt men to take stands which violate their ideals and moral principles. Surely, such attitudes are tragically evil.

3. Voluntary poverty for a religious purpose is conducive to salvation. Matthew 5, 29: "And everyone who has left house, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundred fold and shall possess life everlasting." This sort of voluntary poverty is vastly different from inescapable poverty or destitution. It might more appropriately be called detachment. It was to this that Jesus referred in the sermon on the mount when he declared (Matthew 5, 3): "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." It manifests freedom from avarice and a proper appreciation for spiritual values. Accordingly, Jesus advised the rich young man (Matthew 19, 21): "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me."

Undoubtedly, there is a conflict between these scriptures and the contemporary American's preoccupation with material possessions and his tendency to put great trust in science and technology. Perhaps the best way to save ourselves from this dangerous tendency is to give more generously to the poor.

4. Mercy and a helping hand to the poor will be rewarded. Proverbs 19, 17: "He that hath mercy on the poor, lendeth to the Lord; and he will repay him." Matthew 25, 40: "As long as you did it for one of these, the least of my brethren, you did it for me." We encounter Christ in the person of the poor.

5. Neglecting the poor will bring about punishment. This theme is dramatized in Luke 16, 19-31, in the story of the rich man and Lazarus. Lazarus longed "to be filled with the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table." But the rich man was callously indifferent to Lazarus' suffering and even permitted the dogs to "come and lick his sores." "And it came to pass that the poor man died and was borne away by the angels into Abraham's bosom; but the rich man also died and

was buried in hell." Sirach (4, 5) admonishes: "Turn not away thy eyes from the poor for fear of anger, and leave not to them that ask of thee to curse thee behind thy back. For the prayer of him that curseth thee in the bitterness of his soul shall be heard, for he that made him will hear him."

6. Those who exploit the poor will be severely punished. Proverbs 22, 22: "Do no violence to the poor, because he is poor, and do not oppress the needy in the gate, because the Lord will judge his cause, and will afflict them that have afflicted his soul." Psalm 9A, 13: "He has not forgotten the cry of the poor." Psalm 68, 34: "For the Lord hears the poor and despises not his prisoners." James 5, 1-6: "Behold, the wages of the laborers who reaped your fields, which have been kept back by you, unjustly cry out; and their cry has entered into the ears of the Lord of Hosts." Amos 8, 4-8: "Hear this, you that crush the poor, and make the needy of the land to fail.... The Lord hath sworn against the pride of Jacob."

7. Almighty God and His Messiah champion the rights of the poor. This, in my estimation, is one of the most fundamental themes of the biblical references to poverty. Why does God so love and protect the poor? Perhaps, because He freely chooses to love them in a special way. Perhaps, because they fulfill his admonition (Mark 10, 15): "Amen I say to you, whoever does not accept the kingdom of God as a little child will not enter into it." It is also obvious that vindicating the rights of the weak is required in this world or the next if divine justice is to be preserved.

Jesus not only befriended the poor and spoke out in their defense, He became poor for our sakes. Philippians 2, 6-7: "Who though he was by nature God, did not consider being equal to God a thing to be clung to, but emptied himself, taking the nature of a slave and being made like unto men. And appearing in the form of man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient to death, even to death on a cross." II Corinthians 8, 9: "For you know the graciousness of our Lord Jesus Christ--how, being rich, he became poor for your sakes, that by his poverty you might become rich." The Psalmist had prophesied (Psalm 71, 12): "He shall show mercy to the poor and needy, and he shall save the life of the poor; He shall deliver them from injury and violence, and their blood shall be precious in his sight."

8. Agape, the love demanded of Christians, requires that we respect the poor whom we help. Agape is a love of deeds, accompanied by respect, permitting the recipient to retain equal dignity with the giver. In the New Testament we find the word agape (love) 117 times; agapan (to love) 141 times, and the adjective agapetos (beloved) 61 times.

The objective of the present U. S. war on poverty is to help the poor help themselves and to eliminate the causes of their poverty. Such an effort, pursued with the right motives, is a magnificent manifestation of agape.

9. A prosperous nation has a special duty to fight poverty. Deuteronomy 15, 4: "Nay, more! since the Lord, you God, will bless you abundantly in the land he will give you to occupy as your heritage, there should be no one of you in need." No nation in history has been so abundantly blessed as ours. Nowhere else is poverty so inexcusable as here.

Some wrongly quote as opposed to this view the words of Jesus (Mark 14, 7): "The poor you have always with you." Jesus is referring to an existing condition. He is not implying that this condition should exist. Most certainly, He does not state that the present degree of poverty is tolerable, particularly in a nation so affluent as ours.

In the past, poverty was often the inescapable lot of many because insufficient goods were being produced. In the United States today we have the ability to produce all such goods our people need. Hence, poverty among our people is particularly inexcusable.

EPILOGUE

There are many biblical passages about poverty not included in this paper. These, however, are a reasonably representative sample. They are offered as a source of instruction and motivation to all who are engaged in the U. S. war on poverty. This is more than an ordinary war; it is a crusade. It is an undertaking in which we are engaging for moral reasons. We are determined to reduce drastically poverty in our midst because the inspired writers of both Old and New Testaments declare that this is the will of God.

FOR EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA PASTORS COMMITTEE

DAY CARE

Purpose

The purpose of this component is to encourage and stimulate individuals and organizations to establish new day care centers particularly in target neighborhoods A, and to make the best possible use of the existing day care facility.

Area and Group to be Served

The area to be served is target area A. Direct recipients of the program will be children ages 3 to 6 and the indirect beneficiaries will be their parents and families.

Work Program

(a) Purpose and beneficiaries:

The purpose of this program is to stimulate the establishment of new day care facilities and upgrade those that are now en existence and to make the best possible use of these facilities.

Day care programs or facilities which already exist in disadvantaged neighborhoods do not, for the most part, serve the families with less than $3,000 in annual income. To the extent that parents in the disadvantaged neighborhoods make use of these day care centers they will be directly benefited. These parents, particularly mothers, will be freed from their tasks of caring for younger children to participate in a variety of activities which will lead to the betterment of their family situations.

DAY CA RE

WHAT IT IS-

Day care is a program for the child for which the State Board of Welfare has licensing responsibility

PURPOSE

It is a service which has as its purpose the provision of good physical care and constructive growth experiences under trained and responsible supervision

WHOM DOES IT AIM TO SERVE:

Primarily the children served are to be those of unemployed mothers, but such care may be extended to other children- especially those in families whose income is below $3,000 per year.

SOME TANGIBLE BENEFITS TO BE DERIVED FROM DAY CARE PROGRAMS:

1. Day care makes it possible for children of working mothers to remain in the family rather than being sent to foster homes, or being left un-supervised while the mother works, and to prevent them from being left in undesirable situations . This is why the WELFARE DEPARTMENT IS INTERESTED.

THE DESIGNING OF THE PROGRAM:

To meet the needs of children of various ages with different developmental and emotional needs. (BOTH DAY NURSERIES AND DAY CARE HOMES MAY PROVIDE THIS SERVICE)

The Day Nursery provides for children 18 mo to six years of age, as well as for school age children during the time the school is not in session.

THE DAY CARE HOME- provides family care for the very young child and for older children with needs that cannot be met in group care- and is especially helpful to brothers and sisters since it strengthen s the feeling of family idenity.

Because of the special needs of young children for a secure and continuing relationship WITH ONE PERSON , care of infants and children of three away from their own families should be in a family setting and not IN GROUP FACILITIES.

The young child must have someone on whom he can depend to see that his needs are met. LOVE, GUIDANCE, PROTECTION AND A MODEL OF BEHAVIOR TO IMITATE. The separation of a child from its mother without careful preparation may have emotional hazzards.

Parents should avail themselves of professional casework help in determning whetyer day care is the appropiate service to meet the needs of the child and the family and to assist in making the right choice of a day care program for theni individula child.

They may aaso need the services of a professionally trained person when the time for eveluation of the service to there child is done.

THE BASIC NEEDS OF EVERY CHILD ARE:

1. **Good physical care, protection and supervision in a cobnsistent manner.**
2. Opportunity to learn, to develop capacities, and to live and play constructively with others.
3. TO SECURITY WHICH COMES FROM BEING UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED FOR ONESSELF.

II

RESPONSIBILITES

THE STATE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE:

1. The Legal Licensing Agency of any group, agency, or individaul who for pay assumes responsibility for supplsmental parental care of two or more unrelated children away from their homes.
    - a The Establishment of standards and regulations governing b.the operation od such facilities,
    - b. To assist those agancies, groups, or individual subject to licensing in meeting acceptable standards for child care.

Note; **Facilities which are a part of the public school system such as those attached to colleges and schools are under supervision** of The State Department of Public Instruction This obtain whether it is a part-day or a full-day program.

2. **The Administration of Day Care Funds is a part of the responsibility of the Division of Child Welfare in relation to federal funds**
    - **a. To provide for the personnel services to carry out to carry out the day care services.**
    - **b. Reseqrch pertaining to day care and purchasing care in licensed**

III

DAY CARE

DQY CARE FACILITIES for children whom the COUNTY DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE has found to be in XXXX economic need and for whom day care has been determined a good plan for both the child and the family.

CONSULTATION:

The STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE has responsibility for offering consultant service to DAY CARE FACILITIES. This service is given directly to staffs and boads of day care facilities, on both and individual and group basis

The aim of this service of consultation is to improve the program of day care facilities* This service is further available to to related social agencies and to COMMUNITY GROUPS in determining the need XXX for and developing day care resources.

III

BASIC STANDARDS FOR DAY NURSERIES OR DAY CARE CENTERS.

DEFINITION

A DAY CARE FXXXX Center is a facility which gives day care to seven or more children. (Thee years is preferred as the minomum age for such group care.

If children uner three years are admitted the minumum must be 18 months

The length of the average day is eight hours (Consecutive hours)

Foster Family care, which is full time, cannot be given in a day care center

The number of children who may be cared for in a day care center depends upon available facilities, spa e, staff, equipment and program

B. ORGANIZATION

DAY CARE CENTERS MAY BE OF TOW KINDS. Those operated by individuals for profit and those operated by churches and othe non-profit organizations. for community service.

1. When a center is operated by an individual for profit, the operaton has full responsibility for making policies and adminsitering the program

LV

DAY CARE CENTERS

2. The a center is operated as a community service , is sponsored by The United Fund, church, civic club, of similar group organizatiin, this facility must have a RESPONSIBLE BOARD OF DIRECTORS: the duties of which are-

   a. To determine polices and to provide for their implementation
   b. To select the director who will administer the program.
   c Be responsible for adequate financing
   d. To interpret the service to the community

   THE BARDS must hold regular meeting and should provide for revolving membership- (Rotation of membership)

C. STAFF

1. It is highly desirable that each day care center have at least one professionally trained person who is experienced in the field of early child development

2. The Community Service Center(Sponsoring Group) should provide the staff appropiate in-service training opportunities through conferences instiyutes and work-shops.

   The size of the group to be administers will determine if the director may have other responsibilites than administration.

3. The Director-

   Must be Mature, competant, warm and understanding and one who has understanding of the needs of young children

   The Director of a facility of seven or more children MUST HAVE PROFESSIONAL TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE. The minumum experience required is six months work with pre-school children.

   THE MINIMUM traing required is completion of a specialized course or work-shop in the field of early childhood education, child development, social work, or nursing. Directors who have not had this training may become acceptable by attending, institutes workshop sponsored by religious institution, colleges or Social Welfre organizations . (A WEEK OF SUCH TRAINING MEETS THE INITIAL MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS.

4. STAFF MEMBERS

V

DAY CARE CENTERS

A minimum of two staff members working directly with the children id REQUIRED IN A DAY CARE CENTER.(This may include a service staff person-cooh, etc)

The maximum ratio of children to staff members is 1 person for each ten children plus service perzonnal

Facilities large enough to group children according to age may use the following guideline-

2-3 years old- 1 adult to 8 children
3-4 " " 1 " " 10 "
4-5 " " 1 " " 15 "
5-6 " # 1 " " 18 "

18 MONTH TO # YEAR OLD 1 aduly to 5 or fewer children

and the complete separation of this small group from the other children. PERSONNEL MUST BE SUFFICEENT IN NUMBER IN A FACILITY SO THAT THOSE WHO WORK DIRECTLYW WITH CHILDREN WILL NOT HAVE TO COOK OR CLEAN.

OTHER REQUIREMENTS- of Staff

1. Children must be under constaht supervision
2. All staff members must be at least 18 years old
3. The DIRECTOR must be at least 21 years old.
4. All staff members hsould possess the following qualities:

   An Interest in children and the ability to enjoy working with them

   The ability to discern the feelings and needs of children.

   Must posess dependability, consistency, and good judgement in handling emergency situations promptly and intelligently

   EACH MEMBER OF THE STAFF MUST HAVE A HEALTH CERTIFICATE STATING THAT SHE IS FREE FROM COMMUNICABLE DISEASES The report must contain a chest X-Ray. A staff member returning after 5 day or more must bring s atatement from a licensed physician concerning her ability to return to work.

Decisions [illegible]
P. O. Box A
Bricks, North Carolina

PARENTS' APPLICATION FORM

Child's Name ____________________ Birthdate ____________

Name by which child is most often called ____________________

Address ____________________ Telephone No. ____________

Are both parents at home? ____________________

Father's name ____________________

Where employed ____________________ Business Phone No. ____________

Mother's name ____________________

Where employed ____________________ Business Phone No. ____________

If neither father or mother may be reached in an emergency, call ____________

____________________ Phone No. ____________

Name of Child's Doctor ____________________ Phone No. ____________

Name of Dentist ____________________ Phone No. ____________

Hospital preference ____________________

Has your child had previous experience in all day group care? ____________

List other children in family giving name, sex and age ____________

____

(The back of this sheet may be used for the children's names.)

List other adults in family (tell what relation they are to the child) ________

____

Does your child have any known allergies? ____________________

Has your child had measles? ________ German measles? ________ Mumps? ________

Chicken pox? ________ Whooping cough? ________

Please give any information concerning your child which may be helpful in his experience in group living (such as play, eating, sleeping habits, fears, likes and dislikes, etc.) ____________________

____

____

Note: The application must be sent with a signed medical statement.

Parents' agreement: I shall strive to cooperate with the Director and follow the Day Care rules.

PARENT'S SIGNATURE ____________________

If emergency care becomes necessary, I hereby give permission for my child to receive such treatment as required by the physician.

PARENT'S SIGNATURE ____________________

MEDICAL INFORMATION

REQUIRED FOR CHILDREN BEING ACCEPTED IN DAY CARE

Child's Name________________________ Parents' Name________________________

Birth Date__________________ Address____________________________________

General Appearance:

Head -

Eyes -

Ears -

Nose - Adenoids - Tonsils -

Throat -

Heart -

Lungs -

Abdomen -

Extremities -

Genitalia -

Congenital Malformation -

Behavioral Characteristics -

Sleeping Habits -

Convulsions -

Allergies -

Drug Sensitives -

Stool -

INOCULATIONS (Circle the number of inoculations received under each disease)

Whooping Cough	1	2	3	4	5
Diphtheria	1	2	3	4	5
Tetanus	1	2	3	4	5
Polio	1	2	3	4	5
Small Pox	Successful			Not successful	

I RECOMMEND THIS CHILD FOR DAY CARE. Yes______ No______

____
Physician's Signature

Date____________________, 19_____

GENERAL CATEGORIES of INFORMATION in the Library of the FREEDOM INFORMATION SERVICE - November 1965

I. Newspaper clipping files

Mississippi by Counties

United States except Mississippi

Other Nations

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Council of Federated Organizations

Freedom Democratic Party

Economy

- Agriculture*, Ag. Legislation, ASCS*, FHA*
- Birth Control
- Cooperatives*
- Economy*- MIssissippi (14 categories)
  - " - South
  - " - Taxes
  - " - United States
- Employment*-Unemployment; Employment Discrimination*
- European Economic Community
- Federal Programs - General
- Job Training*
- Labor and Civil Rights
- Mississippi Economic Council*
- Mississippi Freedom Labor Union*
- Poor Peoples Corporation*
- Poverty*
- Poverty Programs*
- Project Headstart*; Child Development Group of Mississippi*
- Right-to-Work
- Self-Help
- Unions*
- Welfare*

The Movement

- Civil Rights
- Civil Rights in Mississippi
- Communism and Socialism
- Education
- Free Speech
- Media
- Negroes and Negro History
- Peace
- Politics
- Protest
- Miscellaneous

(Each clip file category has many separate folders, filling ten file drawers altogether.)

The System

- Mississippi Culture and Government
- Racism
- Right-Wing Politics
- United States Culture and Government

II. Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals

The Economy

- those categories starred* under Economy above; also
- Small Business Administration
- Health
- Housing
- Education
- Consumer Education

The System

- Congressional Record and Index
- Federal Register
- United States Government
- International Relations
- Latin America
- Europe and Asia
- United States History
- Political Theory
- Constitutions
- Law
- Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, et al
- Political Biographies
- Voting and Elections
- Right-Wing Groups

The Movement

- Areas (South, Mississippi, Africa, Viet Nam)
- Negro history
- Race
- Biographies
- Literature by and about Negroes
- The Movement
- Arms and Peace
- NonViolence
- Civil Liberties
- Education
- Movement Periodicals

III. Bibliographies

IV. Miscellaneous periodicals

V. Miscellaneous Paperback Books

Freedom Information Service
P.O. Box 366
Edwards, Mississippi 39066

PUBLICATIONS of the FREEDOM INFORMATION SERVICE
as of January 21, 1966

for A.S.C.S. Campaign - Request of state FDP

- A.S.C.S. Organizers Handbook
- Nominating Petition
- "Are You a Farmer" pamphlet
- "If you Farm, You Can Vote" filmstrip with script
- Workshop announcements
- Report on Meeting at State ASCS Office
- Summary of A.S.C.S. Campaigns in Mississippi, county by county
- A.S.C.S. Farm Programs
- How to Get Information to the People Over the Radio
  (Also distributed several government publications and a pamphlet prepared in Clay County, Miss.)

for S.C.L.C.-Delta Ministry Workshop for Natchez teenagers

- What You Should Know About Negro History
- Mississippi Power Structure (reprinted from COFO Freedom School Curriculum, Summer 1964)
- Natchez Political Handbook
- Why We Need a Political Party to Fight for Our Freedom (by Bill Ware of Natchez)
- Discussion outline on Welfare
- Techniques of Voter Registration Field Work (adapted from Mississippi: Handbook for Political Programs, COFO)

Bolivar County Political Handbook
Proposal for the Freedom Information Service
Public Welfare in Mississippi
Walthall County Political Handbook
Weekly News Summaries - phoned to WAAF Radio, Chicago

Tapes and Transcripts

- Natchez Laundry Workers Strike
- Delta Leather Workshop
- A Legalized System of Brutality - Mississippi Justice (discussion among civil rights lawyers)

for S.C.L.C.- D.M. - F.D.P. adult citizenship workshops at Waveland, Miss., and Mt. Beulah Center, Edwards

- Mississippi Political Handbook
- Mississippi Political Calendar
  (Also several previously prepared materials)
- Obtained a film

REQUESTS NOW BEING FILLED

Carroll County Political Handbook
Research and materials on new food distribution program and protest opportunities - for cooperative effort
reprinting of several publications for new areas

TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

12:05 P.M.
January 29, 1966

Dear Mr. President:

We have suffering people all over the State of Mississippi. We have hungry people. We have needy people. We have people without homes. Commodities will not meet our needs. What we need is financial support to help these people live until we can work out some way to take care of ourselves. We cannot see where our welfare has been considered in any of the recently enacted poverty programs. We feel that the money for the poverty programs is not getting into the poor people's hands. We see that we will have to solve our own problems. We need financial support to get started.

There are 700 of us gathered here at the Mt. Beulah-Delta Ministry Conference Center at Edwards, Mississippi, trying to see what we can plan together with what we have. Many of us have nothing but ourselves - our bodies. We have lived in a system which has not provided for our displacement as the world has advanced in the mechanical age. From one county we have 65 families who have been put off the plantation with no place to go. We have many families in other counties as well who are faced with the same problem.

We need land on which to build houses, grow foods such as vegetables, hogs, cows, chickens, potatoes, peas, corn, and all the foods necessary to make healthy bodies and minds. We need money to buy materials to build houses.

We need some means of providing mothers some type of training to enable them to earn a living for themselves and their children. We want to be given an opportunity to train these children in childhood and lay a foundation for a better civilization, since children are our future hope and greatest asset.

We don't want charity. We are willing to work for ourselves if given a chance. We need help to get started NOW. We are waiting here at Mt. Beulah for your immediate reply and entreat you not to leave us - is our prayer.

Lawrence Guyot, Chairman MFDP

Rev. Arthur Thomas, Director,
Delta Ministry

And All Others Present
at Mt. Beulah

Isaac Foster, Mississippi Freedom
Labor Union

The Delta Democrat-Times

Copyright 1965 by the Times Publishing Co 201 Main Street, Greenville, Miss.

Greenville, Mississippi Friday, February 11, 1966

Challenge In The Delta (3)

Very Young, Very Old Facing Joblessness

By John Childs

A 60-year-old man slumped quietly on the wooden steps of his three-room tenant house. He was wondering how he was going to feed his 37-year-old wife, their 10 children and two grandchildren, all under 12 years old.

In a nearby small town, a 56-year-old widow shook the empty lard can she uses to store her food and worried how she would feed her children when the commodities give out this spring.

They were two of possibly 20,000 Delta farm hands who may lose their jobs as cotton pickers and choppers this year as the result of a reduction in cotton acreage under the new farm bill and the continuing encroachment of machinery and chemicals on hand labor.

* * *

BOTH had been out of work since the end of the picking season, which is the usual thing. Neither of them will be needed this spring, which is not.

The old man is one of the few on-farm workers laid off by the cut back. He will probably be permitted to remain on the place and whatever chopping and hand picking is done he and his family will get first crack at it.

The woman is among thousands of day-haul laborers who may never be called back.

They and their children, and in a good many cases their grandchildren, are part of what the Mississippi Employment Security Commission has called Mississippi's "grand work force—made up of grandchildren and grandparents."

* * *

ACCORDING to an MESC report the day-haul crews consisted in 1964 "mostly of women, elderly males and very young workers when schools were not in session."

* * *

"**MALE** workers between 20 and 40 years of age were and are a rarity in the day-haul crews," it said.

"Therefore this work force could not with any reasonable degree of success be absorbed into non-agricultural employment," the report stated, further pointing out that "the non-agricultural employment is not expanding sufficiently to take care of the loss" in farm jobs.

The report indicates that the day-haul force has been depleted of young males which might be desirable to industry.

Much of the loss in farm jobs had previously been compensated by migration of farm hands to other states, chiefly to other Southern states and Illinois, New York and Ohio.

The day-haul labor force in 1964 was composed primarily, however, of women with home responsibilities, children and old men. None of these people in these groups are likely to migrate to other areas in any sizeable numbers, the report said.

* * *

THIS means that the Mississippi Delta is faced with the prospect of having in its midst this spring and summer, if not sooner, about 20,000 Negro children and elders who have lost all or a great part of their normal income. Most of the elders are for all practical purposes untrainable for new jobs.

A number of Delta farmers and the MESC have noted that virtually none of them are immediately trainable and few are likely to find other jobs without training.

All agricultural experts and public officials interviewed have laid heavy stress upon the need for training the young members of the families of cotton choppers and pickers for mechanized farming as well as industrial jobs.

The shortage of able-bodied young men among the day-haul crews can be largely attributed to the high migration rate for persons in that category. They have left, and left behind them the problem of providing for the young and the old.

Between 1950 and 1960, there was a decrease of 71,107 (22 per cent) in rural Negroes in 17 Delta counties.

During that period Negroes under 19 or over 55 years old increased from 62 per cent of the total to 71 per cent of the total. The more productive 20 to 54 year age group of the rural Negroes decreased during the period from 38 to 29 per cent.

* * *

AND as the rural, able-bodied Negroes left the Delta to look for other jobs, the old folk and the children straggled in to town to the extent that 97% of the increase of urban Delta Negroes was in this class. They needed to augment whatever income they found with the hoe in the spring and their hands in the fall.

One of the county's largest cotton planters has pictured the hoe hand as someone who has moved to town from the country, hoes and picks four months a year and earns from $500 to $700 annually. In many cases he receives some welfare, he said.

He speculates that those people over 30 in the day-haul ranks will probably be on welfare for the rest of their lives.

(The next article in the series will deal with the expected impact upon the community of the cotton allotment cut back.)

Draft

A PROPOSAL FOR
A COOPERATIVE ACTION PROGRAM
FOR SOUTHERN LOW-INCOME GROUPS

Although the United States is by far the most highly developed nation in the world some regions are undeveloped relative to others. This is true in the degree of industrialization, per capita income and wealth, and general levels of education and health and housing. At least one region in the United States is underdeveloped in all these areas -- The South.

Statistically speaking the South is not a pretty place. Forty-four per cent of the poverty in the United States is found in the South. Close to five families out of every ten are poor. Twenty-nine of the thirty poorest congressional districts are in the South. Per capita income in this region is 600 dollars lower than the national average. Thirty-five per cent of the housing is classed as dilapidated. An appalling proportion of people in the rural South have so little formal education that they may be presumed to be functionally illiterate. Forty-six per cent of southern rural whites and 82% of southern rural Negroes aged 25 or over have completed fewer than eight years of formal schooling.

Poverty in the South is unique in several ways. Forty-one per cent of its population is classified as rural -- the largest rural population of any region in the United States. Almost one of every two poor persons in the South is Negro. Put another way, nine million of 11,600,000 southern Negroes are living in poverty, a percentage reaching close to 80%, nearly double that of southern whites. A previously "disguised unemployment" in low-income agriculture is coming out into the open as farm mechanization makes cotton choppers obsolete. This also affects the migration rate from the rural farming areas to the cities of the North and, more and more, to the cities of the South. This migration has been, in the past, largely a migration of unemployment as under-educated men moved out of areas where opportunities are least to areas that seemed to hold out somewhat less hopelessness. The fact that riots have become commonplace in our northern cities is evidence that opportunities were not plentiful there either.

Although the following proposal does not concern itself with the entire South but only with the three states that make up a large part of the Black Belt, the problems of the South as a region are in many ways magnified and accented in these three states.

In her paper, "Human Inequalities and Southern Underdevelopment," Mary Jean Bowman said that "the key to development is man, provided that this statement is interpreted broadly enough. And that certainly this is true of economic as well as political development among southern states of the United States." This concern with the development of man is further emphasized by Danhof in an essay citing study of undeveloped countries which concludes that the major problems of undeveloped countries are not economic but the political structure, the education process, and the underlying value system. Dunhof says, "Throughout it has remained true that the economy of the South has evolved as the capabilities of its citizens to respond to their environment has been enhanced. That experience suggests that persistent adherence to the fundamental task of upgrading human capabilities is the region's best guarantee of continued growth."

The problem, in part then, is one of under-education and racial discrimination. It also includes a desperate economic situation. The three states this proposal is mainly concerned with--Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama--demonstrate this dilemma. According to the 1960 census figures 44.7% of the whites and 79.6% of the Negroes living in these three states had incomes of less than $2000/year. The current trend towards complete mechanization of farms has brought actual crisis to the rural areas of these states, especially Mississippi. This crisis can be best understood by considering that for every 1000 acres of cotton that is mechanized and chemically weeded, a "surplus" of 50 rural families is created. The Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 knocked out 1/3 of 925,000 cotton acres in the Mississippi Delta area alone. Said another way, this cut in cotton acreage caused about 15,400 "surplus" families. Where these families will live and what they will do to earn a living are two of the most important questions that can be asked of the South--and of the nation. As yet, they stand unanswered.

What then, in the face of the immensity of the problems confronting the South, can a progran, such as the one proposed in the following page, hope to achieve? Here is an attempt to answer that question:

The problem as it has been described in the preceding paragraphs is one of undeveloped human potential, racial discrimination and poverty. add A majority of programs endeavor to solve the problem with separate programs. Adult education programs, human relations

Page 3. after (racial discrimination and poverty.) "insert" ...~~[illegible]~~

problems which combined mean that ~~the~~ people who suffer them have very little,if any, control over events ~~that~~ concerning their daily lives.

page 4 after (inthe scope of one program) The reasons for this conviction ~~are rooted~~ are the ~~variety of~~ numerous positive features found in cooperativies:

~~-666-~~ co-ops can be an excellent organizing tool . They give people the opportunity to work as a group on common interest problems, and most importantly, the people,themselves, ~~[illegible]~~ make the decisions of the group.

----- co-ops offer people the chance to participate in good-sized businesses. Again, that means making decisions about ~~events~~ planning for the future, handling ~~large amounts~~ loans of considerable size, ~~and~~ etc. ----things poor people never do because they never have the opportunity to make these decisions as indivuduals.

---- co-ops, with their one man - one vote provision~~s~~, offer members an excellent opportuntiy to "participate" in a democratic organization.

----- coops, especially those growing out of educat on and study groups, help expand their members confidence, ability to paln ahead, and to "think big", using direct self interest issues as motivation.

~~Not Not every co-op~~
~~But these positive features of cooperatives don't automatically appear in all coops~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Co-ops offer but don't guarantee these positive feautures. They come about as the result of education programs, technical assistance, and good organization, all of which must fit the needs of the people involved. Out of the experience gained from having seen co-ops with the positive features ~~listed~~ just mentioned and ~~from~~ also from having observed cooperatives formed as acts of desperation without organizing help, or any technical and educational assistance, the following list of general, educational and techanical needs of ~~low-income~~ groups of low-income southerners, primarily Negroes, has been compiled. We believe any cooperative eduaction~~s~~ and development progrma attempted in the South must be centered around these needs if it is to achieve success.

courses, and community organization efforts are scattered across the South. They have achieved varying levels of success. Often, however, the persons in the adult education program cannot see what good it will do him to learn to read and write--from an economic stand point. Human relation courses are prone to be artificial--Why, for instance, learn to work together, if you remain trapped in poverty. And community organization efforts have shown that it is very hard to get the poor working together, -- they can unite as a minority against an external group, but they have little experience in working together for common group gains.

The people involved in organizing co-operatives involving poor southern people over the past few years, and many of the members of these co-ops, are convinced that cooperatives offer a way to attack these--educational, personal and economic problems within the scope of one program.

Hold

~~The reasons for this conviction have their foundation in the awareness of the people involved in existing cooperatives of the general, technical, and educational needs of these groups.~~

THE GENERAL NEEDS

1. Illiteracy and semi-literacy are major problems which hold back the formation of most organizations, including co-ops, and keep them from operating properly. A major part of any co-op development program must concern itself with basic literacy.
2. It is very hard to get the poor working together except against an external group. A group organized around the issue of police brutality, for example, seems to quickly fall apart, once certain gains are made or the issue ceases to be dramatic. By organizing around economic issues using a cooperative structure, individual members of the group can sense gains

page 5 # 3 after (they can do things themselves) ~~This, of course again~~ This again, is the basic problem of dependency that poor people suffer in nearly every phase of their lives. A central theme of this proposed program is that co-ops offer a tool that can be used to ~~px~~ break this dependency cysle -- first psychologically and eventually economically.

(Electing etc..............)

John
Cubill call
4: Pm

JOHN LEWIS:

WEDNESDAY

LEAVE ATLANTA JANUARY 17 at 4:20 p.m., - DELTA

828 - - ARRIVE CHARLOTTE 5:05 p.m.

SATURDAY

LEAVE CHARLOTTE JANUARY 20 at 2:35 p.m., DELTA

515 - - ARRIVE ATLANTA 3:28

at the same time the group makes gains. As we see it, the co-op remains flexible enough to work on a variety of community problems as a group, having the "steady" economic issue to hold it together. For these reasons we view the co-op mainly as a tool.

3. People, especially poor people, need to prove to themselves that they can do things themselves. add ~~We feel that~~ Electing your own officers, selecting your own manager, running your own business and planning for its expansion, all help to develop the self confidence of individual members of a co-op. This also helps to increase the confidence of the members in their organization-- Our program will adhere to the principal that, "nothing should be done that the people can do themselves," in order to best meet the fore-stated needs.

add

4. A fundamental need is for an initial study period before a co-op is formed. All prespective members should know exactly what they are doing and why. Feasibility studies should be done by the group of potential members for the twin reasons of economic best use + beginning their involvement in building the co-op in order to make the best possible use of a cooperative. By beginning by studying the problems and searching for solutions to them ~~the issue of~~ education in the minds of the members becomes central to the strength of the co-op. Responsibilities of members, forces in the community that effect the co-op, expansion of the cooperative and control of it are obvious avenues of extension for this study group as the cooperative progresses. Thus, members find basic + coop education as well as tech. training that ~~it is~~ a necessity to ~~be able to read and to write if the~~ for the success of this co-op. ~~is to be a true success and~~ Here education + training can begin to share the central position originally enjoyed only by the economic issue.

THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS:

1. The educational program must fit the local situation. The

page #5 # 4. A fundamental need is for an intial study period before a co-op is formed. All prosepective members should know exactly what they are doing and why. Feasibility studies should be done by the group of potential members for the twin reasons of making best possible economic use of the cooperative and ~~for the even more~~, equally important, to invovle the potential members in the formation of the co-op from the very beginning. By beginning by studying the problems and searching for solutions to them, education becomes an important issue in the minds of the members regarding the strength of their cooperative. Responsibilites, of members, forces in the community that effect the cooperative, and the expansion ~~of the co-op~~ and the control of ~~it~~ the co-op, are obvious avenues of extension for this study group as the cooperative progresses. Thus, members find basic and co-op education and technical training to be necessary for the success of their cooperative. As a result of this education and training can begin to share the central motivation position ~~orig of motivation~~ originally enjoyed only by the economic issue.

education of co-op members or prospective members must be around the problems as they arise and are recognized by the people, and not be the general theoretical training one expects from a training institute. If all the problems that might confront a co-op are laid out in front of prospective members in an abstractly prepared program, it will likely scare the people away. However, if the"source" for assistance is near the beginning co-op giving assistance as each new problem arises, the group will gain strength from each problem faced and overcome. Too much education can be forced too soon.

This proposal calls for 20-25 field workers well-trained in cooperative principles to work with the co-op as it develops, acting as the "source" from which they can get assistance. Details of the functions of the field workers are found in the section of this proposal under Staff.

2. Education must be designed to bring about continued active participation in the activities of the co-op, and therefore, by extension, in the ~~the~~ activities of the community. The members must learn to use, ~~and~~ support & control their co-op, rather than to just join and gain the economic benefit. The education program must be concerned with keeping the groups together working and growing. It must make members realize that not just economic problems can be attacked by a group of people, but other vital issues as well. Past experience with low-income co-ops has led us to stress in this proposal the ~~fringe~~ benefits that can be brought about with a good education program.

3. Special training and educational materials need to be developed which meet the special needs of the people involved. These materials should come out of co-op organizing situations. Local idioms and speech rhythms should be used in the written materials.

?

page 7

#3 after (as the featured characters) Heavy emphasis will be placed on the development of these "new" audio-visual materials because there is no tradition of reading to learn specific information, and, of course, the reading skills of many who will ~~not~~ be invovled are very limited. "New" ~~audio~~ film strips, tapes, etc. need to be created becuase materials generally available don't deal with the problems in the southern context. In order to communicate the ideas people will have to see "themselves" and hear their neighbors do and say the ideas. Otherwise a film is just a form of entertainment, not a true learning experience.

Heavy emphasis ought to be placed on the development of new audio-visual materials as there is little tradition of reading in order to learn specific information and because the reading skills of most of the people who will use these materials is very limited. Movies, film strips, tapes, picture stories, cartoons, charts, etc., need to be developed. using the people involved as the featured characters. add

If ~~the individ~~ members are going to control their own co-ops

4. The education program should not put too much emphasis on the education and training of only leaders. To the greatest extent possible training and education should be taken to the entire community and be made available to all interested persons. Only in this way can the unfortunate situation of being forced to arbitrarily, select "leaders" be avoided. Also, if "leaders" are removed from the community for training it, of course, by necessity removes them from an area where their presence may be continuously needed at the same time, "away" training can give "leaders" unfair advantage over other members of the community.

This proposal attempts to meet this need by taking all the training and education programs possible to the entire community through the field staff and co-op experts from the central staff, as well as needed consultants. Mobile units (maybe in station wagons) could visit in given areas giving week-long institutes in the communities, training all interested persons in management, principles of co-ops, duties of Boards of Directors, etc. This could take place in the evening while the days could be used to give intensive training to the full-time workers in the co-ops.

5. [illegible]

TECHNICAL NEEDS

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1. The need to develop markets and marketing skills is critical for any production-type co-op.
2. Assistance in planning future expansion, crop diversification, accounting procedures, modern business methods, etc. is needed.
3. The securing of credit is often a major problem for beginning low-income co-ops. To whom to apply, how to apply, the cost of the loan, the making of the application, etc. - all require technical help, when doing it for the first time.
4. The need for technical help is actually endless. Because of the great variety of assistance needed by different type co-ops this proposal has requested a considerable sum of money in order to employ consultants as the specific needs arise. We feel large sums of money can be saved in this way while still providing the needed services.
5. Many of the individual needs of co-op members can be met by their community agencies. However, the services supplied by federal agencies supposedly dedicated to ridding the nation of poverty have, in the past, been disappointing. These agencies range from the USDA's Cooperative Extension Service to the city welfare agency.

   The experiences of existing low-income co-ops in being able to exact equal service from these and similar agencies is encouraging. Although organized around economic needs, co-ops can function extremely well, as pressure groups to help bring about desperately needed changes in the social and political situations of communities. This "multiplier effect" on community service agencies and the similar effect cooperatives have on the people who build and own them are essential strengths of this proposal.

SUMMARY

An attempt has been made to briefly describe the immensity of the problems facing the South, and especially low-income southerners. The need for economic independence, security, low interest credit, education, and the necessity for poor people to stand together as the only way to stand at all were emphasized.

This proposal is asking for money to demonstrate that cooperative organizations can be used as a tool to fight the many causes of poverty. Many of those responsible for this proposal ~~feel that~~ have seen co-ops made up of southern poor people ~~have~~ creat alternatives to and ways to get around the"power structure" institutions, existing policies and in some cases, present social and racial attitudes. These people, experienced in the organization and operation of cooperatives, have witnessed t the ability of co-ops to give poor people,and especially Negroes, the confidence and the consciousness that they can succeed in doing and building for themselves, the type of confidence needed for making decisions concerning one's own future.

Although the situation of many poor southerners, black and white, is one of desperation, the writers of this proposal understand they have no alternative but ~~to heed the request and~~ to demonstrate what good co-op organization can do on a larger scale, than has previously been possible. The proposed program will not try to oversell co-ops. Their limits will be kept clearly in perspective-that co-ops are businesses first and must be run on sound business principles. A large portion of the program is to bring the necessary technical and management skills to existing co-ops to help make them business successes.

The program should not, however, get so involved with existing co-ops that it ignores the possibilities of dynamic growth and expansion.

Disregard + type

~~Long range goals of this proposal include plans for a~~ federation made up of low-income co-ops across the southern region. This federation would eventually carry on its own education and training programs using its own funds received from its members to do so. Expand

~~[illegible]~~

THE NATIONAL OBSERVER

Monday, February 21, 1966

Delta Negroes Want to Build Their Own City

Their Jobs on Plantations Give Way to Machines; They Accuse 'The Man'

EDWARDS, MISS.

"We are trying to develop a new life for us poor folks," Mrs. Ida Mae Lawrence says. "How, I don't know 'cause we ain't got nothin'. Mostly we need land."

Sitting in the dining hall of the Mount Beulah Delta Ministry near this small Mississippi town, Mrs. Lawrence leaned her head against the palm of her hand. "It will be something we can control ourselves and not have a lot of white people telling us what to do and how much they'll pay us."

Sitting beside Mrs. Lawrence, Annie Hartfield clasped her callused black hands and her sunken eyes stared at the room's rough wooden floor. "The Man didn't want me. Once the acreage got cut he didn't need me. There wasn't nothing for me to do. I really need somebody's help 'cause I ain't got nothin' but a husband and three kids."

Here at Mount Beulah, headquarters for the Delta Ministry, the National Council of Churches' civil-rights effort in Mississippi, there's a lot of talk about building a new life for the impoverished Negroes being uprooted from their plantation shacks by farm mechanization, increased use of chemical weed killers, and cutbacks in cotton production.

The 'Poor People's Conference'

Mrs. Lawrence is one of the three elected leaders of the Poor People's Conference, the group of impoverished Negroes who, with civil-rights workers, entered a deactivated Air Force base near Greenville, Miss., three weeks ago. The group demanded the Federal Government provide them with food, job training, and land. Air Force police, called from bases as far away as Denver, evicted the group. But the incident focused national attention on the plight of Negro plantation workers in the Mississippi Delta.

"Greenville dramatized to the people who were represented there that Washington had not heard them and was not able to deal with them in their needs responsibly," says the Rev. Arthur Thomas, director of the Delta Ministry. "It dramatized to Washington and the country these same things and that these people were no longer going to continue a dependency relationship."

Spending Time at Strike City

The disenchantment of the civil-rights workers and the Negro activitists who make up the Poor People's Conference is obvious. "If President Johnson mean all those sweet words he says, like 'We shall overcome,' he wouldn't have done what he done at Greenville," Mrs. Lawrence says.

The idea of entering the air base had been conceived at a meeting of 700 people at Mount Beulah in January. After their eviction from the base, they spent a few days at Strike City, a tent community set up by a group of other Negroes who were fired last summer after they asked their plantation owner for higher wages. After Strike City, the members of the Poor People's Conference set up their own tent city in Issaquena County, south of Greenville. They were forced back to Mount Beulah by heavy rains last week.

"Them people [other poor Negroes] on the plantations ain't satisfied but they ain't got no place to go," Mrs. Lawrence says. "Once the word gets 'round there's a place for them they'll come running to us."

The Negroes' first goal is to buy land. Toward this end they've already issued an appeal for funds and sent members of their group into four Mississippi counties to look for possible sites. Their plan is to set up their own community. Some members talk of farming the land, others are interested in setting up some form of light manufacturing such as handicrafts or a sewing or leather-working plant.

The Rev. Mr. Thomas, a short, slender Methodist minister from Durham, N.C., who directs a staff of 50 civil-rights workers operating in the 18 Delta counties, insists the poor Negroes are making their own decisions and plans, Looking exhausted from the previous night's meetings, he sat one morning last week clutching a coffee cup and occasionally rubbing a day's growth of brown beard.

'A Citizen of Two Worlds'

"It's not a closed group. They feel they are acting on behalf of people still trapped on the plantation," he says. "They want enough land so they can attract others to join them. It's a good old theological concept," he says of the Negroes' thinking. "You're a citizen of two worlds. You're a citizen of Caesar's world and a citizen of the New Kingdom. You render unto Caesar what is Caesar's. You buy your Mississippi license tags and pay your taxes. Then you have your own free community with your own system within that community."

Whether the people gathered at Mount Beulah ever get the land they want, and the money to establish their own community, it is doubtful if more than a small percentage of the Negro farm workers who face unemployment could ever find shelter in the city they want to build or in similar communities.

"We're talking about tens of thousands of persons," William Seabron, representing Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman in Jackson, said. "Although we're here in Mississippi, the problem is elsewhere too. This is not a new situation, but the reason we are concerned about it today is the situation is getting worse."

A New Prosperity for Farmers

And this is happening at a time when the American farm owner is entering a period of hard-earned prosperity. "The farm economy is healthier today than at any time for more than a decade and it will continue to improve," Secretary Freeman told a gathering of cattlemen in Kansas City recently. "Farmers and ranchers are sharing more fully in the nation's prosperity than at any time in recent years."

But not the untrained and often totally illiterate farm hands whose forebears have hoed and picked Southern cotton for generations. Chemicals and mechanical cotton pickers in recent years have increasingly replaced the human hands that chop weeds and pluck bolls. The farm mechanization that has come to the Delta since the 1950s has torn more than 100,000 Negroes from their plantation shacks and sent them into Delta towns and Northern cities.

Those who remain on the plantation live in appalling poverty. The Agriculture Department 15 months ago estimated their median income at $456 a year. True, plantation owners provide housing, but these often are the cramped, weathered, and dilapidated shacks that dot the plantations of the Delta and much of the South. They often leak, and their yards become quagmires with the pelting February rains.

Negroes who chop weeds and hand-pick cotton are usually paid $3 a day for a 12-to-14-hour day. Tractor drivers, who also must have skills to make simple machine repairs, earn $6, sometimes up to $8, a day.

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Negro plantation workers usually earn no salary during the six months when their labors are not required. Instead, the plantation owner, "The Man" as he's called, advances them money on future wages. This year, as in recent years, The Man on many plantations is telling workers there'll be no need for them this spring. Often these Negroes are told they can remain in their shacks, but this provides little comfort for a man without money to feed his family.

"The majority of these people on farms have 5, 10, 12 children," says Mrs. Unita Blackwell, an official of the militant Freedom Democratic Party.

"It's a matter of economics," says Ralph W. Alewine of the Mississippi Employment Security Commission. "It depends on how much the growers have to pay workers to pick cotton. When it costs too much they go to machines."

Fifteen years ago, cotton sold for 40 cents a pound. Today, with price supports, American growers get 30 cents a pound, about 7 cents above the world market. And with price supports have come acreage reductions. U.S. cotton growers raised 28,000,000 acres in 1953, but only 16,000,000 acres last year. This figure is expected to be cut by about one-third in 1966 because of provisions in the 1965 farm bill.

'The Man' and Lost Jobs

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The Old Man-Mule System

"The farmer has been caught in a vicious squeeze because of the falling price of cotton and the increased cost of production," says B. F. Smith, executive vice president of the Delta Council, an agricultural and industrial development group. "Under the old man-mule system it took 180 man hours to produce an acre of cotton. Today we've cut that to between 30 to 40. Our goal has been to reduce this to an absolute minimum. That would consist of just your machinery operator."

The failure of both the Federal Government and the State of Mississippi to provide for the displaced farm workers galls civil-right leaders. "When you have a cut-back in acreage, the Government has programs to pay the grower—crop supports, indirect and direct subsidies," says the Rev. Mr. Thomas. "But the government hasn't dealt with the greater problem, the more complex problem, the tens of thousands of people displaced by mechanization."

No one can say exactly how many people will lose jobs as a result of the acreage reductions and increased mechanization on cotton plantations this year. Mr. Alewine reported last November that about 6,500 of the 26,000 tractor drivers employed in the delta last year would be out of jobs this spring. Further, he estimated that growers would only need about half the 14,400 cotton choppers and 11,500 pickers used in 1965.

Last week, however, Mr. Alewine, apparently stung by the growing national concern about Negro farm employment in Mississippi, offered some new statistics.

Who Will Be in the Driver's Seat?

"Startling figures have been bandied about on the number of workers who may be jobless because of a shrinkage in labor demands," he reported in the Mississippi Farm Labor Letter. "Certainly, someone must operate the 50,000 tractors and the 4,000 mechanical cotton pickers estimated to be used in the Mississippi Delta."

There's general agreement, however, that the hardest hit group in terms of lost jobs will be what are called "day-haul" workers. These are seasonal employes who live in Delta towns. Many of them are workers forced off plantations by earlier work reductions. Many are between 40 and 65, ineligible under Mississippi law for any kind of welfare payments, incapable of being trained for any skilled or semi-skilled trades, and unlikely to find other jobs. Civil-rights workers and cotton growers differ on what effect this loss of employment will have.

Mr. Smith of the Delta Council says a large number of the day-haul workers have other employed persons in their families to support them. Many, he says, join the chopping crews because they like to. "There's a social atmosphere about it," he says. "It has happened in the past that people would lose their maids and household help because these people liked to enter into the crop participation."

Tell this to a civil-rights worker and you get a snort of derision. "These people chop cotton because they'd starve if they didn't," one says. "And if they lose their jobs some of them will."

"Mississippi lacks most of the social-welfare provisions that nearby Southern states have," says another.

The Weekly Payment—$2.50

Indeed, Mississippi makes no provision for welfare payments for anyone between the ages of 18 and 65, except the blind and disabled. A child whose parents are married and living together cannot get assistance if the parents are reasonably healthy. A child can receive welfare assistance if he has lost the support of one or both parents because of death, desertion, illness, non-marriage, or divorce, but these weekly payments average only $2.50.

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commission on the delta ministry

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york, n. y. 10027 telephone: 870-2456

bishop reuben h. mueller, president R. H. Edwin Espy, general secretary

February 22, 1966

TO: State Project Directors, Staff Workers & Organizers
FR: The Delta Ministry
RE: THE POOR PEOPLES CONFERENCE

Enclosed are leaflets for recruiting displaced families to the Poor Peoples Conference. If you are interested in recruiting, the following is important background information about the Conference and the Delta Ministry program.

A three-day planning session at Mount Beulah on January 28th gave birth to the Poor Peoples Conference - people who need food, land and jobs right now.They took action by staging a "live-in" at the abandoned Greenville Air Force Base. After the poor people were evicted from the base, they decided they needed land of their own.

Eight families are now living at Mount Beulah. They are buying land--land for all the poor people who want to join them. (Delta Ministry is helping them to raise money.)

Until they move onto their own land, the Delta Ministry has opened its facilities at Mount Beulah, free of charge, to house and feed those who want to come and permanently join the Poor Peoples Conference.

The group divided into committees. Most of the men are on the land committee. The women share various housekeeping jobs. There are classes for the children. Starting this week there will be a sewing center and a woodwork shop. Additional programs are being developed, for example a ceramics workshop. Every adult is expected to work in one of the programs.

When new families are recruited they will come to Mount Beulah.(If they have furniture it should be moved along with them.) The men will work on their land to make it livable. Until that is done, the women and children will continue to learn and work at Mount Beulah in various programs.

We ask only that you help in recruiting poor people who have no place to go and/or no adequate housing and jobs. Staff workers and organizers should not plan to live at Mount Beulah with the families.(Our limited space must be reserved for those we are all trying to help.)

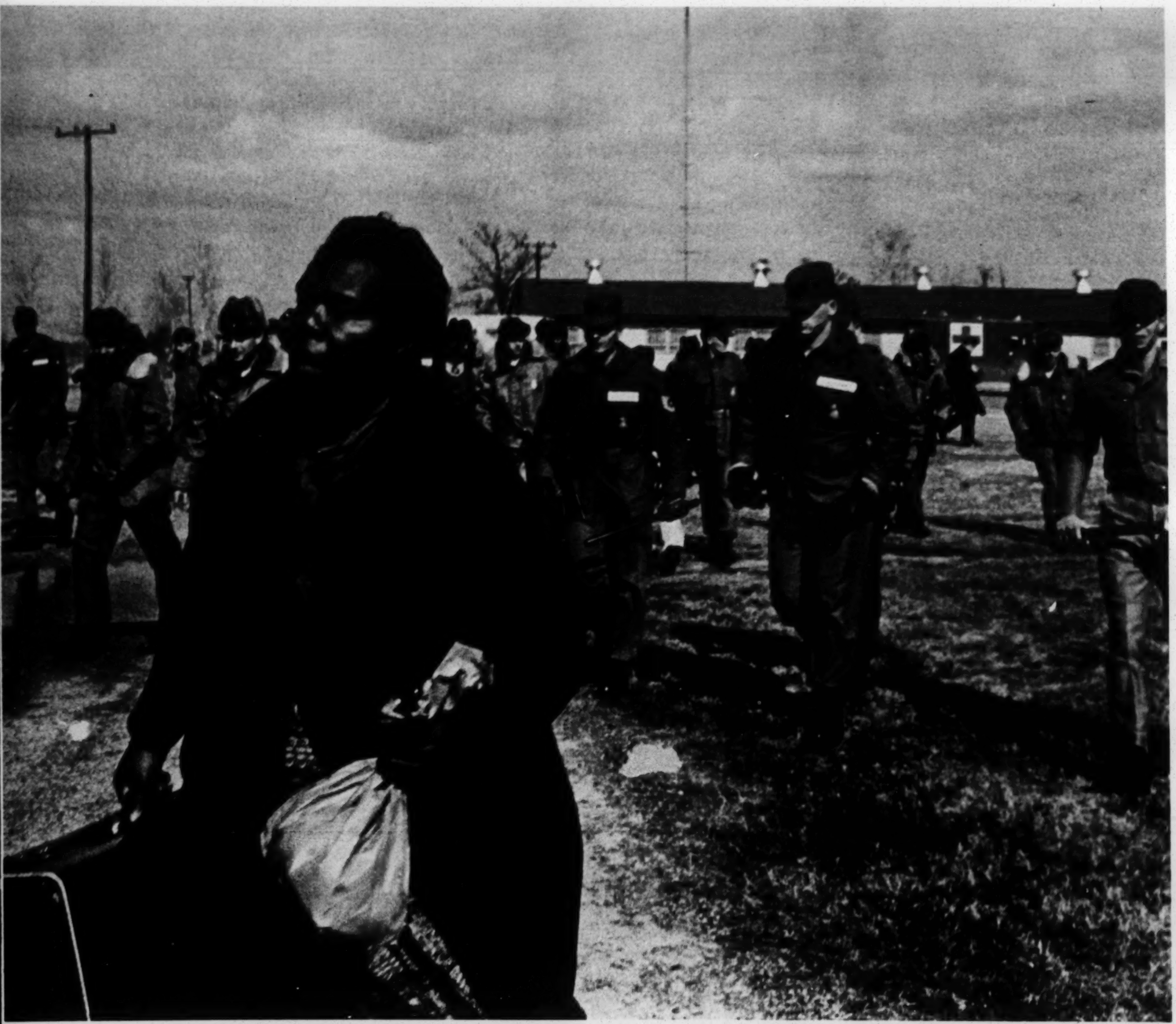
When you recruit people to join the program, you should immediately contact the switchboard at Mount Beulah (Edwards 852-2622) and give the following information: name of family(head), number in family, furniture, transportation (if any).

Freedom now

FEBRUARY, 1966

DELTA MINISTRY reports...

Commission on the Delta Ministry, National Council of Churches, Greenville, Mississippi 38702



Homeless again

Greenville air base: what happened, and why

At 6:45 a.m. on January 31, about 50 persons entered the long-dormant Air Force base at Greenville, Mississippi, and occupied an empty barracks building.

Thirty hours later, after confusion, ultimatums, interviews and threats, their number now grown to more than 70, they were carried out by 150 air police. A major general was in command.

To understand their action, and the involvement of Delta Ministry in it, you must know some geography, history, and politics:

THE DELTA

The northwest corner of Mississippi, a flat flood plain 200 miles long and 65 miles wide, contains some of the richest land in the world. It is all bottom land, 35 feet deep in many places.

The land is divided into large cotton plantations and a few smaller farms; 5% of the farmers own 50% of the land.

But the people who work the land -- Negro people living rent-free in shacks that sometimes date back to slave days -- don't share in the wealth this rich land produces.

Their median annual income, according to the Agriculture department, is $456.

Ninety per cent of their houses have neither an indoor toilet nor bathing facilities, and the chances that their babies will live to be a year old are less than half that of white babies in Mississippi.

And next year, many of them won't even be making $456. Because of mechanization and a one-third reduction in crop allotments, the state employment service estimates that 6,500 of the 26,000 tractor drivers living with their families on plantations in the Delta will not be needed to work next year.

That's approximately 30,000 people, jobless and homeless. But the threatened displacement of so many men, women and children has hardly made a ripple in government circles.

Congressman Joseph Resnick of New York visited the state in November, and wrote the Attorney General about the mass evictions:

"In spite of the fact that this potential human disaster is well known in Mississippi, not one single state or federal employee or agency has made plans to cope with the extremely unfortunate situation."

THE COMMODITIES

Congressman Resnick told the Attorney General about something that made the situation worse:

"These people will need temporary housing immediately to withstand a cold winter, with agricultural surplus foods delivered by federal authorities -- as state authorities will not distribute them through the normal welfare department procedures or permit other agencies to do it for them."

The Congressman had learned -- as those who live in Mississippi had long known -- that for people who are out of work six months each year, free federal surplus commodities may mean life instead of death.

Delta Ministry, early in its life, had seen how commodities were used to keep the people docile, to reward the "good" Negroes, or to encourage prospective voters to leave the state.

DM knew that only half of the 600,000 people who needed the food were getting it, and began in December of 1964, with the National Student Association, to negotiate with the Department of Agriculture to increase the availability of commodities.

Meetings went on through winter, spring, and summer, with little visible result. (Some counties with no food plan at all, fearful that Delta Ministry would be permitted to distribute surplus food, rushed into their own plans.)

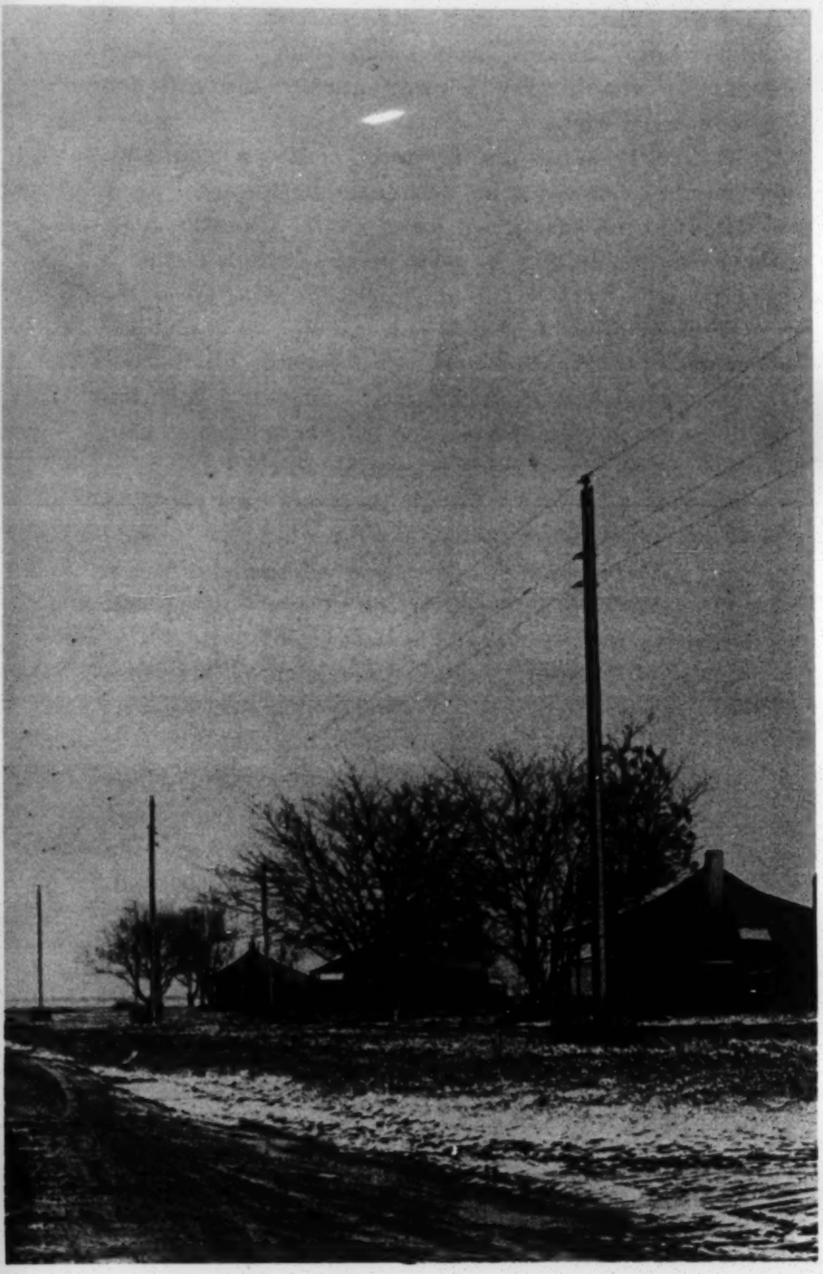
On September 15, in answer to a query from DM, Kenneth M. Birkhead, assistant to Agriculture Secretary Freeman, wrote: "The OEO assistance which will soon become available will help to get foods to an additional 500,000 needy in the state, and on a year-round basis."

But three weeks later, nothing had moved. Office of Economic Opportunity spokesman Richard Hausler denied DM charges of discrimination in distribution: "I've never heard of any charges of Negroes not getting food," he told a Washington Post reporter.

Here is a partial chronology of events in the following weeks:

November 18 -- New York Times reports the expected eviction of 6,500 families in the Delta.

November 19 -- Dr. Henry McCanna of the Na-



They make $456 a year, and more than 6,500 families will lose even these humble jobs before the winter ends

tional Council of Churches reminds Secretary Orville Freeman of 11 months of negotiations, and says: "We are very much concerned that now another winter is already upon us and we still see no evidence that the food will be forthcoming."

Late November -- Striking farm families from Tent City, who received commodities the previous year while working on a plantation, are told by Washington county welfare agents that they are no longer eligible.

November 23 -- State officials sign a contract with OEO and Department of Agriculture (USDA) for a six-month "Operation Help" -- the experimental commodities program promised "soon" by Mr. Birkhead in September -- and agree to implement it within 60 days. The plan includes hiring nearly 500 poor people to help give out the food.

December 9 -- Secretary Freeman assures Delta Ministry that money will be available "soon" for Operation Help, and states: "The Mississippi welfare agency estimates that as many as 500,000 more needy persons will be added to the regular winter case load of about 300,000."

January 4 -- The Washington County welfare agent brings the proposal before the county board, pointing out that roughly 1/3 of the people in the county live on the commodities in the winter. The newspaper says: "The supervisors were generally receptive to the idea with the understanding that there would be no additional cost to the county" -- and delayed any action on the proposal.

January 15 -- The Lee County welfare agent tells supervisors that Operation Help would allow quicker response to need: "Currently there is a six-month waiting period in effect after the application is made."

January 20 -- Negro people go to the Clarke County welfare office in Quitman to ask about the new program. The agent says she doesn't know anything about it. She finally admits she does know, but doesn't intend to hire any Negroes.

January 22 -- It snows for the third time in a week; temperature drops to 18 degrees.

January 24 -- Freedom Democratic Party, the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, and Delta Ministry issue a call to "all the poor people in the state" to come to a planning conference to figure out how to get food, jobs, and homes.

January 29 -- Seven hundred people meet at Mount Beulah, the DM conference grounds. They decide to call themselves the "Poor Peoples Conference," and they send a telegram to President Johnson, expressing disillusionment with federal programs.

January 30 -- Word comes to the meeting that two elderly Negroes have frozen to death in a Delta plantation shack. Discussion continues on ways to buy land on which to build a "New City" -- a place which provides not only jobs and shelter, but a chance for dignity and self-determination. Plans also include a way to dramatize to the nation the plight of Mississippi's poor.

THE "LIVE-IN"

Greenville Air Force Base, closed for more than a year, is 2000 acres of well-manicured lawn, run-ways used as the municipal airport, and more than 300 carefully tended empty buildings.

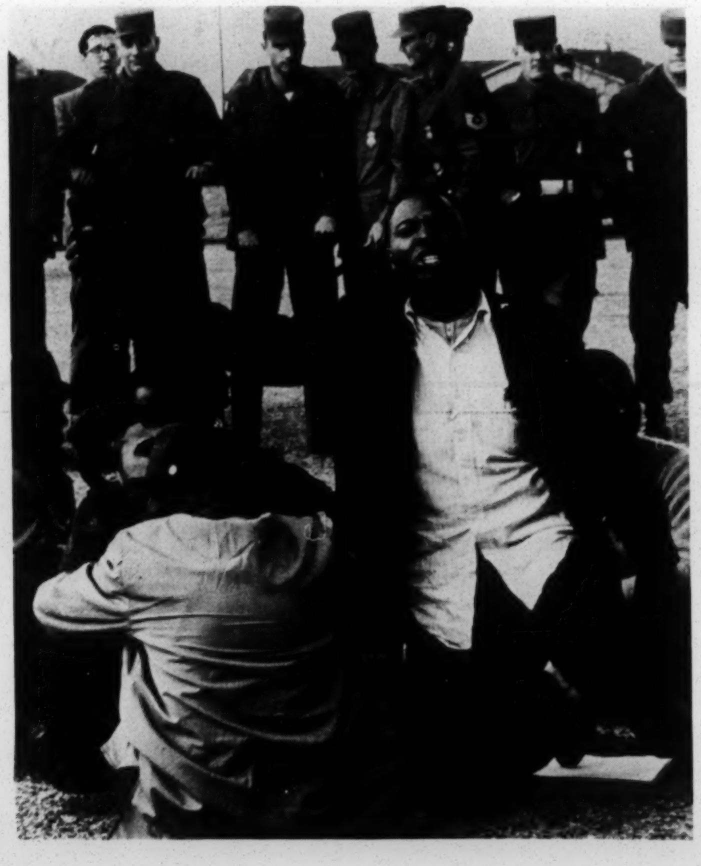
A few of the buildings will soon be used for a Manpower Training School; the rest sit empty, as they have since the day the base closed.

It was a surprised guard who waved the caravan of four cars past the entry gate at 6:45 a.m. on January 31, and then watched the people jump from the cars and run into the first building -- a former officers' club.

The action was described as a civil rights demonstration by the press, but in the minds of the people involved it was something more. It was an attempt by the poor and dispossessed people to make use of living facilities sitting empty.

A typical "invader" was Mrs. Viola Wall, from Wall, Miss. She later told a reporter she had survived the winter so far only by "cutting and selling firewood like a man."

"That can't be your reason,"
said Isaac Foster,
"because all over Mississippi
our homes don't have any water..."



James Hartfield, who had neither a job nor welfare help, looked around and said, "This place beats our shack in Sunflower county; there it can snow on us at night."

Mrs. Ella Williams agreed: "It's a whole lot warmer here, a whole lot warmer."

Included in the group were Delta Ministry staff members, supporting the poor people in their decision to act.

Officials of FDP and MFLU, as well as a number of young civil rights workers, chose to join in too.

The group moved mattresses and quilts into the building, set up two stoves, and hung out a sign, "This is our home; please knock before entering."

Meanwhile, local officials showed considerable confusion about what to do -- or not to do. Nobody was stopped because no one knew who should do the stopping; the base is owned by the federal government but sections of it are leased to the city.

The county sheriff and the Greenville police chief soon withdrew their men, claiming it was a federal problem.

All day long people came through the gates, bringing food, stoves, blankets, and mattresses. Many came to stay, including some who had heard about the action over the radio. When the gates were locked, they went over or under the fence.

Inside the building, the people were organizing for a long stay. Custodian, food, clean-up and supply committees were formed, and Isaac Foster of Strike City, Mrs. Unita Blackwell of Issaquena county, and Mrs. Ida Mae Lawrence of Bolivar county were elected as co-chairmen of the group.

At midnight, after depleting the boxes of sandwiches and canned goods brought out from Greenville, the group turned out their kerosene lanterns and settled down for the night.

And while they slept, 150 air police were flown in from bases as far away as Denver.

THE EVICTION

Shortly after 11 a.m. Tuesday morning the troops lined up outside the barracks. Major General R. W. Puryear spoke to the group in what many felt to be a patronizing manner, urging them to leave voluntarily.

"You have become a source of danger to government property," he said, "and -- I might add -- to yourselves."

He pointed out that the building, without proper sanitation or water, was a fire and health hazard.

"This can't be your reason for wanting us out," said Isaac Foster, "because all over Mississippi homes don't have water or fire protection."

Gen. Puryear said Secretary of Agriculture Freeman realized that Operation Help had been delayed in the state and would move to speed up the program. He promised that the Justice and Agriculture depart-

Strike City

ments would hear the group's grievances, and gave them 20 minutes within which to come out voluntarily.

The group, many of whom had filed "pieces of paper" with various federal agencies over the last three years without apparent result, voted to stay.

The twenty minutes ended with a shower of glass on the room's occupants as an airman shattered the small window in a door and reached through to unlock it.

Then the air police began carrying men, women and little children out of the building.

The group walked down the muddy side of the highway five miles back to town, thirty hours after they had arrived.

THE FUTURE

The people of Strike City, near Tribbett, had listened to the broadcasts from the air base, and had sent food out to the squatters. When the troops moved in, the Strike City residents -- who themselves were evicted last May when they asked their plantation boss for better pay -- made their five acres available as a temporary refuge.

The air base "veterans" were bedded down that night in the new community center built for Strike City during Christmas vacation by students from the University of Pennsylvania.

And the next day, more homeless plantation people began arriving.

By the time you read this, they will have moved out of the community center and the large circus-type tent which Delta Ministry provided for the growing numbers of people.

They will have moved to an area of farm land large enough to hold them -- and the many more who want to join them.

They will have moved, to a place where they can build together -- with a helpful push from friends in the North -- the kind of town where every man counts, and has a say in his own destiny.

They will have moved, hopefully, for the last time.

"We ain't got nothin' but needs"

Mr. Foster: The people are going to set up at Tent City out at Tribbett and work on getting poor peoples to come and build a new city. Because of the fact that we was refused by the federal government and evicted, it's important that we start planning our own government.

Mrs. Blackwell: I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years has been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality.

We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us.

Mrs. Lawrence: See, you can only accept poor peoples by being poor and really know what being poor is like. And all this stuff about poverty programs and federal funds, that's out for poor peoples.

We were looked upon as just a civil rights demonstration. But really we were there demanding and waiting and asking that these things be brought there to fill some desperate needs. And we was asking that the poor peoples be accepted as they stood. And instead of getting what we was asking, we got the whole air force troopers in on us. To me, that's our government.

> This is an edited transcription of a press conference held in the Greenville office of the Delta Ministry Tuesday evening, February 1, 1966. The participants include the three spokesmen for the over 70 poor Negroes who occupied the barracks of the Greenville Air Force Base. They were Mr. Isaac Foster of Tribbett, a leader in last spring's strike of plantation workers; Mrs. Unita Blackwell of Mayersville, a member of the Freedom Democratic Party executive committee; Mrs. Ida Mae Lawrence of Rosedale, chairman of her Mississippi Freedom Labor Union local; and Rev. Arthur Thomas of Greenville, director of the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches.

Reporter: Does this mean that you won't sit down and talk to the Attorney General or other government representatives about your grievances?

Mr. Foster: If they would like to talk, we'll be willing to talk. But they didn't want to talk. They sent some Mississippian -- chief or sergeant or something. He said give me the names of people who need relocation and I'll see what can be done about it. How can we leave the base when peoples don't have a house to stay in?

Mrs. Lawrence: The base is more thought of than the poor peoples was. The buildings weren't doing anything but just sitting there. The building was more respectable than poor hungry peoples with nothing and nowhere to go. If the peoples was satisfied and willing to sit there to find ways for themselves, the government should have let them stay there. The building was more important than poor folks.

Mr. Foster: The only reason that Colonel Jones could give for eviction was that the building that we was in didn't have running water and didn't have any type of fire protection. And see I know that the federal government can't tell me that was the reason we was put out, because all over Mississippi houses don't have running water or fire protection.

Rev. Thomas: It was cruel and inhuman of Orville Freeman and Nicholas Katzenbach to send the kind of message to us at the air base they sent today. They said nothing to us that hasn't been said for months and years. We were tired of waiting around for these people to live up to their words.

Reporter: Mr. Thomas, could you go a little more into Operation HELP?

Rev. Thomas: Over a year ago the Delta Ministry, in cooperation with the National Students Association, pointed out the need for a commodity program for Mississippi poor people. And we gave as an example of what local people could do, what was happening in Forrest County, where the people had set up their own distribution system for contributed food and clothing. It works very well.

We offered to make Forrest County a trial case for food distribution if the Department would release the commodities to us.

Instead, the Department of Agriculture notified the state Department of Welfare that volunteer groups were willing and able to distribute commodities in Forrest County. In the face of that kind of possibility, the county Board of Supervisors voted for the first time in years and years to participate in a commodity program. Immediately, the Department of Agriculture found it necessary to send an investigator in there to investigate charges of discrimination in that program.

We then made the same offer in regard to Madison County. Again Washington called the state welfare people, who notified the county Board of Supervisors. They came up with a Food Stamp program. Of course poor people can't afford to be in a food stamp program because it costs money and they don't have any income.

We then offered to set up distribution in any county that didn't have a program. In the face of this possibility the state Welfare Department came up with the proposal called Operation HELP -- and keep in mind this was in August. All over the state people had gone without food through the winter while the welfare department and the Agriculture Department played politics with each other.

Under this plan, the Welfare Department will get 24 million dollars worth of surplus commodities from the Department of Agriculture and 1.6 million dollars from the Office of Economic Opportunity to distribute the food to 500,000 people for six months.

In view of the criticism of the program -- which is based on the untenable assumption that welfare agencies and county boards of supervisors will act in a nondiscriminatory manner -- OEO put certain conditions on the grant: one, that a biracial committee supervise the program and, two, that hiring and distribution be done on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Our information has it that no such committee has been set up, although the proposal was submitted in August and granted in November. Dr. Aaron Henry, head of the state NAACP, was asked to nominate the Negroes for the committee. Why weren't poor people asked to nominate people?

In regard to the second condition, the food was supposed to be ready for distribution by January 23. When that day came we could not find one poor person employed in the program and no food being given out. And now it's February.

Mrs. Lawrence: I'd like to add to that. To live, we got to go out and chop cotton for $3 a day, maybe two or three days a week. At the end of cotton picking, we gets the same for picking the scrap the machines leave. Then in November when they start qualifying you for the commodities, they say you got to find out how many people you worked for and get them to sign for you as being poor. If they don't feel like signing, like maybe they don't like you for civil rights activities, you don't get commodities. But you still poor, whether the white boss says so or not.

Mrs. Blackwell: See, if you belong to any civil rights group or participate, they tell you you can't get a job with the poverty program, because that's political and you know, you can't have that. And that's what's happening with the poverty program: it's political -- that's the reason it's not doing anything for the poor.

"People had gone without food through the winter while the welfare department and USDA played politics"

Reporter: Mr. Thomas, why do you think the federal government is afraid to let poor Negroes go ahead and run the program?

Rev. Thomas: I could try to avoid that question and say that it is their problem. These people have the problem of not being fed. I will not avoid it and say nobody is unaware of the power of Congressman Whitten in the House Subcommittee on Agriculture. Nobody is unaware of the critical power of John Stennis in the Senate and its Finance Appropriations Committee. And those are the kinds of people who are supposed to represent the poor people in Congress.

Reporter: Are you saying that the people who run the poverty programs are kowtowing to the white power structure from here?

Rev. Thomas: That's what I'm saying. The poverty program and the Department of Agriculture.

Also, poor people in this state last year organized themselves into a Headstart program through the Child Development Group of Mississippi. Shriver and others said it was one of the best Headstarts anywhere in the country. In September they were told they would be funded in October; in October the money was coming in November; in November the money was coming in December and so on and so on each month. Over 1100 local Mississippi poor people who have been promised money have been cheated by OEO.

Mrs. Lawrence: You know, we ain't dumb, even if we are poor. We need jobs. We need food. We need houses. But even with the poverty program we ain't got nothin but needs. That's why we was pulled off that building that wasn't being used for anything. We is ignored by the government. The thing about property upset them, but the thing about poor people don't. So there's no way out but to begin your own beginning, whatever way you can. So far as I'm concerned, that's all I got to say about the past. We're beginning a new future.

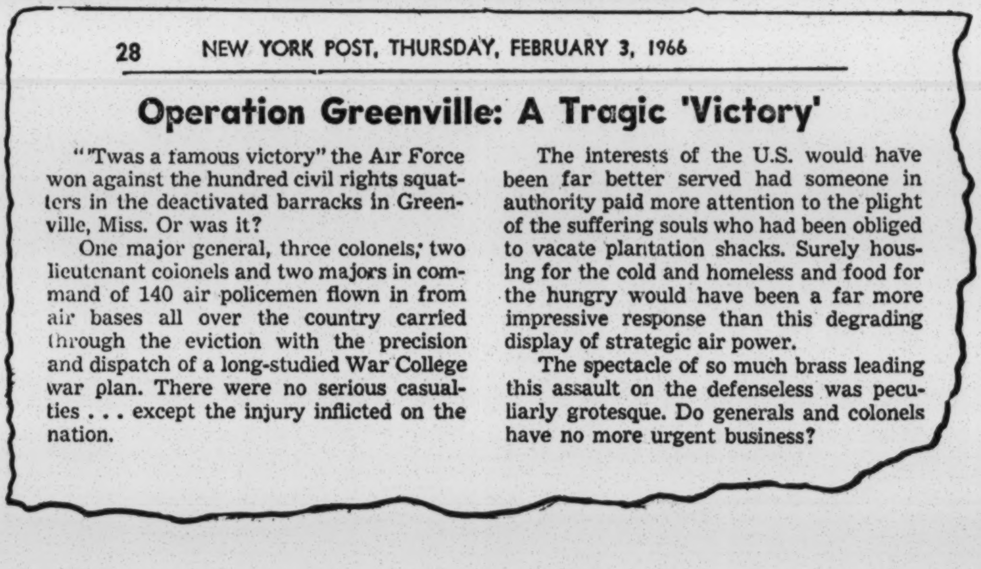
PLEASE HELP

Many displaced families, including those who sought shelter at the air base, are staying temporarily at Strike City. More are arriving every day.

SEND MONEY NOW for food, tents and land to:

POOR PEOPLES FUND, DELTA MINISTRY, GREENVILLE, MISS.

Photos on pages 1, 4, and 8 by Mary Varela



28 NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1966

Operation Greenville: A Tragic 'Victory'

"'Twas a famous victory" the Air Force won against the hundred civil rights squatters in the deactivated barracks in Greenville, Miss. Or was it?

One major general, three colonels, two lieutenant colonels and two majors in command of 140 air policemen flown in from air bases all over the country carried through the eviction with the precision and dispatch of a long-studied War College war plan. There were no serious casualties . . . except the injury inflicted on the nation.

The interests of the U.S. would have been far better served had someone in authority paid more attention to the plight of the suffering souls who had been obliged to vacate plantation shacks. Surely housing for the cold and homeless and food for the hungry would have been a far more impressive response than this degrading display of strategic air power.

The spectacle of so much brass leading this assault on the defenseless was peculiarly grotesque. Do generals and colonels have no more urgent business?

P-S 3/1/66

Mississippi Rights Case

SU Grad Refused Hearing

Miss Jan Hillegas, 21, of Syracuse, was denied a hearing yesterday by the Supreme Court in Washington and must face vagrancy charges in Mississippi where she was arrested while helping Negro voter registrants.

The daughter of Fred Hillegas, local radio and TV newscaster, and Mrs. Estelle Hillegas, a former newspaper woman, Miss Hillegas was arrested in the Lowndes County, Miss., Courthouse.

She sought a writ of habeas corpus in Federal District Court in Aberdeen, Miss., for her release from state custody. But District Judge Clyde F. Clayton ruled she must first exhaust her remedies in state courts.

Clayton's ruling was upheld on Aug. 16, 1965 by a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Supreme Court acted in a brief order with no opinion, denying a hearing on the Appeals Court ruling.

The state may now go ahead with its proceedings, but it was not clear last night just how it will proceed.

Lowndes County Attorney Joe Sams Jr. of Columbus, Miss., said he had been informed of the Supreme Court's decision but was not certain of the procedure to follow.

Sams said Miss Hillegas had appeared before a justice of the peace court and was released on her own recognizance on his recommendation after pleading innocent to the vagrancy charge, a misdemeanor.

He said the vagrancy statute covers an able-bodied person with no visible income and a dozen or more things."

Sams said he had been informed of the Supreme Court's decision by Asst. State Atty. Gen. William Allain of Jackson, Miss.

Allain was contacted by phone and said the next procedure lies with the justice of the peace court in Columbus.

According to Allain, two other persons arrested with her were freed after furnishing proof of support to the justice of the peace court.

Allain said he had no doubt Miss Hillegas would be cleared of the vagrancy charge if she wished, but he indicated she had been "stubborn" in refusing to clear herself earlier.

Miss Hillegas had associated herself with efforts of the Congress of Federated Organizations in the Negro voter registration program. She had been living in Columbus with the family of a retired Negro clergyman.

Miss Hillegas is a 1964 graduate of Syracuse University where she was a psychology major.

JAN HILLEGAS

H-J 2/28

Syracuse girl loses her plea

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court denied today a hearing to Miss Jan Hillegas, a white girl arrested in the county courthouse at Columbus, Miss., while assisting Negroes who sought to register as voters.

Miss Hillegas went to Columbus from Syracuse, N.Y., as an employe of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), an association of civil rights groups.

Held on a vagrancy charge, Miss Hillegas sought release on habeas corpus proceedings in lower federal courts. They refused to order her release on the ground she had failed to exhaust judicial remedies in Mississippi state courts. Her appeal to the Supreme Court contended the lower federal courts were in error.

The appeal said COFO supplied her lodging in the home of a retired Negro minister in Columbus and all things necessary to sustain her in the community. After her arrest Dec. 28, 1964, the appeal added, Miss Hillegas offered county officials evidence of her situation to refute the charge of vagrancy but they continued to detain her "in a jail segregaed by force of Mississippi statute."

The Supreme Court made no comment in denying Miss Hillegas a hearing. Justice William O. Douglas noted that he favored a hearing.

Jan Hillegas Case Setting Precedent

To the Editor of The Post-Standard:

The news of recent developments in the case of our daughter, Jan Hillegas, 22, before the U.S. Supreme Court, as reported in The Post-Standard March 1, has just caught up with us after our return from a vacation visiting my parents in Florida.

Friends aware of the circumstances of the case have suggested that additional information will clear up some misconceptions.

Jan and two associates were arrested late in December, 1964, on a charge of vagrancy while in the Lowndes County Court House, Columbus. Miss. observing a special day of voter registration. At the time, Jan was working with the Council of Federated Organizations, made up of the National Council of Churches and several civil rights groups.

As for a presecutor's comment to The Post-Standard that the two other persons were freed but Jan was "stubborn" in refusing to clear herself: Volunteer lawyers serving COFO felt Jan's detention was such an obvious case of false arrest that she agreed to stay in jail long enough for them to establish a clear case that could be carried to a high court with good chance of a favorable precedent-setting judgment on appeal.

Their grounds for such optimism included the facts that Jan had money in her handbag, was carrying the required "vagrancy papers" and met other requirements of a responsible citizen. Within a few hours, at the lawyers' request, I telegraphed a statement guaranteeing she was not and would not become a public charge.

The eventual favorable judgment, the lawyers felt, would be invaluable in establishing precedents in habeas corpus which would eliminate local routine before civil rights cases are brought into federal court.

Jan stayed in jail eight days and since then her case has been appealed through the courts. At the time of her imprisonment, I received many communications from lawyers and ministers, who had been in Mississippi at the time, pointing out the valuable service she was performing by this act and indicating that benefits it might have for other civil rights workers were inestimable.

What the procedure is now I do not know at this time. But I do know it is impossible for us in New York State to realize the NEED for attempts of this kind to at least TRY to establish even the most basic protections of justice for the underprivileged and for those working in their behalf in a state like Mississippi.

ESTELLA H. HILLEGAS

Syracuse

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MARCH 16, 1966

Freedom Information Service
P. O. Box 366
Edwards, Mississippi 39066

PPF HELPS TORNADO VICTIMS

Edwards, Miss. -- Tornado victims in Rankin and Scott counties are carrying home emergency supplies of clothing and food this week thanks in part to 25 families belonging to the newly formed Poor Peoples Fund (PPF).

PPF members voted unanimously last March 6 to have a truckload of goods sent to them from the Council of Churches, Scott and Rock Island counties, Iowa to the tornado victims.

Six members of the Iowa group, including Catholic, Methodist and Episcopalian clergymen, helped PPF members unload the supplies at the Mt. Pisgah Baptist Church in rural Rankin County. The Iowans had collected the goods for the PPF in response to a plea by a Delta Ministry staff member, the Rev. Rims Barber, a former member of the Iowan Council.

PPF members, temporarily living in Edwards, Miss. conference center of the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, met the Iowans in Canton and then traveled with them to Mt. Pisgah for the unloading.

Mr. Casey Robinson, of the PPF, who recently left a plantation in Sunflower County with his wife and five children, said: "They (the tornado victims) told us their houses was tore down and they really needed everything we could give them." He added that during the unloading of the goods funerals were held at the church for people who died during the tornado. Robinson said: "We are poor peoples ourselves, but them that lost all they got, is worse off then we is -- naturally we had to help them."

The PPF developed from the Delta Ministry - FDP sponsored protest at the Greenville AFB last January 31. Plantation day laborers, share-croppers and tractor drivers have been joining the group at Mount Beulah since that time.

The Rankin and Scott County Movement Welfare committee, composed mainly of Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party members, has offered help to any victims regardless of race who suffered from the tornado.

The Mt. Pisgah church burned down allegedly by night riders on March 12,1965, was rebuilt by the Committee of Concern, an inter-racial and inter-denominational Mississippi group, last August.

Rev. Barber said that there was no trouble distributing the goods but that he heard some Negro farm tenants were told by their white boss men not to accept the food and clothing. Rev. Barber said that many poor families in the area still need help desperately.

FOR MORE INFORMATION CALL REV. BARBER AT 859-9944, CANTON, MISSISSIPPI

March 15, 1966

Dear Friends,

Since the beginning of the civil rights struggle in Mississippi there has been a serious lack of essential information available within the Movement. Now, the Freedom Information Service, which has attempted to fill that void in the past eight months, will have to cease operations if we cannot raise sufficient funds.

The ordinary communication channels in the state are controlled by a racist power structure and therefore deprive the Negro community of information and ideas. This same power structure has seen to it that schools and other educational programs neglect the teaching of basic skills and understandings needed for higher education and full citizenship.

The civil rights movement has attempted to reach the most unreached people with verbal information on how to better their lives. But there had never been an adequate effort to do research and produce simply written and relevant materials for the low-literacy population the movement serves. This F.I.S. set out to do, as well as to explore the use of tapes, films, filmstrips, records, etc. in further increasing effective communication in the context of the Movement.

When the F.I.S. (then called Freedom Information Center) first started to operate in July, 1965, in Jackson, only one person was involved. Files were gathered and expanded with information on the Freedom Movement, and a few small requests from civil rights workers were filled.

By late September, an arrangement had been made for 6 FIS staff to receive room and board and working space at the Delta Ministry's Mt. Beulah Center at Edwards, Mississippi. A proposal was drawn up which outlined a program of service to the Freedom Movement in Mississippi via collection, distribution, and preparation of various kinds of materials for workshops, organizations, and individuals upon request.

In January, 1966, Delta Ministry assured us that at least $18,000 would be available from its own program budget for 1966 and that it would follow up contacts with foundations to try to raise the full $86,000 that FIS felt it would need for the year.

About $5,700 (see financial report) has been spent by Delta Ministry from September through March 12 for salaries, office equipment and supplies, travel, and other expenses - including room and board - of FIS.

On March 7, FIS was notified that because Delta Ministry has made a major commitment to assist the Poor People's Fund in buying land and establishing a

N.Y. ANTI-POVERTY GROUPS TO CONFER

New goal: Mobilizing those on relief rolls

By William A. Price

A 70-YEAR-OLD Negro woman stood before more than 100 other welfare recipients recently on Manhattan's Lower East Side and said she was going to demand of the city's Welfare Department "three coal-oil lamps, extra wicks and a five-gallon drum of coal oil."

She existed on old-age assistance, the woman said, in three rooms into which no sunlight reaches; welfare agents had refused a claim for more than $4.70 a month to pay both gas and electric bills, and would not trust her with cash to pay her own bills. Her complaint—and the vigor with which her statement was applauded—reflects a growing militance among members of a broad sub-stratum of U.S. society who feel degraded by welfare practices, deprived despite a boom economy and impotent politically.

A number of activists who have worked with this group and have felt their anger believe this force can be mobilized into effective political action leading, perhaps, to enactment of a national guaranteed annual income. One critic of the welfare system has proposed a sort of "break-the-bank" drive of those on welfare to demand full benefits and the massive recruitment of eligible poor not now on the rolls—a drive intended to put such a fiscal strain on the welfare system that political changes would have to come.

THE ELDERLY WOMAN spoke at a meeting March 24 of the Committee of Welfare Families of the Lower East Side, in the offices of Mobilization for Youth, which has helped organize the welfare recipients. The East Side committee, which has grown in a few months to 500 members, is one of about 30 such organizations recently formed throughout the country. It planned a direct confrontation with New York Welfare Commissioner Mitchell I. Ginsberg to demand that he reinforce the welfare laws under which his department operates and "bring us up to standard immediately." Committee members circulated petitions stating, "We do not have enough clothing, furniture, kitchen equipment and linen, etc."

Such unused governmental benefits "represent latent economic power which can be mobilized to generate a crisis over poverty," according to Richard Cloward of the Columbia University School of Social Work, a frequent critic of welfare practices. And, Cloward adds, ". . . . nearly 8 million persons (half of them whites) now subsist on welfare, but it is not recognized that for every person on the rolls, at least one more probably meets existing criteria of eligibility but is not obtaining benefits."

In an article prepared for publication soon in the Nation, Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, a research associate at the Columbia social work school, outlined what they believe to be the political implications of organizing the poor. They state in the article, "Influence by the Poor: How It Can Be Mobilized", "In a society which is wholly and self-righteously oriented toward getting people off the welfare rolls . . . activists have not realized how profound a crisis could be precipitated by a massive drive to recruit the poor onto the rolls."

IN NEW YORK, the People's War Council Against Poverty called for "an organizing drive to get all welfare cash grants necessary for those who need money and have no other way to get it." The PWCAP, set up last December by a number of ghetto-based community organizations to demand participation of the poor in federal anti-poverty programs, scheduled a city-wide conference April 17 to organize more welfare recipient groups on the precedents set by the Lower East Side families.

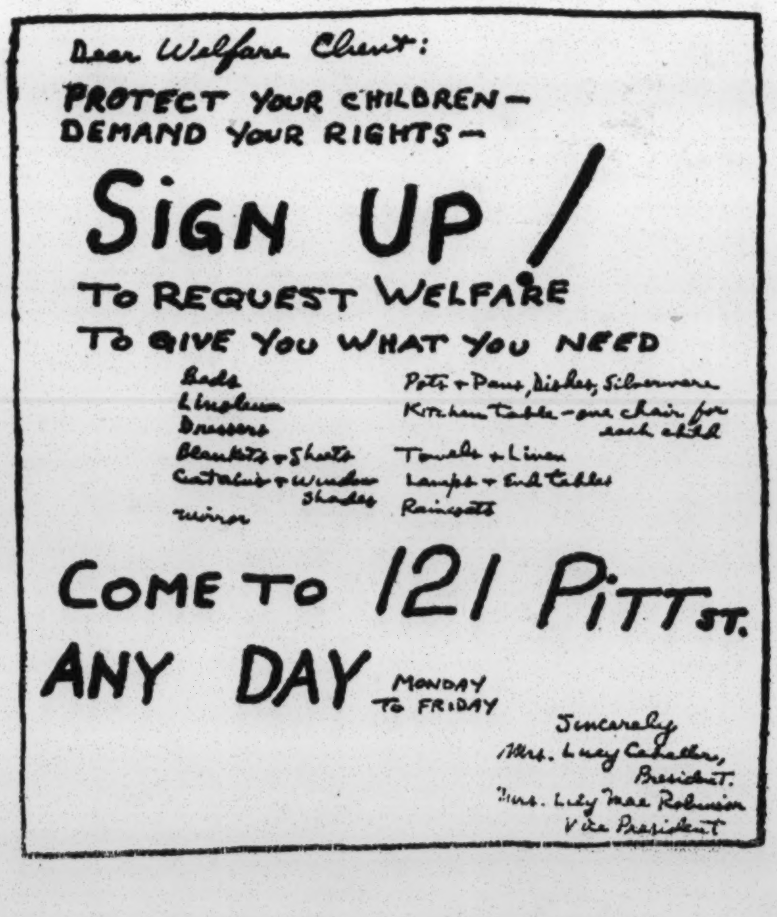
The New York PWCAP took its name from a similar group formed when the federally financed Office of Economic Opportunity refused to renew grants to eight Syracuse community programs. In Syracuse Jan. 15 and 16, a National People's War Council Against Poverty was formed (GUARDIAN, Jan. 29). This group has called a nation-wide conference to be held either in Cleveland or in Milwaukee April 28. The New York PWCAP said March 25: "We need to organize welfare peoples groups . . . (and) to see that the fight is carried on in all major cities for total victory." The PWCAP groups have their roots in the indigenous movements which have sprung up—many by OEO initiation—in ghetto areas.

THE CITIZENS Crusade Against Poverty, a liberal-oriented group financed by a reported $1 million grant from the United Auto Workers and headed by UAW president Walter Reuther, has scheduled its annual meeting April 13 and 14 at the swank International Inn, in Washington, D.C. (cheapest single room, $16 a night). About 2,000 invitations have been sent to local civil rights, labor, church and anti-poverty groups, a CAP spokesman said, and about 500 persons are expected to attend. The CAP meeting will consist of a series of forums on "Economic Policy and Poverty," "Quality Education and the Poor," "Maximum Feasible Participation of the Poor (in OEO programs)," and "New Pioneering Roles for Private Agencies in the War on Poverty." Several "grass-roots people respected by their communities" have been invited from areas such as Watts, Harlem, Chicago and the Mississippi Delta. Purpose of the meeting, according to a CAP spokesman, is "to see where the war on poverty is going, what's going wrong and how, as a private organization, we can supplement—not to take pot shots at—the federal programs."

In New York City alone, the Cloward-Piven article says, direct cash grants already exceed half a billion annually. Enlisting the poor to demand full benefits, the authors say, would cause a massive overload financially and "the frantastically elaborate, inefficient, and degrading procedures employed to scrutinize new applicants and to assure continuing surveillance of existing recipients would quickly break down." Then, they add, "Crisis would also erupt in local conflict, called forth by the dramatic display which this strategy would produce."

The Cloward-Piven article is certain to be widely discussed by those who seek ways to end the political impotence of the poor. Among its unusual proposals is a call for federal welfare "eligibility registrars" to enforce federal welfare statutes as applied locally. The strategy would require heavy financing and cadres of activists from civil rights and ghetto-oriented community groups to overcome ignorance of welfare procedures and turn the shame that many of the poor identify with welfare into a recognition that the assertion of their rights can be politically meaningful. The Congress of Racial Equality may provide some of the muscle. A spokesman at CORE's national office in New York said the civil rights organization was developing a national program to organize welfare recipients and low-income workers around the demand for economic equality and a guaranteed annual income, and to overcome the "syndrome of powerlessness" among the poor.

The Cloward-Piven strategy is frankly designed to eliminate the "barbaric system" of welfare distribution; to produce bureaucratic crises in welfare agencies and fiscal crises in local, state and federal governments. Such crises, they hold, "would deepen existing divisions between elements in the big-city Democratic coalition—between the residual white middle class, white working class and the growing minority poor." To avoid such a crisis "that would further weaken that historic coalition, a national Democratic Administration would find itself under pressure to put forward a federal solution to poverty which overrides local welfare failures." Hence, the political drive for a guaranteed annual income.



Dear Welfare Client:

PROTECT YOUR CHILDREN—
DEMAND YOUR RIGHTS—

SIGN UP!

TO REQUEST WELFARE
TO GIVE YOU WHAT YOU NEED

Beds
Linoleum
Dressers
Blankets + Sheets
Curtains + Window Shades
mirror

Pots + Pans, Dishes, Silverware
Kitchen Table - one chair for each child
Towels + Linen
Lamps + End tables
Raincoats

COME TO 121 PITT ST.
ANY DAY MONDAY TO FRIDAY

Sincerely
Mrs. Lucy Cahaller,
President.
Mrs. Lily Mae Robinson
Vice President

This leaflet issued by the Committee of Welfare Families of the Lower East Side urges welfare recipients to demand full rights under the law. Some welfare experts have urged an all-out drive to recruit the poor onto relief rolls and thus to force political solutions to poverty.

Reprinted by
Freedom Information
Service
P.O. Box 366
Edwards, Miss. 39066

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

on

Staff Members

of the

FREEDOM INFORMATION SERVICE

April 15, 1966

MISS ROBERTA GALLER

Born August 13, 1936, in Chicago, Illinois

Education:

Graduated from Roosevelt High School in Chicago

Attended Northwestern University School of Communications in 1953-54, University of Chicago in 1954-58 and 1961-62 (Liberal Arts and graduate courses in sociology), and the Northwestern University School of Speech, Radio and TV Summer Institute in 1952

Previous Work Experience:

1958-61 - Research Analysis in the fact finding department of the Civil Rights Division of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

1961-62 - Edited manuscripts and managed office for "New University Thought" magazine

1962-64 - Executive Secretary, Chicago Area Friends of SNCC

1964 (Summer) - Youth Advisor to summer leadership training program of the Student Woodlawn Area Project (SWAP)

1964-65 - Coordinated workshops and other events for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party state office in Jackson, Mississippi

1965 (Summer) - Civil rights field work in Clay County, Mississippi

September, 1965, to present - Workshop coordinator for the Freedom Information Service

MISS CAROL JEAN HANISCH

Born April 15, 1942, at Havelock, Iowa

Education:

Graduated from Central Community School, Fenton, Iowa, in 1960

Received B.A. in journalism from Drake University in 1964

Previous Work Experience:

1960-64 - Writer and columnist for campus newspaper

1963-64 - Editor of BREAKTHRU, a publication of Wesley Foundation at Drake University

1962-64 - Editorial assistant for the Iowa Credit Union League in Des Moines

1964-65 - Newswoman for the United Press International, Des Moines Bureau

1965 (Summer) - Made five half-hour radio shows for KFMG in Des Moines while a volunteer with the Delta Ministry in Greenville, Mississippi

September, 1965, to present - Publications editor for the Freedom Information Service

MISS JAN HILLEGAS

Born May 13, 1943, in Syracuse, New York

Education:

Graduated from William Nottingham High School, Syracuse, New York, in 1960

Received a B.A. in psychology from Syracuse University in 1964 (summer study, 1963, at Atlanta University)

Previous Work Experience:

1960-64 - Assistant to Public Relations Director of the Youth Development Center at Syracuse University

1963 (Spring) - Secretary for Kelly Girl Service in several cities while traveling

1963-64 - Secretary to professor in the Chemistry Department at Syracuse University

Since 1962 - Member of Syracuse chapter of C.O.R.E.

Worked in high school library and branch public library in Syracuse

1964-65 - COFO worker in Clay and Lowndes Counties, Mississippi

1965 (February to June) - COFO Communications staff in Jackson, Mississippi, state office

1965 (July to September) - Collected and processed information materials and made initial contacts in the establishment of an information center

September, 1965, to present - Librarian, treasurer, and temporary research coordinator for the Freedom Information Service

MR. PHILLIP LAPSANSKY

Born March 30, 1941, in Seattle, Washington

Education:

- Graduated from Lincoln High School in Seattle
- 3½ years of college work in philosophy and journalism at the University of Washington

Previous Work Experience:

- 1962-64 - Communications and news work for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Seattle
- 1964-65 - Communications and news work for COFO and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in Jackson, Mississippi
- September, 1965, to present - Audio-visual coordinator for the Freedom Information Service

The FREEDOM INFORMATION SERVICE is presently seeking three more persons to serve on the staff.

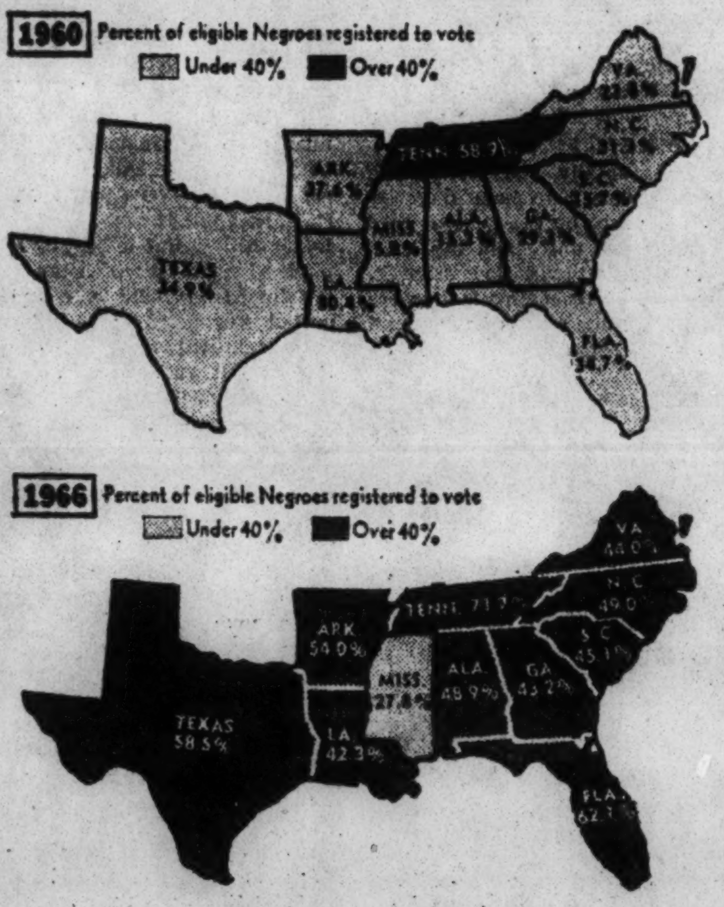
A full-time Research Coordinator is needed to make possible maximum utilization of the existing library materials and to expand the research, and thus the publication, potential of FIS.

A Political Education Coordinator would work with the other coordinators to help FIS meet the needs of groups working on political programs - a major activity of the Movement in Mississippi at present.

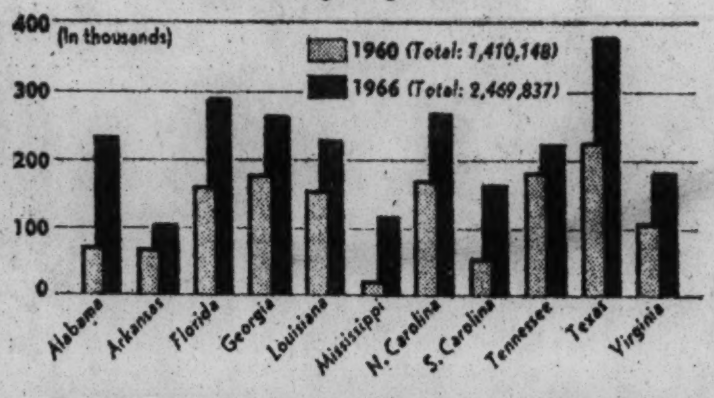
A full-time Secretary is needed to do the production and correspondence work now done of necessity by other staff.

Also, Part-time staff will be hired as particular projects require.

Negro registration in the South has increased dramatically



Number of Negroes registered to vote



The proportion of voter-age Negroes who have registered has risen sharply under the impetus of Federal legislation since 1960, especially the comprehensive law adopted in 1965.

Negro Vote Can Be Potent, If—

5/15/66

By TOM WICKER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 14 — In Newark, N. J., this week, in the Democratic primary, Mayor Hugh Addonizio failed to win a majority. The Mayor faces a runoff against his principal opponent, Leo P. Carlin, primarily because a third candidate, Kenneth A. Gibson, polled just under 20 per cent of the total vote.

Mr. Gibson is a 33-year-old Negro, and he was running in a city where Negroes make up almost 50 per cent of the population. In a larger field, and polling a few more votes than Mr. Gibson, another Negro, Calvin West, won election as a city councilman-at-large.

These results did not attract as much national attention as the Alabama Democratic primaries last week, and Newark is not really analogous to the South because the city's Negro community is a higher proportion of its total population than Negroes ever will achieve in any Southern state.

'Poor' Majority

But some political analysts here believe that, as more and more Negroes vote and reach political sophistication in the South, the Southern political order will develop somewhat like Newark's. They were influenced by the following realities of Southern politics:

(1) In the South, the dominant majority in the region as a whole and in every state is white—and the Negro proportion of the population is generally declining.

(2) Another majority exists in the South that is not, so far, dominant. It is the majority of the less advantaged, of whatever race—of those from the middle income groups ranging down to the poverty-stricken.

(3) For nearly a century, the white majority of the South has dominated the "poor" majority because the issue of race has been used to unite white men of whatever economic class—all too often for the benefit of the Bourbons.

The smashing victory of Mrs. Lurleen Wallace, running as a stand-in for her husband, Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, disclosed these underlying realities once again.

Resistance

There now are, in Alabama, 235,572 registered Negroes — and about 115,000 of these have been put on the polling books since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Yet, the total is only 16 per cent of Alabama's registered voters, and in the period since the voting act was passed, so many whites were also registered that Negroes succeeded in "closing the gap" between their vote and the white vote by a net of only 12,000.

Moreover, the whites of Alabama were sufficiently united—no matter what their other interests—by two factors. Governor Wallace had made himself a symbol of white resistance to Federally imposed Negro gains. His wife's principal opponent, Attorney General Richmond Flowers, openly campaigned for the Negro vote. The race issue, however soft pedaled in speeches, was central to the election.

Mr. Flowers got an estimated 90 per cent of the Negro vote—suggesting that only about 150,000 Negroes voted in the gubernatorial race—but even with eight other candidates in the field, Mrs. Wallace won a majority of about 52 per cent and avoided a runoff. She is estimated to have received more than 80 per cent of the white vote.

Political Realities

Negroes did win Democratic nominations for some local offices, in electorates where their numbers were in higher proportion. In the Texas primary in the same week, three Negroes won nominations for the State Legislature.

All this suggests that astute Negro political leadership in the South will grasp two overriding facts: that the Negro in that region is a political minority and will remain so, and that when the issue of race is raised either by white bigots or by obvious Negro bloc voting, the white majority will unite at the ballot box, at least in the foreseeable future.

That is why the Newark results become relevant to the South. Newark showed that Negroes can influence important elections without trying to dominate them; that they need no longer be ignored or ridden over by white leaders. It showed that factors other than race—for instance, Mayor Addonizio's City Hall organization and powers—can influence the Negro as well as any other voter. It showed that important local offices can be won by Negroes—not only improving their present political power but building up experienced politicians (not merely Negro politicians) for the future.

New Order

Such an approach in the South appears numerically necessary, because of the Negro's permanent minority position. And it is the only route that offers any real hope anytime soon of uniting that other majority in the South—the vast body of whites and Negroes whose economic interests are identical.

Wherever the issue of race is openly raised, by whites or by Negroes, that majority is likely to be split, as it always has been before; where the race issue can be kept in the background, a new political order might be built in the South.

Democratic analysts appear to be particularly impressed by this long-term possibility. They believe their party offers the economic and social program upon which a big majority of the less advantaged — white and black — could agree, if racial politics could be avoided on both sides.

As Alabama showed, it is a big if.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MAY 22,
1966

New Leaders and New Course for 'Snick'

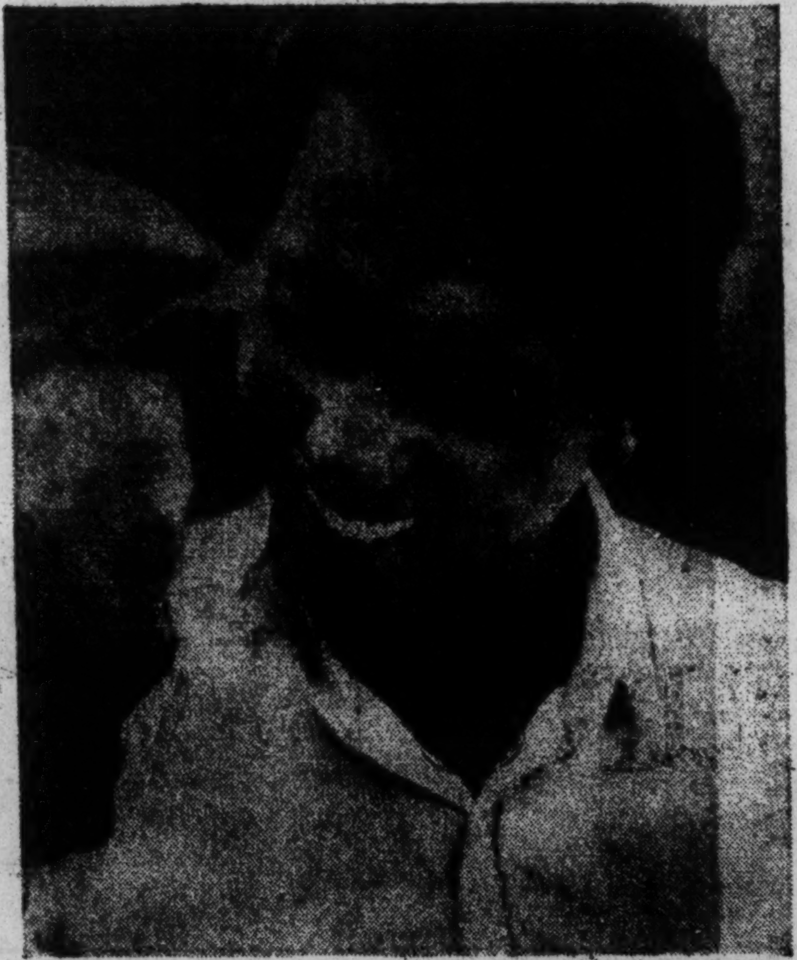
By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 21—The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee ("Snick") changed its top command this week and, in doing so, publicly acknowledged that a major shift in its civil rights philosophy has taken place.

Voted out of the committee chairmanship was John Lewis, a 26-year-old minister who believes in nonviolence as both a "way of life" and as a way of forcing concessions from the "white power structure" in the South.

The new chairman is Stokely Carmichael, who at 24, is disillusioned with using nonviolent protest to force integration from reluctant white communities. Mr. Carmichael does not advocate violence, but neither does he believe in turning the other cheek. And, above all, he is opposed to demonstrating in order to force white officials to accept Negroes in the white schools or other public facilities. This, he believes, demeans the Negro by making it appear that white facilities are best simply because they are frequented by whites. "White schools are best all right," Mr. Carmichael says, "but only because they get more money than the Negro schools."



Associated Press

'BLACK PANTHER': The shift from mixed white and Negro to all-Negro participation in the civil rights movement in the South was dramatized last week when Stokley Carmichael, organizer of Alabama's all-Negro "Black Panther" political party, was chosen to head the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Third Parties

What Mr. Carmichael proposes is that Negroes form independent or "third" political parties and seize political power in areas where they're a majority, an idea he began to put into practice in Alabama in Lowndes County—where he headed Snick operations—with a militant all-Negro party under the emblem of the "Black Panther." This, the theory goes, will force whites to bargain with Negroes—rather than vice versa—and also will make it possible for Negroes to use public funds to equalize schools and other facilities.

All of this, of course, presupposes that Negroes will win political power. And, as Mr. Carmichael and the student committee see it, this cannot be done by working within the Democratic or Republican parties, which they regard as "racist" and hopelessly middle class. "To ask Negroes to get in the Democratic party," Mr. Carmichael said recently, "is like asking Jews to join the Nazi party."

What the committee wants are independent parties at the city and county levels. They would be run by and for poor people, and would not hesitate to tear down existing political institutions which the student committee feels are being used to "exploit" poor Negroes.

In organizing the Negroes into the "Poor People's" parties, the student committee will abandon its long-time policy of using integrated civil rights teams. "We will not fire any of our white organizers," Mr. Carmichael says, "but if they want to organize, they can organize white people. Negroes will organize the Negroes."

The new philosophy is a major development in the civil rights movement because it stands in such sharp contrast to the philosophy of the committee when it was organized in 1960 by Southern students—both Negro and white. Then the committee dreamed of integration as an end in itself. Committee members believed it could be achieved by love, conscience and morality if people were willing to risk their lives in nonviolent protest.

In Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and other parts of the South, student committee members showed that there was no risk they would not take. They sat-in, kneeled-in and marched, and were arrested, jailed and beaten by segregationist whites who often were supported by Southern policemen, courts and the full weight of state government.

New Philosophy

Although publications like the Trotskyite "Militant" and the Communist party's "Worker" could be found from the beginning in pockets of some committee members, their popularity increased as the committee penetrated deeper into Mississippi and the Alabama Black Belt. And few committee members were more interested in the search for a new philosophy than Mr. Carmichael, a Howard University graduate who started reading Marxist literature while in high school in New York.

But while Mr. Carmichael and his supporters feel, for example, that there is a bond between the American Negro and the Vietcong, they say they prefer their own dialectic to any ready-made one they have come across.

Mr. Carmichael refers to Communists as "stale guys" who are still advocating "outmoded plans" for eradicating poverty and promoting equality. "We don't have any master plans," says Mr. Carmichael. "We just believe in putting power in the hands of the poor and letting them make their own plans."

Freedom Information Service
P.O. Box 366
Edwards, Miss. 39066
November 18, 1965

CATALOGUE OF AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS

Taped Documentaries:

The Congressional Challange. A 26 minute documentary produced by the COFO communications staff in March, 1965. The tape gives the background of the Freedom Democratic Party's challange to the seating of the five white congressmen from Mississippi. In the presentation Negro Mississippians talk of the violence and intimidation they face in their efforts to become registered voters. The tape also features some of the testimony from the deposition hearings held by the FDP to prove their charge that Negroes are deliberatly and systematically excluded from the voting process.

The Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. A 25 minute documentary produced in June, 1965 telling how and why the delta farm laborers union was formed. Striking union members of Shaw--birthplace of the Union--talk about union organizing, conditions in the delta, problems of automation, and the changed relation between the races and between union and non-union members.

The Deacons for Defense and Justice. About 30 minutes. Three members of the Deacons from Bogalusa, La., speak to a Freedom Democratic Party mass meeting in Jackson, August 29. They tell of the formation of the controversial group and what the Deacons have contributed to the Negro's struggle in Bogalusa.

The Constitutional Amendments, On August 17 Mississippians voted to lift some of the stringent voting requirements that have served to keep Negroes off the voter rolls. Opponents of the amendments, Gov. Johnson's allies in support of the amendments, and the Freedom Democratic Party took to the air and TV to present their positions. These broadcasts are available on three tapes, each about 30 minutes.

Who Speaks for Mississippi? A 27 minute documentary produced by radio station WNEW in New York, features talk by whites and Negroes on the 1964 summer project. Produced on the spot, in Mississippi, in July, 1964.

Malcolm X Speaks for Himself. Two taped speeches, each about one hour. The controversial Negro leader explains his views on Black Nationalism, violence and self defense, the problems of the Negro in America, the relationship between the American Negro's struggle and the colonial revolution and the problems of Negro leadership. (An edited, shorter version of the two tapes is in preparation.

Natchez Protest. A Freedom Information Service news feature, about eight minutes. The sounds and the story of the protest marches in Natchez. The story of mounting Negro protest following the bombing of a local NAACP leader. Natchez people discuss their demands and tell of the conditions many faced in the state penitentiary in Parchman following their arrests for demonstration activity.

Natchez Laundry Workers' Strike. During the heighth of racial protest in October, some 30 Negro employees of the Natchez Steam Laundry walked off the job on strike. In this tape the strikers tell of their strike and their effort to build a union for the poorly paid Natchez laundry workers. F.I.S. news feature, about 7 minutes.

The Delta Leather Workshop. Negroes in Mileston Mississippi have a new co-op in the community, a leather workshop. Negro co-op workers, and a worker for the Poor Peoples' Corporation who helped them set up the co-op, talk about the economic dependence of the Negro on the white man and their efforts to create a source of income independent of the segregationist boss man. F.I.S. news feature, about 6 minutes.

Film Strips:

The Peoples' Wants Freedom. Black and white, narration printed on filmstrip. Talks about rich people and poor people. Demonstrates and exposes some of the lies and distortions rich people and the power structure teach about poor people.

Panola County--1965. Color, narration in seperate handbook or available on tape. Tells on one year of civil rights activity in Panola county, in the northern part of the Mississippi delta region. Beautiful color photographs and simple narration tells the story of Panola county Negro's work to organize voter registration drives, the Freedom Democratic Party, the Freedom Labor Union and the successful okra co-op.

If You Farm You Can Vote. Black and white, narration in seperate handbook. Explains the functioning of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service county committees that doll out cotton acreage to farmers. Shows how Negro farmers can win elections to these committees and end the segregationists control of acreage allotments.

ORDERING TAPES AND FILM STRIPS

If you would like tapes or filmstrips for your workshop or discussion group, drop us a line

Freedom Information Service
Audio-Visual Dept.
P.O. Box 366
Edwards, Miss.

Make your request at least one week in advance of your workshop. Also, tell us what equipment you have available (tape recorder, filmstrip projector, movie screens, etc). If you have any ideas for film strips or tape documentaries, let us know.

I. NEEDS - assumed (to be written up later)

II. OBJECTIVES

create community-wide awareness of the potential of co-ops to assist low income families; and provide education and technical assistance in the development of such co-ops of all types, including credit unions

assist in the training and education of members, board of directors, managers of these co-ops in order to foster the economic stability and growth of the individual members and the group collectively

assist in the formation of federation(s) of co-ops to continue this educational program and provide business advisory services to member co-ops on a self-supporting basis

III. PROPOSED PROGRAM

financing:

1. SRC should submit program to OEO as a demonstration project not subject to local and state CAP board approval for their evaluation of its total or partial fundability; and accept funds from OEO for those portions of the proposal that they deem fundable
2. have program submitted by SRC to foundation sources for funding in conjunction with OEO

staffing:

1. community co-op advisers (CCA's), one in each county or parish, to fulfill our stated objectives
2. 10 traveling co-op technical specialists in mobile vans making periodic visits to assist local CCA's with visual aids, specialized seminars and education, more advanced training in the use of new techniques
3. necessary central staff to service traveling and local resident field personnel and to provide necessary central training institutes

(draft for discussion at co-op workshop, Mt. Beulah, June 9-11, 1966)

fis

FINANCIAL ACCOUNTING

FREEDOM INFORMATION SERVICE

July 9, 1965 - March 14, 1966

GENERAL FUNDS

	Delta Ministry	Independent	
Received	$18,000 pledge	$655.74	($804.74)
Spent - Total	3,186.46 plus about $2,500 as room and board	594.51	
Subsistence	$1,410.00	293.25	
Office Supplies	849.10	70.06	
Travel	336.04	76.52	
Equipment Rental	160.14	-- --	
Miscellaneous (includes postage)	320.86	154.68	
(Money raised by FIS and put into DM-FIS fund)	--- --		(150.00)
BALANCE ON HAND, 3/14/66	(Withdrawn as of 3/25/66)	$61.23	

* * * * *

A.S.C.S. Special Funds, Fall, 1965

Workshops
Received $1,500.00 Spent $1,500.00

Transportation, etc.
Received $600.00 Spent $600.00

THE MILITANT

Monday, May 23, 1966

Interview With New SNCC Chairman

By John Benson

[The following interview with Stokely Carmichael was given before his recent election as chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. See story below on this page.]

Stokely Carmichael is a SNCC field secretary, who has been working in Lowndes county since February, 1965. He has played a crucial role in the formation of the independent Black Panther party there, its development both organizationally and politically, and making sure that all the legal requirements for securing a place on the ballot were met. As one of the people of Lowndes told me, they knew what was wrong and wanted to do something about it, but they didn't know how. Stokely helped to explain "how."

As the party has developed, more and more of the leadership functions have been taken over by people from Lowndes, and Carmichael thinks he may be able to leave after the November elections.

This interview was given to me on Tuesday, May 3, after the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, the official name of the Black Panther, had held a mass meeting to nominate its candidates for the November elections. My questions are in heavy type.

* * *

You held a meeting to nominate candidates today. How did the movement begin here and move toward forming a new party?

"We began with a protest movement. We worked on voter registration; we held a school boycott; we protested police brutality. Using the energy built up, we then built a movement to take power, to get control.

If we control the school board, we won't have to have school boycotts anymore. Instead of protesting police brutality, we decided to take over the office of sheriff. If the Negro can get power, we won't have to protest anymore.

I've always been taught majority rules. In Lowndes we're 80 percent. We're the majority. We're going to take power in Lowndes county and rule. We don't even want to integrate. We want power, pure unadulterated political power.

We've built a political organization to put our candidates in office. We're neither Republican nor Democrat. But it's not a party yet, and won't be recognized as a party until we get 20 percent of the vote. Our name is the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. After November it will be the Lowndes County Freedom Party. The Black Panther is our symbol.

Today we held our mass meeting to nominate our candidates. Their names will be on the ballot Nov. 8 along with our symbol, the Black Panther. All the people have to do is pull the lever under the Panther. Nov. 8 we vote. Nov. 9 we take over the courthouse.

You say Negroes are 80 percent of the population in Lowndes. Are enough Negroes registered to win the elections?

Yes. And we've got until 45 days before the November elections to continue registering.

What will the Freedom Organization do if it wins?

We're going to tax people the way they should be. If people don't pay the tax, we can auction their land to pay the taxes for them. The biggest company in the county is Dan River Mills, and it's here on a tax-free basis. Even if they leave because they get taxed, what have we lost? They're not paying tax now. It's almost a completely automated plant so we don't get jobs. Then we're going to take all that tax money and build our schools. After we win we're not going to have to drive to the white folks' part of town to get paved roads.

You said you are neither Republican nor Democrat. Why is that?

There's no room for Negroes in the same party as Wallace. No matter who wins, Wallace will still be in the Democratic Party and he will tell the party what to do. We're going to face Wallace with power. It's not our job to get Wallace out of the party. It's Kennedy's and Morse's job. How can they all say what they say about civil rights and then sit down at the same table? Then they ask me to go in and reform the Democratic Party. Did they ask the Jews to reform the Nazi party?

What about the Democratic Party in the North and on a national level?

The Democratic Party in this country is the most treacherous enemy of the Negro, period. We've got to split it so Johnson and all the king's horses and all the king's men can't put it together again. The only way the Negro in Alabama will get justice is to smash the Democratic Party.

And the national party is opposed to the interests of Negroes. The Daley machine in Chicago is the same thing as the Wallace machine in Alabama. The Negroes in Watts are all loyal Democrats, and they're not going to get anything until they get out of the Democratic Party. And we've got to start tearing up the Democratic Party in Harlem.

Photo by Doug Harris

Stokely Carmichael

One of your leaflets points out that the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party tried to work within the framework of the national Democratic Party and Alabama doesn't have to make this mistake. What did you mean by this? Was the MFDP a failure?

First, I don't call the MFDP a failure. It was successful because we learned from it. We learned a lot from it. In order to get the MFDP we went to the North and appealed to the liberals. We had that big summer project with Northern white students and all kinds of money from Northern whites. That limited our choices. We had to have everything approved before we could do it. We learned that we had to have Negro control, no white control. That was the first lesson.

In Lowndes we have raised almost all our money within the county. People from Lowndes who moved to Detroit formed a sympathy movement and send us $100 a month. And most of the organizers are from the county. So now we can go to people and say "This is what we are doing. Will you help us? Will you give us money for this?" Recently some people in Boston, who knew Jonathan Daniels, the only white who was working in the county, are raising money for us to buy land to build homes for the people that have been evicted for registering. [Jonathan Daniels was murdered by racists last year.]

The second thing we learned from the MFDP was about the Democratic Party. The MFDP tried to integrate into the national party. It went to Atlantic City and said "We've been suppressed by the Eastlands and the Barnetts. They don't support your candidates. We are the party that supports your candidates. Seat us." They were turned down. Their appeal was denied because of coalitions. And that taught us something about the Democratic Party. Its interests aren't our interests. Negroes have to control their party and they can't have control and be a part of the Democratic Party.

So far you have mentioned only the Democratic Party.

I talk about only the Democratic Party because it lied. And a lot of people don't know that yet. Negroes vote as a bloc in the Democratic Party, but it lied. It said it was good, it said it was nice, it said it was liberal, it said it was for peace, it said it was for Negroes. And it lied. I know it lied. At least the Republican Party never lied. I don't care a bit for the Republican Party, but Negroes just don't vote in it like they do in the Democratic Party.

Do you expect any opposition from the government to what you are doing in Lowndes?

We're trying to get power. The power structure doesn't want black people to have power. I'm not talking about George Wallace, I'm talking about Bobby Kennedy. They don't want black people to have power. It's in the interests of Robert Kennedy and Washington to squash the Lowndes County Freedom Organization because it will spread. And that's what we're working for. A national alternative, when Negroes will be organized independently, neither Republican nor Democrat. So it's in their interests to stop us, but I don't know what they'll do.

Do you think the local racists will use violence against the Freedom Organization? What plans do you have if you face violence?

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization is not nonviolent. Nonviolence is irrelevent. What King has working for him is a moral force, but we're building a force to take power. We're not a protest movement. We're out to take power legally, but if we're stopped by the government from doing it legally, we're going to take it the way everyone else took it, including the way the Americans took it in the American Revolution. And we've seen the way the federal government protects us, or rather doesn't protect us. If one of our candidates gets touched, we're going to take care of the murderers ourselves.

I've heard people attack the Freedom Organization because it is all black and that whites and Negroes are fighting the same enemy so they should fight together. Would you comment on this?

We've got to fight separately now because we've never done anything on our own. That's most important now. We have to have control over our own fight right now. In this county anything all black could never be worse than it has been all white. Things have been all white too long. We're going to change that. Some people say we should save a place in our party's slate for a white, but whites didn't ever leave any places open for us in their primaries, and we don't need to leave any places open for them.

Sometimes you hear Negroes talking about all black is no good. Well they're just talking about themselves. If I say something all black is no good, I'm talking about myself. I'm *all* black and I know I'm good. So they're just talking about themselves.

Do you have any plans for the future beyond Lowndes County?

Right now we're concentrating on the county level. I feel strongly about organizing on the local level. At the state and federal level things get confused and you have to make too many compromises. But we're going to spread. People from Lowndes speak in other counties now. On March 20, 60 people spoke in six different counties about the Freedom Organization. Today, Freedom Organizations nominated candidates in three counties in addition to Lowndes. After that I want to work toward 1972. By then the Negroes should be organized as an independent force. We have the power to smash the Democratic Party. If we do that, they'll never be able to put it together again.

Earlier you said you didn't even want to integrate. Could you explain that?

We've been caught in what I call the pitfall of integration. The answer to all the Negro's problems in this country has been integration. We have operation uplift. We've got to "headstart" the Negro. But the reason the Negro is in the position he's in today is not because he's not integrated, but because he doesn't have power. Integration is an insidious subterfuge for white supremacy.

I'll take an example from Lowndes County. Last year, five Negroes entered the white school. All the papers hailed this as a great triumph. Finally Lowndes County had been cracked. But all the other Negro children had to go to the same old schools. And no whites went to the black schools, because they were in fact inferior.

Integration has always been Negroes going to white schools because the white schools are good, and black schools are bad. A Negro would go from his school to a better school, a white school. Negroes have been made to believe that everything better is always white. If integration means moving to something white is moving to something better, then integration is a subterfuge for white supremacy.

Well, what do you think of the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision?

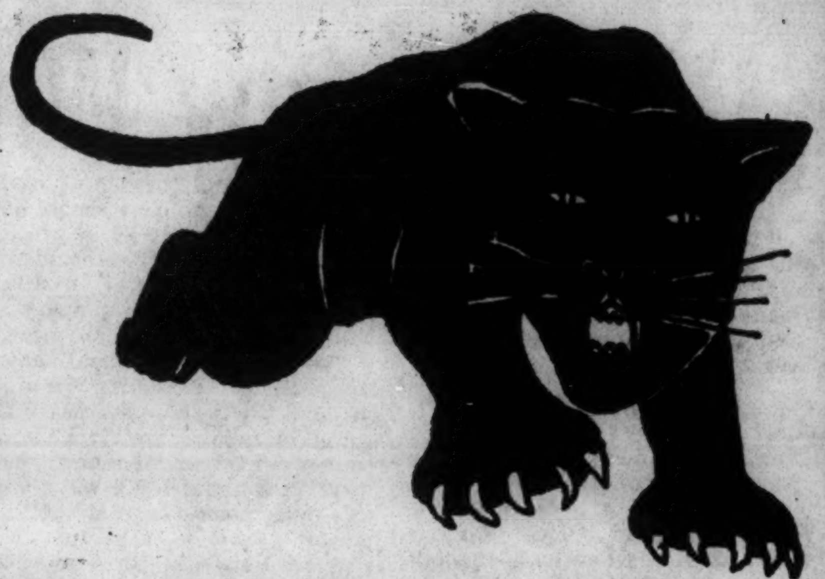
The problem with that decision was that it emphasized integration. What it should have emphasized was equal per capita money for white and black schools. The problem is that less money is spent on black schools than on white schools. We're not so concerned about going to a white school — we want a good school.

Two more questions. First, how do people in Lowndes feel about the war in Vietnam?

Most people in Lowndes are against the war. But you can't go talking to them about teach-ins or Geneva. The only thing that makes sense is saying "end the war" or "get out" or something like that. My way of ending the war is to tell all the Negroes to stop fighting. Then the war will be over.

How do you feel after today's meeting?

Great. It was great. Now we work for Nov. 8.



SYMBOL. Black panther is symbol of Lowndes County Freedom Organization, popularly known as Black Panther party.

New Top Officers Elected by SNCC

Stokely Carmichael was elected chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee at a SNCC staff meeting on May 15. Carmichael replaces John Lewis as head of the militant Southern civil rights organization.

Mrs. Ruby Smith Robinson was elected executive secretary succeeding James Forman.

Both Lewis and Forman were elected to the 10-man central committee that will shape policy for the organization.

Cleveland Sellers remained in office as program director and will serve with Carmichael and Mrs. Robinson in the organization's three-member secretariat. Jack Minnis was the only white elected to the central committee.

The SNCC gathering agreed to de-emphasize the role of whites in civil rights activity in the South, according to the *Times*.

Mrs. Robinson is a 23-year-old Atlantan and a graduate of Spelman College. Like Carmichael, she became active in SNCC soon after it was founded in 1960. Mrs. Robinson is said to share Carmichael's view on the importance of independent political action in opposition to both the Democratic and Republican parties.

NOTES ON THE CONDITION OF THE MISSISSIPPI NEGRO --1966

This year at least 64% of the cotton labor force in Mississippi will have no work. If they are lucky some will receive welfare. The vast majority of them are Negro.

Both the Mississippi and Federal Government have failed to find a solution for this problem.

LESS WORK ON THE PLANTATIONS

Of the 64,000 people reported in the US Census of 1960 as employed in the production of cotton in Mississippi, only 26,000 will be needed for work this year.

Ralph Alewine, of the Mississippi Employment Security Commission, estimated that only 7,000 cotton choppers and pickers would be needed this year. (NY Times Nov. 1965) He also predicted that there would be 6,500 fewer tractor drivers needed. There are now 26,000 drivers living with their families on Delta plantations.

In the 1940's both Negroes and whites left the land in large numbers. In 1940, 58% of Mississippi's work force was engaged in agriculture; by 1960 that number had dropped to 21% (US Census 1960). To some degree manufacturing jobs absorbed the rural whites, but between 1950 and 1960 manufacturing jobs for Negroes decreased by 3% (US Census).

A National Guardian report in September 1964 stated that, "Negroes have moved and will move because their agricultural jobs are eliminated and industrial jobs are reserved for whites."

MIGRATION OFF THE LAND

Jobless and landless Negroes have moved to the Mississippi towns and to the North. With them have gone a high proportion of Negro high school and college graduates.

Between 1950 and 1960, 114,460 Miss. Negroes left the state from 11 Delta counties alone, according to a study by Miss. State University.

The Delta Democratic Times of Greenville states: "as the rural able-bodied Negroes left the Delta to look for other jobs the old folks and the children straggled into town to the extent that 97 percent of the increase of urban Negroes was in this class (Feb. 11, 1965)."

MECHANIZATION INCREASES AT A FASTER RATE THAN EVER BEFORE

Nearly 95% of Mississippi's farm crops are now mechanically planted and harvested. Yet in 1963 the Mississippi Farm Bureau estimated that only 72% of that years cotton crop was mechanically harvested. Cotton picking machines do the work of 150 hands, and their efficiency improves every year.

Pre-emergent chemicals have drastically cut the labor force once used to clear the cotton fields of weeds. A speaker at the conference of Delta farmers last April predicted that within two years cotton "choppers" would not be needed at all.

At the close of last year the US Department of Agriculture reduced cotton allotments to stabilize cotton proces. This has already been responsible for job losses and more have been anticipated by the Mississippi Delta Council (N Y Times, Nov. 18, 1965). And yet the large planters do not stand to lose much from the cut-back in allotments, since some acreage decreases are expected to be offset by price support and other subsidies.

THE MISSISSIPPI "SOLUTION" TO THE RACE QUESTION

This year many if not most Mississippi planters will be paying tractor drivers an average of $6 a day, and cotton choppers and pickers about $3 a day. 1950 wages were just about the same according the the U.S. Census.

The source of this wage stability is the plantation system. Planters, by a variety of techniques, legal and illegal, ensured themselves a constant and stable supply of cheap labor. That dependence has gone, but not the Negroes dependence on a system created over 150 years ago. To ask for higher wages 150 years ago or today is to ask to be fired.

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Automation has not changed this. It has provided an excuse and a way for the "final solution" to the race question. That solution is Negro emigration.

Consider these statistics: The US Census of 1960 found that the chances of a Negro baby dying in its first year in Mississippi was more than twice that of a white baby - and higher than that of a white baby in 1913.

MISSISSIPPI WELFARE PROGRAMS

The State did not participate in the Kerr-Mills medical assistance for the aged program when it began, as part of the Social Security Act, in 1960. Comparatively the State spends less than any other southern state on medical services for the poor.

The poor - defined by a Government statement as those familits (of 5) earning less than $4,000 a year comprise over 40% of Mississippi's population. (US Census 1960).

The $4,000 a year income figure, does not enter into calculations when the Mississippi Welfare Department estimates that it should pay families, or individuals, on welfare. The Department has set a maximum of $90 a month, or $1,080 a year, for families on Aid to Dependent Children (ADC). The average amount is very much lower. According th the Department that average last year was $372.

This is one aspect of welfare in Mississippi - another is the discriminatory way in which officials administer welfare programs to Negroes. Support, for example, has been taken away from people who participated in civil rights, or who sent their children to integrated schools. Also the State legislature has passed laws to encourage emigration and to keep down the Negro birth rate. For example a 1965 law was passed which strikes an ADC mother from the welfare rolls if she has two illegitamate children. Many Negro men "leave" to enable their families to get on welfare. The U S Census of 1960 speaks to this fact: it shows Negro women outnumbering men in almost every Mississippi county.

FORTY PERCENT OF THE POPULATION NEED SURPLUS FOOD

The level of wages and welfare payments bear directly on the number of people who receive surplus food in Mississippi. Last winter 300,000 people received commodities; this winter the State Department of Welfare announced a distribution program which was designed to feed an additional 500,000 people. The total figure of 800,000 represents about 40% of the entire population of the state.

EDUCATION

The State, with stbstantial help from the Federal Government, finances education. Last summer, however, in a move admittedly aimed at Negro children, the State legislature passed a bill which made it mandatory for children not living with their parents or legal guardians to pay school tuition. This law was challenged by the Justice Department and is now under review by a panel of Federal judges.

HOUSING

The housing problem is as bad as the food problem: 90% of all Negro rural homes lacked flush toilets, bath-tubs or showers according to the 1960 census.

ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM

Despite Mississippi's poverty, the State, until 1965, consistently refused to take part in Federal anti-poverty programs.

The 1964 Legislature went as far as passing a bill which would prevent municipalities from accepting urban renewal projects. A real measure of the State's attitude is the voting record of her five Congressmen. In 1964 they voted against the OEO act, in 1965 against the public works act, and against Medicare, among the other bills meant to help poor people.

FEDERAL INACTION

> "The long abused and misused lands of the South are faring better than the long-abused and misused people who have inhabited them. There have been no policies and scientific practices to ensure constructive use of them. This waste of human resources is the South's great unsolved problem."
>
> --Lewis W. Jones, The Cold Rebellion

Back in the Thirties the Federal Government began two programs for farmers: the Farmers Security Service (later the Farmers Home Advisory Service), and the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. Both programs proved to be selective, helping individual farmers, but doing very little to offset the effects of automation.

These programs were designed for farmers, yet between 1930 and 1959, 75,000 Mississippians left their farms (US Farm Census). Loans and grants are available for the seasonal worker (the day laborer through Title III of the 1964 Economic Opporutunity Act. But the program is administered through the FHA which is controlled by the white power structure.

Federal enforcement of its own supposedly non-discriminatory programs has been notoriously poor, according to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission report of 1965. Widespread discrimination has been found in the operations of the FHA and the ASCS agencies in Mississippi (see US Farm Bureau report, 1965; and the Department of Agricultural investigation of ASCS elections, 1964). More recently discrimination has been reported in these Federal Programs by Congressman Resnick following a visit to Mississippi last

November.

The Federal government continually permits the Mississippi power structure to administer federally supported programs in a discriminatory way. For example, the Office of Economic Opportunity recently granted Mississippi 1½ million dollars for the distribution of $24 million dollars worth of surplus foods. Individual counties have the option of participating. Thus, while it agreed to the need for getting food to poor people (50,000), the OEO allowed the local power structures (the county boards of supervisors) the power of veto.

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FACT SHEET

(Backgroung on refugees' use of Greenville AFB)

--Median income of Negroes in the Delta: $456 a year (USDA report, 11/64)

--Of 26,000 tractor drivers living with their families on Delta plantations, 6,500 will be jobless by Spring (Ralph Alewine, Mississippi Employment Security Commission, Nov. 18, 1965).

--Eight counties of Mississippi have no commodities distribution at all. Thirty-nine counties give them only to people on welfare. Only 13 of the 82 counties give surplus commodities to all poor people.

--On November 24 the state got $1.5 million dollars in anti-poverty funds to distribute $24 million worth of surplus commodities in a special six-months program. None of this food has been distributed. Many people have been told by county welfare officials that they never heard of the program, called Operation HELP.

--The chances of a Negro baby's dying in its first year in Mississippi are more than twice those of a white baby's -- and higher than that of a white baby in 1913. (U. S. Census, 1960)

--Over 90% of the Negro, rural homes in Mississippi had no flush toilets, no bathtub and no shower. Only one-third are in sound condition (1960 census)

--The standard pay for tractor drivers in the Delta is $6 a day and for cotton choppers is $3 a day -- sunrise to sunset. Plantation families have no income during the 6 months between growing seasons; owners often make advances against the coming year's wages.

--A family of five without a breadwinner (or whose breadwinner is unemployed) must live on $627 a year in general assistance (about $12 a week.) The federal government says a family of five making less than $4,000 is living in poverty.

--Less than ½ of 1% of Negro children in the state go to school with white children. Fifteen Mississippi school districts have no desegregation at all.

--In the Delta, over half the males over 25 years old have less than a sixth-grade education. Mississippi does not at present have a compulsory school attendance law.

--Greenville Air Force Base, formerly a jet training facility, has not been in use by the air force in more than a year. Its residential area includes 30 apartments and covers 13 acres. (A recent local news story says the housing area will be deeded to the state.)

# # #

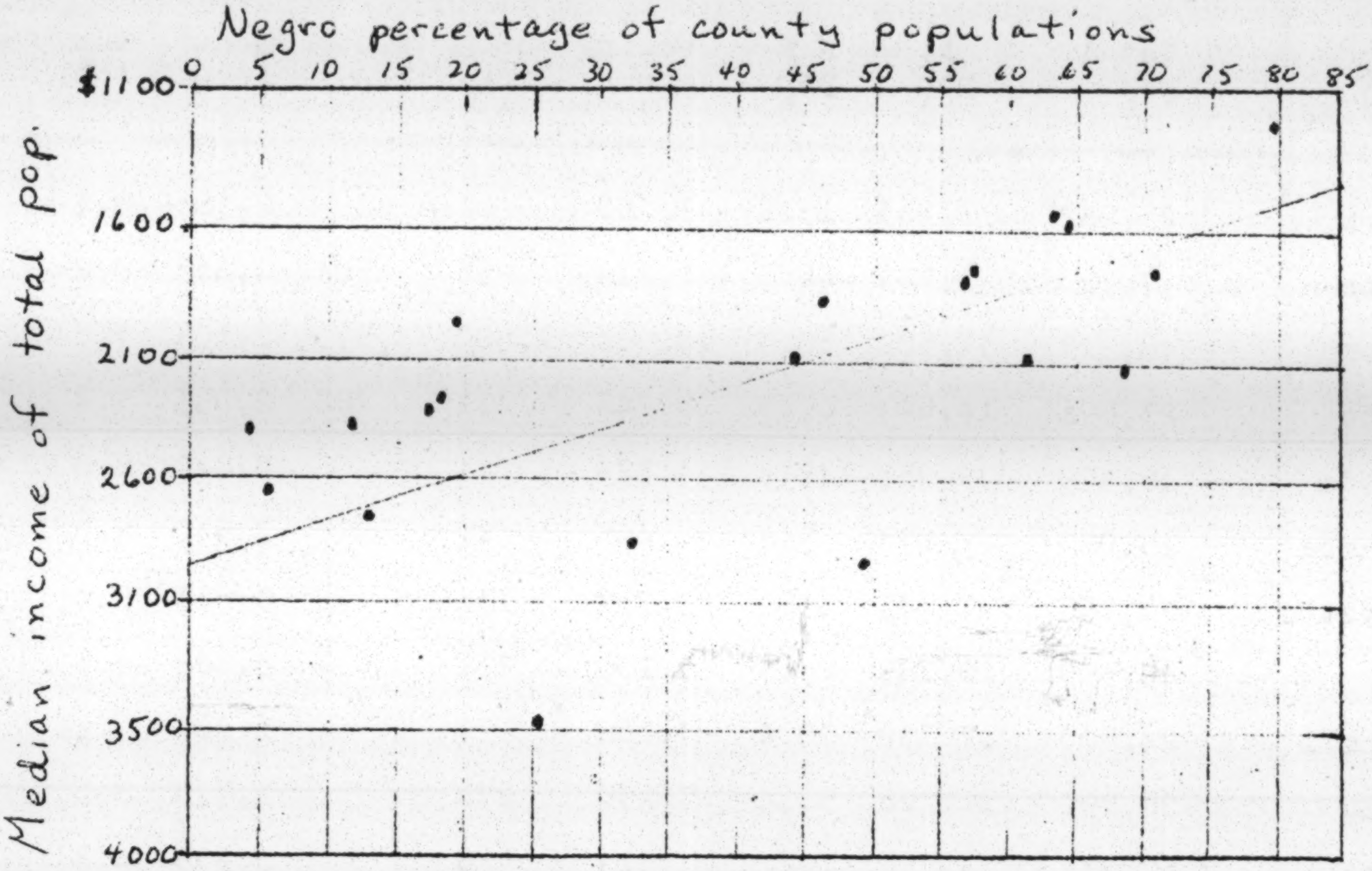
SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, MISSISSIPPI

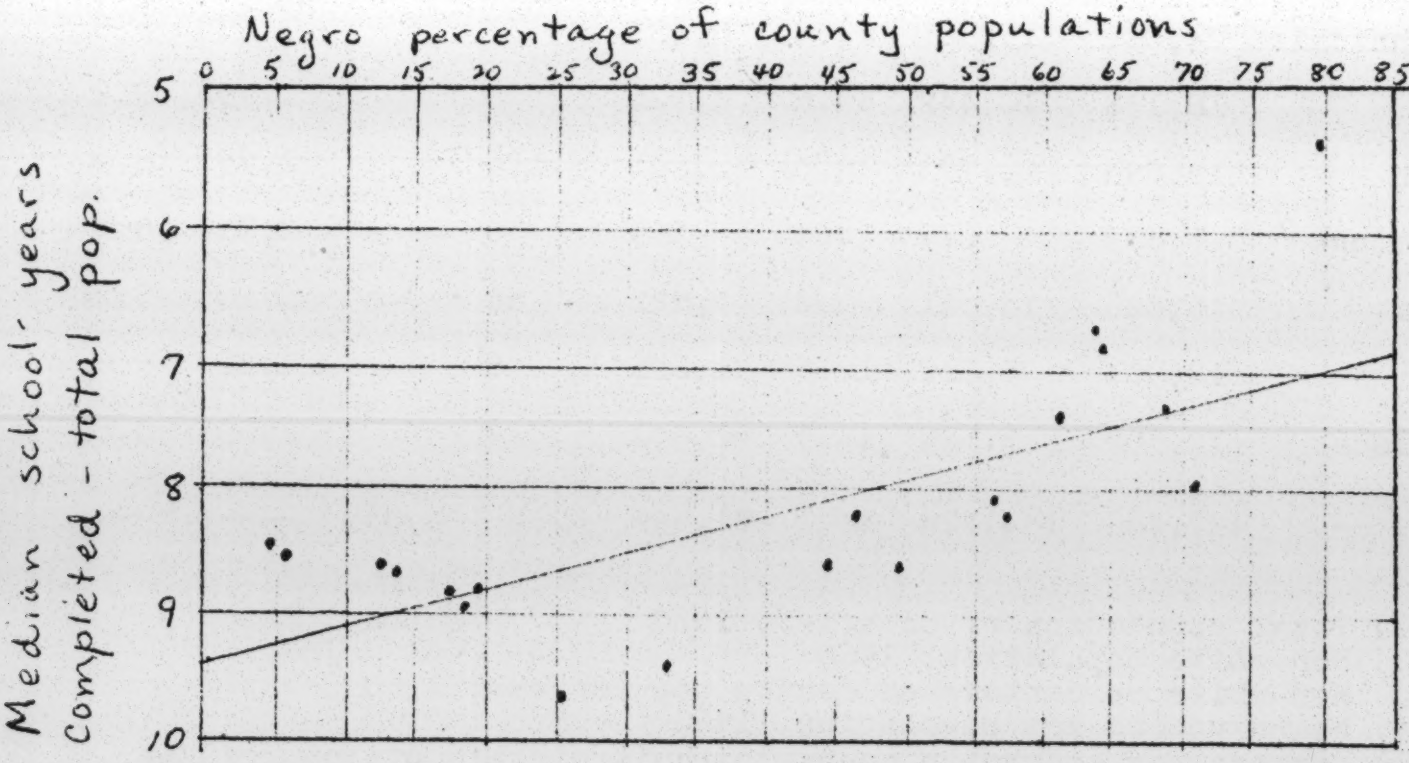
COUNTIES	Total pop. 1	N. pop. 2	N % pop. 3	voting age N 4	co. reg. 5	fed. reg. 6	mdn. incom 7	mdn sch. 8
Alcorn	25,282	3,333	13.2	1,750	61		2,783	8.7
Benton	7,723	3,609	46.7	1,419	55	504	1,853	8.2
Coahoma	46,212	31,582	68.3	14,004	1,800	3,573	2,101	7.3
DeSoto	23,891	14,643	61.3	6,246	11*	782	2,093	7.4
Grenada	18,409	9,057	49.2	4,323	61		2,848	8.6
Itawamba	15,080	874	5.8	463	47		2,640	8.5
Lafayette	21,355	7,245	33.9	3,239	134		2,813	9.4
Lee	40,589	10,289	25.3	5,130	231		3,488	9.6
Marshall	24,503	17,239	70.4	7,168	177		1,784	7.9
Panola	28,791	16,226	56.4	7,250	878		1,799	8.1
Pontotoc	17,232	3,286	19.1	1,519	6		1,903	8.8
Prentiss	17,949	2,186	12.2	1,070	18		2,318	8.6
Quitman	21,019	13,304	63.3	5,673	436*		1,517	6.7
Tallahatchie	24,081	15,501	64.4	6,483	17		1,588	6.8
Tate	18,138	10,442	57.6	4,326	0		1,752	8.2
Tippah	15,093	2,756	18.3	1,281	176		2,250	8.9
Tishomingo	13,889	679	4.9	359	6		2,351	8.4
Tunica	16,826	13,321	79.2	5,822	38		1,206	5.2
Union	18,904	3,312	17.5	1,626	6		2,274	8.8
Yalobusha	12,502	5,540	44.3	2,441	4		2,095	8.6
TOTAL	427,468	184,424	43.1	81,592	4,162	4,859	-----	---

Key: 1) Total population of counties, 1960
2) Non-white population, 1960
3) Non-white percentage of county populations, 1960
4) Negro voting age population, 1960
5) Negroes registered in county circuit clerk's office, 1/1/64; those starred as of 6/1/62
6) Negroes registered by federal registrars
7) Median income of total county population, 1960
8) Median school years completed for total county population, 1960

Second Congressional District, Mississippi

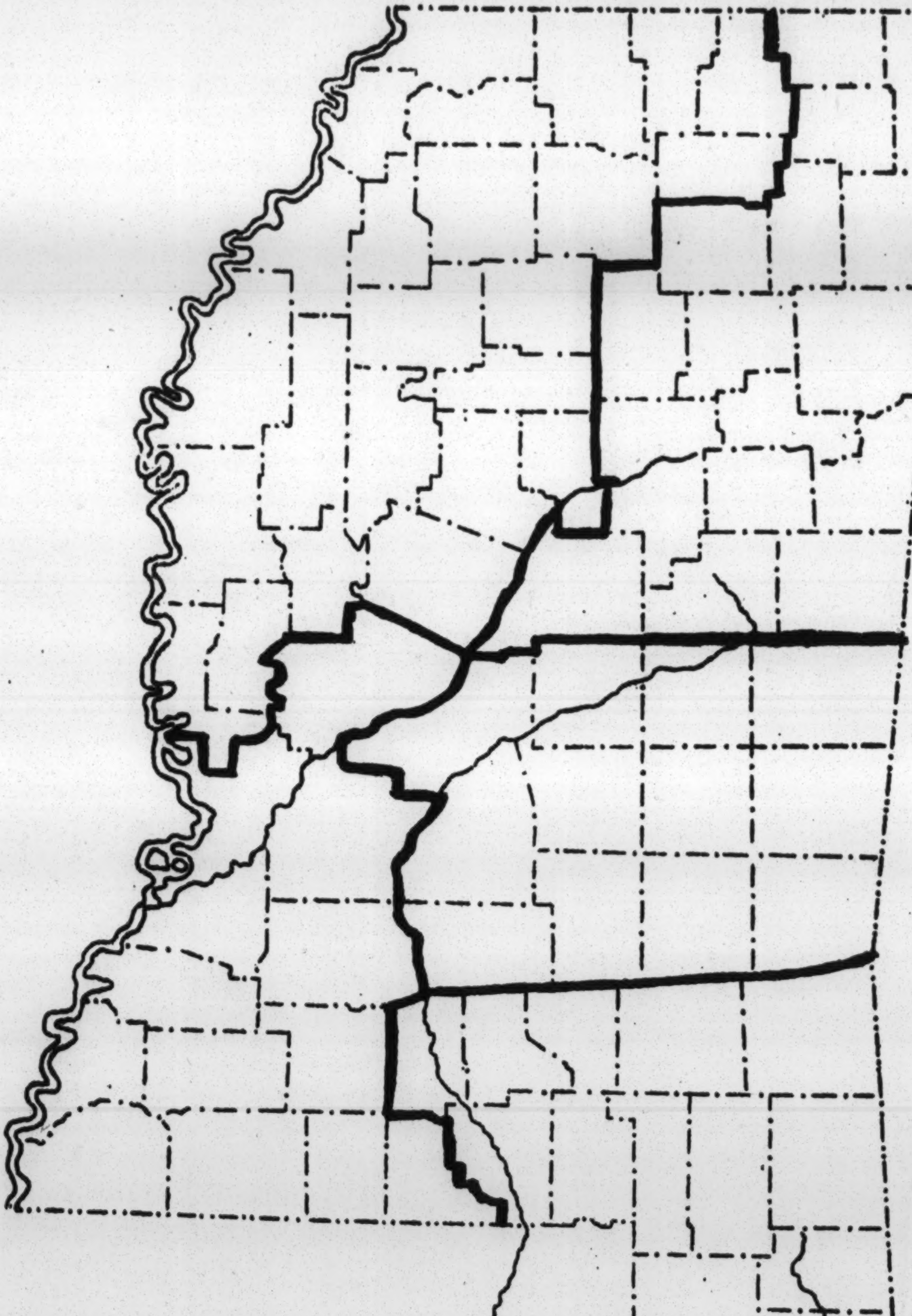
May, 1966





(Diagonal lines of relationship drawn very roughly.)

Prepared by the Freedom Information Service, P.O. Box 366, Edwards, Miss. 39066



MISSISSIPPI AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

PLEASE POST

NEEDED

A Research Coordinator for the Freedom Information Service. (see accompanying resume)

At least for the summer, someone is needed to gather and utilize research materials on Mississippi economics and politics and help make these relevant to the Mississippi Freedom Movement.

A Library of books, pamphlets, magazines, and clippings is now maintained, but a person is needed who can make maximum use of these resources in the total FIS program.

Up to $35. a week is available (and plenty to live on) if unable to secure your own support.

Please Contact:

Miss Jan Hillegas
Freedom Information Service
P.O. Box 366
Edwards, Mississippi 39066

and give details of your education, experience, interests, and ideas; when available; support.

Write as soon as possible !

ALSO: Self-supporting volunteers are needed to help with writing, library work, distribution of written and audio-visual materials, and/or general drudgery of FIS. Write as above.

This program will attempt toapply the cooperative organization in creative ways to the real problems of poor people. The measure of its success should be as much ~~equally~~ dependent upon the extent to which people identify themselves with ~~/~~ , and participate in, "their" co-ops, as the economic benefits ~~they~~ the coop produce. If the people are truly invovled in developing and operating their own co-op they will patronize~~,~~ them and participate in~~,~~ them and therefore make them grow. The goal of this program is to develop and expand cooperatives whose owners will talk of them as "mine and ours" instead of "you all's and the co-op". Only in this way can the individual members develop the ~~necessary~~ sophistication necessary to survive in our competitive business economy. To develop such cooperatives will require technical assistance, business and management counseling, market research, packaging experiments, and a variety of other technical and consultative services.

~~This demonstration proposal calls for a test~~

To Apply~~ing~~ co-op principles creatively to the problems of poor people, ~~will require~~ the ~~field staff~~ organization and training staff will need a flexible orientation as well as an ability to adapt to variety of situations. For example, if there is a large number of domestic workers in an area working for $3.00/day a member of the field staff might begin working in that community by talking about social security requirements for domestic workers. After an organization has been formed the members might begin studying ways they can save money, perhpas by beginning a buying club and purchasing their staple food products from a large chain store or a wholesaler. A union could be formed demanding higher wages and better working conditions. Such a union might have as its central holding force a "cooperative hiring hall for domestic services", through which job requests at union pay scales would be handled. Eventually a cooperative health plan could be instituted or a cooperative funeral society -- whatever the members decided after learning of the alternatives open to them. Throughout the building of this organization the structures should be raised by the people, growing in accordance with their particualr needs, and not be built on to them or on top of them.

THE FIELD STAFF

In order to take the ~~mao~~ major part of all training and education programs "to the people" a field staff of twenty organizers will be hired. These men and women will be from the South and it will be required that they have some experience in working with the poor. The field staff will live in the communities where they work on a permanent bassi so people will feel they are part of the community and always in reach when problems arise. It will probably take three to six months for these organizers to be accepted and trusted in the communities. During this time they will be able to familiarize themselves with the people, problems and "power structure" of the area.

A two month training program will be attended by each member of the field staff before they are placed in ~~the comm~~ their communities. The program will include:

---- how to analyse a community

---- the use of non-directive techniques of community organization (getting the community to work on its own problems under the direction of its own leaders)

---- programs and resources that can be drawn upon for assistanse.

---- a basic grounding in cooperative principles

---- how to creatively apply the cooperative form of economic organization to community problems.

---- tours of ~~existing~~ successful cooperatives of various types in the South and the North.

While the budget call s for twenty full time paid organizers ti may be more useful to divide several of those full time positions into two part time jobs enabling the project to hire more people and spread influence further. Farmers who have had experience, for instance, in setting up ~~of~~ theri own cooperative could spend full time in the winter months working to help other farmers organize a similiar ~~coope~~ co-op in another part of the state or maybe a branch of "his" co-op in his own county. Housewives, older people on social security, barbers (usually ohly work on weekends in many southern communities), etc., could be hired on a part-time basis. Much of the organizing work will have to be done in the evening anyway becuase that is when poor people are free to attend meetings.

Each field staff member's project will have at its disposal a modest contigency fund to be used to assist local people who particiapate in the program in paying their expenses. This fund will insure that poor people with the willingness to participate in and to lead new co-op groups will also have the capability financially to do so. A successful co-op operation might hinge on a 100 mile trip to the nearest large city wholesale ~~store~~ warehouse, but local people might be reluctant to go without funds to pay their expenses.

Once groups begin working on a cooperative project, the organizer will serve as an advisor - educator , assisting the co-op members when called upon and teaching basic business and financial practices as they relate to co-op principles. Field staff assigned to ~~work with~~ already functioning cooperatives will work in increasing membership particiapation and patronage, openin new markets and outlets, expanding territory , opening new branches and chapters of the existing co-ops, and doing whatever the members think would be most helpful.

THE CENTRAL STAFF

The central staff for this program will be small and therefore must be carefully chosen to insure ~~those~~ that those ~~chosen~~ selected have a multiplicity of talents and the capacity to work long hours.

Director - The director will serve as the overall program supervisor. Qualifications will include:

--- a high school education or better

--- be from the South or have considerable work experience in the South.

--- have shown some administrative ability

--- hopefully with experience in working with low-income people's co-ops.

Assisstant Diretor - The assistant director will coordinatie the operations of the field staf

His qualifications will be the same as the director of the program.

Information Specialist - The information specialist will be responsible for research and development of materials, both written and audio visual, for the field staff. He or she will also be responsible for the preparation of a library of materials on co-ops.

Qualifi cations:

--- professional training and experience in research and material preparation

--- experience with southern vernacular and idioms

language?

Cooperative Specialist - The specialist will work closely with the field staff beginning with the latter's training program and continuing after they begin their community work. He will assist in developing materials; will be responsible for setting up training programs both in the communities and at the central institute.

Qualifications:

---- experience in working with beginning cooperatives

--- a thorough knoweldge of cooperatives and cooperative principles

Book-keeper -Accountant - The book-keeper's job will be to keep the accounts for the program and to help new and exisiting cooperatives in setting up a good booking system.

Qualifications:

---- experience in cooperative accounting procedure

---- academic qualications equivalent to CPA

Secretarial Assistance - normal secretarial duties. It is estimated ~~three/or four~~ two or three secretaries will be required.

THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAM

To meet the general, education and techncial needs set forth in the introducation to this proposal the following education and training program is envisaged.

The program will be taken to the communities to the greatest extent possible. This program will offer the needed technical and management assistance to already existing cooperatives and to the beginning co-ops as they come into ~~exist~~ operation. Funds are provided for consultants and for technical assistace to co-ops in whatever field they may request. A provision is also made to subsidize partially the management personnel of new co-ops. ~~A manager~~ Under this propision a manager could receive a stipend from the co-op program ~~while~~ enableing him to work at least ½ time for the co-op. ~~This type of an arrangement~~ This grant would be made only after an ~~in~~ agreement ~~with~~ had been reached with the manager and the cooperative's board of directors ~~that~~ and also its ~~the~~ general membership that they would all make themselves available for training sessions. In the case of the manager, a requirement of the grant might be ~~to~~ attendance at three to six one week training sessions and periodic weekend ~~train~~ seminars. The~~se~~ longer sessions would be held at the central training institute, while

6A

for page 6

(insert after"be thouroughly familiar with)

This program will approach leadership training as it will all parts of the educational and training program -- by ~~trying~~ taking the program to the community . By doing this many of the pitfalls mentioned in the introduction to this proposal can be avoided. ~~The sucess of~~ The goal will be too prepare each member of the cooperative to handle the responsibilites of both board of directorship and management. This can be done through such methods as the rotating of board~~s~~ of directorship allowing all members automatically to serve as directors. As indivudals show distinct abilities at management and directing, longer, more intense courses will be made availabel at the institue. The leadership training section of ~~the~~ this program will keep centrally in mind that in the South those in the community, especially the Negro community, who are called the leaders, are notoriously powerless and have very few real followers. The programs will need to find new people who can inspire the confidence of the people and who can carry through a new idea. These people exist now and they do exert influence on others, although most of these people generally don't consider themselves leaders. The development of the abilities and the confidence of these "hidden" leaders will be a central goal of the cooperative development program.

the weekend programs would be in the communities. Training semimarns for the board of directos and members, as well as these for the managers would be open to all members of the cooperative., so that all members can learn more about the running ~~and~~ of their co-op. There/~~woul~~ would also be "instant institutes", again in the communites, conducted by the field staff in conjunction with the central staff and visiting consutlants on subjects such as reading and interpreting a balance sheet, or the meaning of chartering and incorporation, etc. -- things all members should be throughly familiar with. (add section here about "leadership Training") page 6A

The "institute" mentioned previously will be located centrally in the area to be covered by the demonstration program. It will be an actual physical plant to be known as the "co-op development institue". The central staff will be housed in the institute, and conferences and long-term training sessions will also be held there. It is felt by the authors of this proposal that ~~by having a~~ a phsical institue offers ~~af~~ core or a central focal point to the entire ~~[illegible]~~ co-op developjment program.

The MATERIALS

The mat rials ~~produced and~~ used in this program will, for the most part, need to be created as the program developes. As has been already mentioned, a large number of people this program must reach, if it is to be successful, have difficulty in reading. The materials, therefore, will have to be simple, largely pictorial, ~~and~~ in the idiom of the people, and to the greatest extent possible "invovle local poeple in local relevant situations.". A central theme must run through any materials produced. It will be one of trying to reach people where they are, with something they can understand and learn from. Audio-visual materials such as film strips and movies of "local people invovled in forming their own co-op will be produced. The ideas for the producation of these materials can be drawn directly from the poeple.

The REVOLVING FUND

A revolving fund will be established ~~through~~ by the Southern Cooperative Development Program. This fund will meet the critical need of temporary credit, a defeiciency a beginning cooperative invariably encounters. Loans from this fund will be repaid often after other credit sources ,csuch as Farmers Homes Administration or Small Business Adminsitration, can be secured. A sum of two hundred thousand dollars is requested for the reolling fund. It is possible that the repaymnet of loans from this fund over a period of years will serve as a major source of money for the continuation of the education and training programs. ~~under the~~

Summary of Program proposal ~~and~~

This proposal for a Southern Cooperative Development Program has attempted to get the absolute most for the amount of money ~~it is~~ requesting. Three hundred twenty-five thousand dollars a year is requested for operations covering a period of two years. An additonal two hundred thousand dollars for the revolving fund is requested ~~for a~~ also.

Long Range Goals

The Cooperative Development Prgogram is an effort to provide organizational, technical and eduational assistance and training to ~~low-i~~ cooperatives of low-income people in several states in the South. It is also an attempt to demonstrate that cooperatives can be used as a tool ~~with~~ whcih ~~to solve many of the problems of poor people~~ poor people can use to help solve mnay of their ~~own~~ problems. A ~~basic~~ strong belief is placed in the ability of people ~~to solve these problems~~ to do so, when given certain types of assistance. ~~And as~~ A central theme in the proposed program is that the poor should ~~control~~ build and control their own cooperative organizations. A natural longe range goal , then, should be that the Cooperative Development Program should eventually be owned and controlled by ~~representatives~~ the members of these cooperatives. In the beginning stages of this program ~~an advisory~~ there will be an Board of Directors ~~of~~ made up of representives of existing low-income cooperatives and of persons with ~~cooperative~~ experience~~s~~ in organizing and working with such groups. As cooperatives come into existence as a result of this program a place will be made for their representatives on this ~~advisory board~~ Board. Eventually it is hoped a federation of these low-income cooperatives will be organized ~~at which time~~ and that after a period

~~year~~ of years this federation will take over the Cooperative Development Program. When t~~h~~ this development takes place the persons with cooperative expertise and experience in working with low-income cooperatives will become the sole members of the Advisory Committee. The Cooperative Development Program will, after it is under the control of the federation, ~~at this time~~ be able to pay for a majority of its own program by ~~financing~~ funds provided by the individual member cooperatives. An added source of funds will be the money received in repayment ~~of~~ for loans from the original revovling fund.

The Budget for the Southern Co-op Development Program

I. Organizing

-- 25 (20 paid - 5 volunteers) co-op organizers @$5,000 the first year ~~and $6000 the second~~	
$6000 the second year	100,000 120,000 220,000
A. Travel for Organizers 1200 a year for two years for 25 projects	60,000
total staff	280,000

II. Contigency Fund (fund for expenses of local people)

$ 700 a year for two years for 25 projects	35,000
Total organizing expense	315,000

II. Central Staff

Director - two years at $8,000 a year	16,000
Assist. Director $7,000 a year	14,000
Co-op Specialist $7,000 a year	14,000
Information Director $7,000 a year	14,000
Accountant $7,000 a year	14,000
Secretarial Assistance	16,000
Travel for central staff	12,000
	$100,000

III. Central Institute

$10,000 a year rental and purchase of needed equipment	20,000

IV. Training

Orientation of Organizers	10,000
Training managers, Bd. of Directors , Members	30,000

Budget continued

V. Consultants	
Primarily for existing co-ops and to assist in training programs	$25.000
VI. Management Subsidy	
25 projects at $2000	100,000
VII. Materials	50,000
Materials for creating audio visual, booklets, tapes, etd.	
VIII. Revovling Fund	200,000

I. Organizing	315,000
II Central Staff	100,000
III Institute	20,000
IV. Training	40,000
V. Consultants	25,000
VI. Management Subsidy	100,000
VII. Materials	50,000
	650,000
VIII. Revolving Fund	200,000
total	850,000

EVENTS AT THE AIR BASE

Monday, Jan. 31

6:30 am: About 40 poor Negroes drive to the Greenville Air Force Base, where they occupy an abandoned barracks building. A sign is hung outside the door reading "This is our home--please knock before entering."

7:00 am: Lt. Colonel Andrews enters the barracks and orders them to leave. "You are tresspassing on government property," he says. He is presented with the groups official statement of demands and replies "My only concern is with this building." He locks all the doors to seal off the occupants, stumbles into a group of people and accuses a white volunteer of kicking him in the shins.

9:00 am: Local law officials leave the scene, claiming they have no jurisdiction on property under federal control. Police Chief W. C. Burnley asked if he is pulling his men out replies, "You're damn right." A local official says, "It is a case of breaking and entering on what may be city property on what might be a federal reservation in what we know is Washington County, Mississippi."

11:00 am: Fifteen more people arrive, including a large family from a Sunflower County plantation. Coal stoves, food, mattresses and blankets are brought in.

12:00 noon: Air base officials stop traffic through the gate but people and supplies continue to come over and through the surrounding fence.

1:00 pm: An administrative assistant from the Civil Rights Commission calls the Delta Ministry office demanding to know why the people occupied the base. He is told of the general condition of poor people in the Delta and that two Negroes froze to death in their Washington County home last week. He says, "we can't deal with the general condition, give me some specific facts." He says there is no excuse for breaking the law. He is told that if he has anything to say he must speak to those in the barracks.

2:00 pm: A three man council is elected to represent the occupants. The afternoon is spent holding meetings. Committees are elected to keep barracks clean, prepare food and tend the stoves.

7:30 pm: A spaghetti dinner is served. About 10 more people join the group.

12:00 midnight: More supplies arrive through the fence. Occupants bedded down for the night with a few people appointed to keep watch on the stoves. Reports come that police under the command of Maj. Gen. R. W. Puryear are arriving at the base.

Tuesday, Feb. 1

7:00 am: Group arises and clean-up committees roll up mattresses and blankets. A meeting is called to discuss plans for the day.

11:15 am: Major General Puryear and 150 air police march in and assemble outside barracks. He tells the group that he has a message from the Justice and Agriculture Departments telling them to inform the departments of their grievances and they would try to help. He says the group has twenty minutes to abandon the barracks. Occupants discuss the offer and vote to reject it, stating that Washington has been informed of their grievances for the last three years.

11:30 am: 150 air police break windows splattering glass over the people and open the doors of the barracks. People are dragged roughly from the building. A lady from Hattiesburg collapses while being hauled away and is taken to a Negro doctor in Greenville at the insistence of her friends. One man says "four of them approached me and said 'let's get that son-of-a-bitch, they threw me out, tearing my clothes." A few moments later an elderly Negro lady is arrested on alleged profanity charges.

12:00 noon: All the people expelled from the base begin an eight mile walk back to town through the mud alongside the highway.

* * *

Freedom Information Service
P.O. Box 366
Edwards, Miss.

A LEGALIZED SYSTEM OF BRUTALITY - MISSISSIPPI JUSTICE

The following discussion was held recently in the offices of the Lawyer's Constitutional Defense Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, on Farish Street in Jackson. Discussants were: Alvin Bronstein, of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, or LCDC; Mel Wulf, American Civil Liberties Union; Bill Kopit, LCDC; Alan Levine, LCDC; Tom Daiglish, NAACP Legal Defense Fund; and Henry Aronson, NAACP Legal Defense Fund. All of the organizations they represent, together with the National Lawyers Guild, try to fill the void in legal assistance available to local Negroes and to Civil Rights workers.

Q. Why is there a need for the LCDC?
Bronstein: This organization was formed --**LCDC**-- by the legal directors of various civil rights and civil liberties organizations to fill what appeared to be a void in legal assistance to local Negroes and civil rights workers. The need became very apparent because of the increased CR activities last summer We are here now to continue the work of last year in providing legal assistance to all those people who are attempting to achieve their constitutional rights.

Q.Does this void exist? Is this because local lawyers don't take the cases? In the past there has been an absolute void on the willingness of Miss. lawyers to take cases with civil rights overtones. Is this still true?
Levine: The situation is at least nominally changed by the passing of a resolution by the Miss. Bar-- again reaffirmed this past winter-- to the effect that anybody who is subject to criminal prosecution will be represented by lawyers. Thatis they will respect their obligations as members of the legal profession. However the continuing pressures on local lawyers are such that throughout the state we have found that there has been a general inability to get local lawyers. The response generally being: "We'd take the case--but..." citing various pressures on getting involved with the civil rights movement, etc.

Aronson: There are two kinds of problems. One is getting a local lawyer to handle the case. The other is being able to rely on the lawyer to raise all pertinent constitutional defenses, like the exclusion of Negroes on the jury. And add to that the willingness of CR workers and local Negroes to be represented by these lawyers--they haven't quite established a substansial degree of trust. We have had a number of instances where we have been referred by the Miss. Bar officials to local lawyers who have refused to handle the cases. As I say, there have been exceptions fairly recently where local lawyers have expressed willingness to take cases-- and have raised all the significant questions. But this is stillan insignificant portion.

A: To add to that-- I remember this last winter a statemnet by Mr. Satterfield of Yazoo City past chairman of the Miss. Bar. He said that giving proper defense to local people engaged in CR activity is one thing, but that outside agitators as he put it was another thing. He didn't be- Miss. lawyers should do that at all.

Q. Are there enough of you to handle the civil rights and civil liberties cases?
Bronstein: No there isn't. Because, you see it is the opinion of many of us that almost every legal situation in Miss. involving a Negro is, if not a civil rights case a civil liberties case. They are not getting the same treatment they would if were white. And this has to do not only with employment social security, unemployment, taxes deeds and mortgages. To do the task properly, you'd have to replace the entire Miss. Bar.

A: For example, we represented a man in a small town day before yesterday. It was the first time in anyone's recollection that a white lawyer--or a Negro lawyer for that matter-- had appeared in that court on behalf of a Negro. This was a charge of just possession of liquor, and 400 people came to watch the trial.

Another example in Liberty, which is the county seat of Amite county, which is fairly notorious

cont. page two.

because of the number of murders related to CR activity, we recently had a trial in which two Negroes charged two whites with assault. The last time there was a trial of this type was in 1961 when Bob Moses one of the early leaders of the CR movement in Miss. , attempted to press charges against two white men who had assaulted him there, and when he appeared in court the room was filled with white men with guns the guns sitting right out in the open. The sheriff advised him to leave town before the verdict was reached which he did.

We conducted the same kind of trial 2 weeks ago--pressing the complaint of two Negroes against two white men who had beaten and pistol-whipped them. There were Negroes sitting in the courtroom with whites for the first time. And probably for the first time the Negroes had a lawyer appearing for tham. There was a full hearing which lasted 4 hours. After the whites were bound over to the grand jury and on these charges, again probably a first.

The importance of something like that, of course, is not only to the people involved directly, but to the whole Negro community. And the white community. It supports the Negro community and will perhaps act as a deterrent to the whites. Oh, and in terms of Mississippi justice-- when we left the courtroom we were told by a local Negro that a law officer had put sugar cubes in the gas tank of our car. When we checked, sure enough there were suger cubes inour gas tank.

Q. Do you have any general comments on Mississippi justice?

Wulf: Well I think the other lawyers here have explained it very graphically. There isn't any such thing. Justice for Negroes especially. My experience has been rather limited, actually, because I have been trying rape cases in Miss. and they're perhaps a little more provocative. And certainly in these kinds of cases the death penalty is almost automatic. I'm representing three of these cases now. Two of them are in federal court on writs of Haebeus Corpus, and one is in the Miss. Supreme Court.

In one recent ruling, in a case of a Negro charged with attempted rape of a white lady, the Miss. Supreme Court reversed the guilty verdict on the grounds that Negroes have been systematically excluded from thejury. This was their second such ruling in I don't know how many decades, even though such exclusion is the common thing in all of the counties in Miss. This question is central in all the rape cases I am handling.

A: I think a classic example of Miss. justice as applied to Negroes, was what a local prosecuter told me once. He said that if I ever defended a Negro charged with rape of a white woman and tried to prove the most natural defense--which would be consent on the part of the white woman-- the Negro would probably be lynched. If the woman would not consent then the Negro would get the death sentence. If you try to raise the defense of consent he told me you would guarantee a lynching. This I think typifies Mississippi justice.

Q. Do all your cases come through civil rights organizations?

A. Most of them do, either directly or indirectly. But in some communities where we have worked the local people would call us directly.

Q. Many Mississippi legislators are members of the White Citizens Council. Do you find that many lawyers are also?

A We haven't really investigated that. I do know that the president of the Mississippi Bar Association is a member because I saw his name listed on the letterhead of a mailing sent to me by the WCC as a director of the Hinds County chapter. Aside from that I have no direct knowledge, (but I think its safe to say that many are members. The Freedom Democratic Party's congressional challenge hearing interrogation of state officials indicated that many of them are WCC members, and many state officials either were or still are practicing attorneys.)

Q. As "Outside" attorneys do you have any trouble appearing in court?

A. This has been only a substantial problem, strangely enough, in the federal courts. Most of us are allowed to appear before the 2nd District Court--Judge Claude Clayton's Court--but in the southern district, none of us are allowed to appear or sign papers without the presence of a local lawyer. We have no real problems appearing in state courts.

A. Let me elaborate on that. Among the rules promulgated before Judge Sidney Mize's death was one that stated that all papers must be signed by local attorneys and all lawyers appearing in court must appear with local attorneys. Also, only local attorneys may file papers--the other attorneys cannot even act as messengers and file papers in Federal Court. It's quite uneard of because every lawyer in every part of the country sends a secretary or a messenger or an assistant to file papers, and we're not permitted to do that.

Cont. Page three.

Q. Do you have any trouble in the state courts?
A. We have no real problem appearing in state courts. We're very often asked if we are members of the state Bar, but we've never had a situation where we've not been permitted to appear in a state court.

Q. Why do you suppose that is?
A. It's hard to say. One reason I think is that THE MORE SOPHISTICATED MISSISSIPPI LAWYERS--WHICH IS A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS OF SORTS--REALIZE THAT IF SOME OUTSIDE AGITATOR LAWYER DOESN'T DEFEND THESE PEOPLE, THEY'LL HAVE TO. THEY REALIZE THAT THE RIGHT TO COUNSEL, PARTICULARLY IN THE 5th CIRCUIT WHICH INCLUDES MISSISSIPPI, FOES TO MISDEMEANORS. THAT BEING THE CASE THEN IF WE DIDN'T TAKE THE CASES, THEY'D HAVE TO. It takes a great deal of pressure off them in terms of work loads, but, most important, in terms of political pressure because the right to counsel means the right to effective defense and they would have to raise some of the constitutional issues that are just unpalatable to them. They let us in simply because it makes them a bigger man in their community to go in and prosecute a case against a civil rights lawyer for what would normally be a charge that nobody paid any attention to. In many cases local lawyers feel they simply could not take these cases without loosing a substantial part of their business.

A. I think others among this very limited group of sophisticated lawyers are concerned with trying to impress lawyers that come down that all is not as the image of Mississippi is painted to be in the North. they treat us with courtesy. This is not to say that we are not harassed, but I think they feel that if they go through the motions in court, we'll go back up North and spread the word that Mississippi is better than people say it is.

Q. Is this to imply that there is observance of constitutional rights in state courts, even if just for the reasons shown?

A. Not at all. Many judges have told us quite explicitly that such rights as the right to counsel do not apply in their courts. The constitutional rights to phone calls, to counsel and to being informed of the charges against you are almost uniformly denied people here, until pressure is put on local authorities. We had a situation here in Jackson in the Hinds County jail, where an Episcopal minister was put in solitary confinement because he asked to make his phone call too many times.

In other cases, clients of mine civil rights workers-- were arrested and scheduled for trial an hour later. We would call the prosecuter and the judge and ask for an adjournment so that we could be there-- we would mention the accused right to counsel-- and they would deny our request. In one case illustrative of Mississippi justice we were denied a request for an adjournment but were told that if the defended asked for an adjournment to have time to secure counsel, his request would be granted. Later that afternoon we learned that the accused had asked for an adjournment, been refused, tried, found guilty and sentenced all in 15 minutes.

A: That points up another problem down here-- the legal system is so terribly laborious, especially for lawyers who come down here from states where constitutional rights are recognized. You know the charges against your clients are totally unfounded, totally unconstitutional. You know your client had a right to be doing what he was doing, has a right to counsel, that they have proceedural as well as substantive rights. You go through all the laborious proceedure of trying the case and appealing the conviction and everyone knows, that the Federal courts will reverse the conviction. But it's very enervating and very expensive, and from their point of view, a very successful way of postponing what are really the inevitable changes in Mississippi.

Q. Is it true that local law officials often have an economic interest in obtaining convictions?

A: Well take the case of Justices of the Peace, its true with them. A JP gets $5.00 per case if the man is found guilty, but nothing if the man is found innocent. Also, in many cases sheriffs get $5.00 for each case they bring in, I think there is often a great deal of cahoots between JP's and sheriffs, each with a cash stake in bringing in people and convicting them.

Q. Many lawyers complain that JP's are often incompetent and don't even understand the laws that they are supposed to enforce. Would you comment on that?

A: There's no question about that. Certainly they don't understand any of the constitutional claims you might make. Probably, you're just wasting your breath making them.

A: Most JP's in this state are not lawyers-- as a matter of fact I don't know of one who is... And there is no educational requirements for the job.

A: Before you go on, just one more point on the whole question of rights and justice in Mississippi. You have to understand, it's my feeling, that with respect to Negroes and civil rights workers, you are practically operating in a totalitarian state. And that the most basic rights that you take for granted or assume you will get in other areas just don't exist here. Openly and notoriously so. We were involved in a trial last fall where the sheriff, in a Federal Court, after prompting and questioning by his own lawyer, stated on the witness stand that when these Civil Rights workers were arrested he did-not believe that he or any of his subordinates had to advise them of their rights, their rights to a lawyer, their rights to a phone call, because all these Civil Rights workers were college people who knew what their rights were, and therefore he had no obligation to advise them of their rights.

Going one step further than this, the testimony was also elicited that even when they asked for their rights, the typical answer was that you're in Miss. now and you ain't got no rights.

Q. Wasn't it in that same trial that one of the witnesses one of our witnesses after pointing out the person, I think it was a Highway Patrolman, who had done some beatings, was then threatened in the hall after he had testified?

A: That's correct. This same Highway Patrolman we understand used a baseball bat as interrogation of Negroes when he arrests them. He doesn't use his hands anymore.

A: And when you're explaining to a Negro in Mississippi his rights when arrested you've got to be very careful, because you've got to classify and recognize what quote his rights are under the constitution and what in effect will happen to him if he demands these reights. In some cases he may be better off saying nothing- not saying that under the constitution I should be accorded this and so- because all he gets is not that, and a beating in addition.

Q. Then in a sense the legal system does not work?

A; Let's be more specific--- there is no legal system. I mean it's a legalized system of brutality. We're representing a young guy, 16 years old, no education to speak of-- we could talk about the educational system for days, it is so sick-- arrested, no phone call, no counsel. Arrested, picked up on a charge of burglarly. Absolutely bo evidence whatsoever - no stolen goods, no witnesses, other than the cop told the kid he did it. They brought the kid down, and they brought out a polygraph machine. The investigator said, "Look, you can't beat this machine, kid. You can try if you want, but you are going to loose- so I suggest you sign this statement, and you'll get off a lot easier. He signed the statement, which was a confession. Fortunately, legal help came later and I think some help will be gotten. But there just isn't a legal system as such which is in any position to afford help to a Negro.

Q. What do you think is going to happen in the immediate future? What changes do you see coming in "Mississippi Justice?"

A: Well organizations like the LCDC the Legal Defense Fund, other defense funds like the ACLU-- these are certainly making our presence felt but it's like the proverbial drop in the bucket. I do think that Miss. is going to get a lot worse before it gets better. Because once Negroes get the vote, which is the key to the whole matter the vote is going to have a far-reaching effect, because JPs are elected, sheriffs are elected. Imagine, in a place like Yazoo City having a Negro sheriff or a Negro judge! But before we get to this point my guess is that we're going to have a tremendous period of intimidation.

And until you correct the flagrantly unconstitutional system of jury discrimination in Mississippi you're just not going to get convictions. That's why I think that aspect of the voting bill is so important-- the aspect that puts a severe penalty, I think it's 10 years and $5,000 on anyone who intimidates anyone trying to register.

Yet until you correct the flagrantly unconstitutional system of jury discrimination in Miss. you're just

cont. Page five

not going to get convictions, or any other federal law in the Federal Courts in Mississippi. And you know, noone suggests they be tried elsewhere. Maybe nonlawyers do, but most lawyers don't. You can't bring a sheriff Rainey, for example, and bring him up to New York to try him there for the crimes he's accused of committing here. So you have to correct the jury system or else the criminal provisions of the federal law don't mean anything.

Q. How do you correct the jury system?

A: Well everything is so terribly interrelated. I agree that voting is the key. Whenthis voting bill passes hopefully it will pass in such a way that going to register will be a simple act of going to the federal registrar and signing your name and that's it. Then, when the next municipal elections come up you'll elect a new Board of Supervisors they're the people who select the jury list. In a couple of years with the enforcement of the right to vote the whole social structure will be revolutionized. Though, seriously, that presents a very optimistic view.

A: Well the Removal the practise of removing cases to Federal Court which kind of caught on about a year ago has in a sense been one of the most dramatic tactics because it practically stymied the persecution of little offenses that ahd regularly been resulting in Civil Rights people going to jail. In that sense it was pretty revolutionary. But what happens in the long run in Removal is still to be resolved. Because they may all eventually come back to the state courts which means the persecution will just have been delayed. Hopefully that won't be what happens. Hopefully as the law developes perhaps the Supreme Court will hold in a variagated number of situations that the Federal Courts can take jurisdiction over cases that are otherwise untryable in the state courts.

A: And I think that continuing pressire of lawyers fighting for their clients rights has some effect. For one thing, it educates many Miss. lawyers who just never heard of constitutional rights before-- though now they've heard of them, whether they'll do something about them is another question.

A: I think the fact of representation is a tremendously significant fact. To quote a local prosecuter I heard a couple of weeks ago, "You mean that nigger got a lawyer?" Just the fact that a lawyer appears on behalf of a Negro

A: This conversation recalls another factor which will, in my opinion, have great consequence in Miss. That's Title 6 of the Federal Civil Rights Act, which requires non-discriminatory practises in state programs of which federal money is a part. There is something of a dilema there, because what happens is if there is discriminatory use of grants, the federal money will be withdrawn. And this is going to have a serious effect on the economy of Mississippi, which is already at the bottom of the ladder.

To close this discussion, I'd guess that there may be a break through now and then, but I think it's the general accumulation of enforcement of the law as it is. If it were enforced as it is, there wouldn't be any problem; there wouldn't be any Mississippi if it were enforced as it is. The central and necessarily consequential attrition of the misapplication of the law.

So it's not - you can't really think of new vistas in the law that are going to dramatically alter conditions, because that just doesn't happen. Not drama, just slow, steady, hard, persistant work.

Charles Horwitz
Phil Lapsansky
Barbara Roos

June, 1965

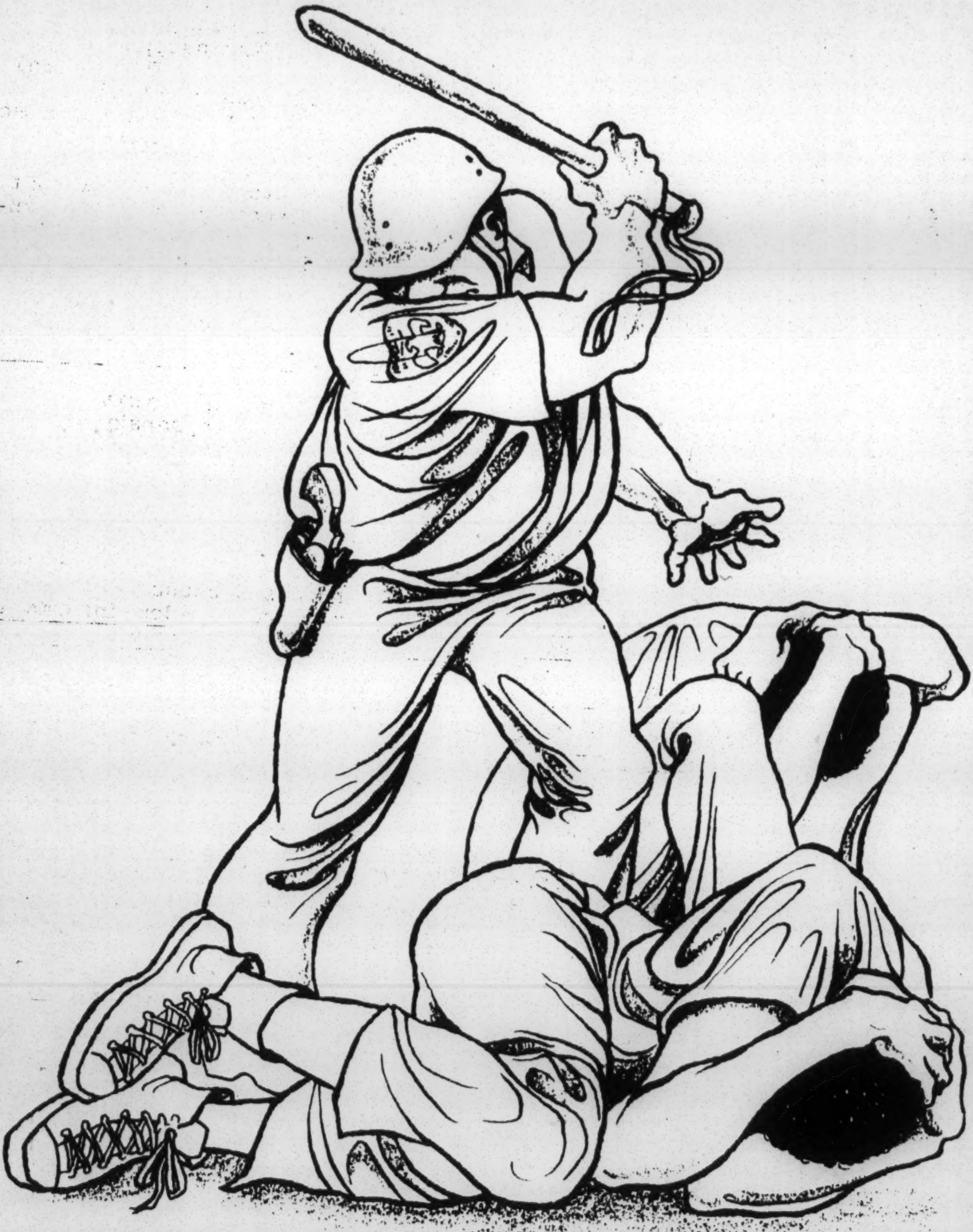
A tape of this discussion can be obtained from the Freedom Information Service, Box 366, Edwards, Miss.

LEGAL OFFICES IN JACKSON

Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee
603 North Farish St.
948-4191

NAACP Legal Defense Fund
538½ North Farish St.
352-8243

Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
233 North Farish St.
948-5400



"NOW IS TIME TO DO SOMETHING ELSE"

(A report on the Poor Peoples Conference.)

On January 28 a four day Poor Peoples conference sponsored by the Freedom Democratic Party, the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union and the Delta Ministry was held at the Mt. Beulah campus near Edwards, Mississippi.

Over 700 poor people, mainly from the delta discussed the problems they faced--a Jim Crow State Welfare Department, mass evictions from plantations, lack of jobs, and a stand still on the poverty programs.

"I'm tired of going to Washington," one lady said. "I've been there three times and don't see nothing come of it. They don't want to talk to poor folk, they just want to talk to people they select."

"When they want to know about people in Mississippi they ask Eastland or Stennis," another person said. "They don't represent us because they and the other whites made sure we never got a chance to choose our representatives."

One man said, "The poverty program don't speak to us," "Poor Negro folk ran a good program this summer--even Shriver said so. But Stennis doesn't want us to have nothing. Five months now the OEO promised us money for our Headstart, and nothing's happened. OEO's more interested in listening to Stennis than to the poor peoples."

On Sunday the conference drafted a list of demands, including commodity and job training programs administered by poor people, federal lands for housing, income for poor people, and the reopening of the Headstart schools controlled by poor people.

One woman said: "We been taking our problems through all the channels of the government for the last three years and ain't got nothing, now its time to do something else."

On Sunday night the Conference decided to leave their shacks and move to the abandoned Air Force base near Greenville. There are 13 acres of empty housing facilities. The news of two elderly Negroes freezing to death in their delta shacks emphasized the need for the action. An elderly Negro man summed it all up:

" We need to go there and set us up one of those refugee camps, 'cause that's what we are. And being right by that air strip the government cam fly in surplus commodities right to our door and we can give 'em our without them/expensive middle men. They say the buildings don't have heat or lights or running water. Well, just as long as it don't leak it'll still be a damn sight better than the shack I been living in."

At a meeting several weeks ago, some Mississippi civil rights workers said it would be helpful to have a newsletter telling who was doing what and where. The Freedom Information Service is willing to put together the information you send us and send it to people around the state. If you think this is a good idea, please fill in the following facts as a starter and give us your ideas about what should be in such a newsletter. If you don't think it is a good idea, please tell us why and give some other suggestions about communications among workers and staff. The FIS address is Box 366, Edwards, Mississippi 39066.

This is ______________________ County.

These civil rights, political, and community groups are in the county:

Name: Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
Address: ____________________________________ Phone __________
Chairman: ____________________________________
(Please list town, precinct, or community chairmen and when their meetings are held on a separate sheet.)
County meetings are held (when?):
About _____ people are active in FDP.

Name: ____
Address: ____________________________________ Phone __________
Chairman: ____________________________________
Meetings are held: ______________________________
About _____ people are active.

(List others on separate sheet.)

Please put an X on line in front of programs being worked on in your county, and then outline what's being done:

__Health, hospitals ____
__Housing ____
__Community Action Program ____
__CDGM (Headstart) ____
__Welfare ____
__Food, commodities ____
__Voter registration ____
__Voter education, citizenship ____
__Coops, credit unions ____
__ASCS, FHA, farm programs ____
__Jobs and job discrimination ____
__Land ____
__Unions ____
__Schools ____

__Desegregating public places ______________________________

__MDTA job training ____________________________________

__STAR literacy ______________________________________

__Freedom Schools ____________________________________

__Community Centers ___________________________________

__Public services (streets, water...) ______________________

__Others: ____

____

Do you know of any Negroes in your county who are getting water through a government grant for a water system? __________ If so, how many families are helped? ___________ What community do they live in? ____________________ (Please try to check this out if you don't know. SOMEBODY'S been getting quite a bit of money lately for water systems.)

Other news of our county: ________________________________

____

____

There have been _____ meetings held to get voters out on June 7. We need more information on these things to tell people about the election: ______________________________________.

About _____ Negroes and _____ whites are registered in the county.

The names of the full-time civil rights staff (out-of-state and local) in this county are:: ______________________________

____

We also work in these counties: ___________________________

We need the following equipment, supplies, staff, information, etc. to do a better job: ______________________________________

____

We can use ____ copies of the following FIS publications (samples enclosed): ____

____

Name of the person who filled out this form: ________________

PLEASE PUT THIS IN THE ENVELOPE ADDRESSED TO FIS AND MAIL RIGHT AWAY.

Also, send us any publications YOU have put out. Put FIS on your mailing list: FIS, Box 366, Edwards, Miss. 39066.

Thank you very much.

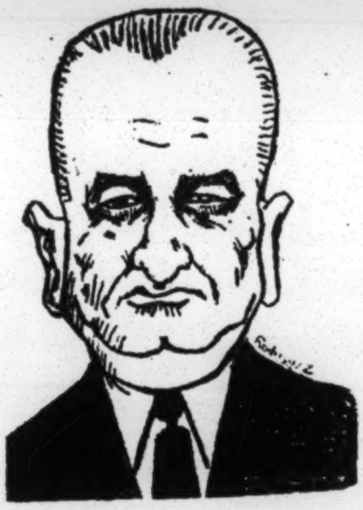
What happens to all the Surplus Food?

Big farmers in this country produce so much food that they cannot get the prices they want for it.

***

So the United States Department of Agriculture's Marketing Service buys surplus food from the rich farmers. This makes the rich farmers even richer. They can buy more farm machines and hire fewer day laborers. They can do away with their tenants and sharecroppers.

The surplus food is then supposed to be given to poor people through the commodity program.



President Johnson's administration tells us this is part of his "Great Society" program.

Poor people ask "is this the way a Great Society works?" Without jobs poor people get poorer. Food only helps them stay alive and poorer longer.

WHAT HAPPENS TO ALL THE SURPLUS FOOD?
In our state the Department of Public Welfare in Jackson tells each county to decide whether or not poor people should get that food.

How does the country decide whether poor people should get this food? Do they ask the poor people? Who elected the people to make the decisions for the country? The poor people? Negro people?

THE KIBBUTZ

BY

MALVIN GOLD

(the writer has worked 8 weeks during
the summer of 1965 in a Kibbutz)

What is the Kibbutz?

The Kibbutz is a type of farm in Israel. There are over 200 Kibbutzim in that small land. Most Kibbutzim hold about 400 people.

CYPRUS
MEDITTERRANEAN SEA
LEBANON
SYRIA
Israel
JORDAN
Egypt

How did the Kibbutz Movement Begin?

A little over 50 years ago, Jewish people started returning to their "promised land." However this land was occupied by another people. This desire for the same piece of land became so hot that shooting started. The Jewish community, threatened by a poor food supply as well as too few fighting men, formed collective farm communities for self-defense-"Kibbutzim". This type of farm in Mississippi could provide food and protection from a hostile community.

How is the Kibbutz Organized?

Politically speaking:

The Kibbutz is very democratic. Everyone has a say in deciding how his life will be run. A vote of "yes" from more than ½ the people present is necessary for passing a bill. A chairman is elected every year to run the meetings. The members elect officials to carry out the wishes of the people. The Kibbutz may try to influence national politics by urging all

of its members to vote one way. This method of voting gives the movement unity and therefore power.

Economically speaking:

Everything in the Kibbutz is shared by everyone. That means everyone owns things in common.

The Kibbutz produces cotton, alfalfa, oranges, potatoes, apples and pears. The Kibbutz also raizes chickens and cows. Industry has found a place in the Kibbutz. Old people need a job where they can sit down. Industry gives them one. Some Kibbutzim also produce fertilizer, wooden boxes, shoes paintings and other such handicraft.

Work is planned by an elected work director. Certain jobs are rotated every few months. This gives people a chance to break the daily routine and drag resulting from the same job day after day.

The purpose of sharing goods is to provide everyone with food, housing and clothing. Kibbutzim often trade with each other.

*note- Everything is shared. Therefore, on most Kibbutzim there is no use for money.

Socially speaking:

The ideals of this co-operative community are to produce friendships not based on greed ($) or jealousy (Jones has a new car- so I'll become his friend) but based on understanding and respect for one's neighbors.

Although, everyone has the same kind of house and clothes, after a while people design their own shirts and houses a little differently.

The "ma" and the "pa" do not care for their children like most people do. Instead, all the children of the same age live in one house under the care of a "special" mother. The children in the Kibbutz actually spend 3-4 hours each day with their folks. How many hours do most parents spend each day with their children?

What happens when someone steps " out-of-line"? For example, if Jone's won't work- what happens? Well, the collective farm is a voluntary organization. If Jones doesn't like the farm, he can leave. Jones is judged, often, by the good work he does. However, if Jones slows down or even refuses to work, people will disrespect him. It will be difficult for Jones to live in a community where he is not liked. Therefore, Jones will either start to work or he will leave the Kibbutz.

Another thing is that the parents are not supposed to tell their children what is right and wrong. The "specially trained" mother does this. Instead, the time with their children is spent in play, talk and fun.

WHAT IS GOOD ABOUT A KIBBUTZ FARM?

People get land,food, jobs and more Freedom than they had before. Children get a better education and learn how to co-operate with each other.

Old people can be happier. Often they feel unwanted. The farm can give them a job. They can feel useful.

Mothers will be free to work like their husbands and will have extra time and not be chained to the kitchen all day.Work can be fun. The group I worked with often sang, talked and joked while they were working.

WHAT IS NOT SO GOOD ABOUT THE LIFE ON A KIBBUTZ?

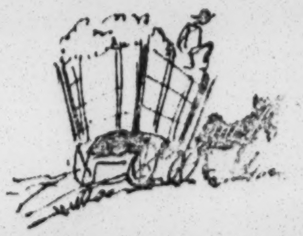
Basically everything is given out on an equal basis. No one can have anything until everyone has it. There is no big city life. Life is slow, like farm life anywhere. Some people may worry about the effects on the family when children are separated from their parents. Actually the family is very close. Parents spend four to five hours with their children every day and all day Saturday. It is up to people who live on the kibbuts to decide what is best for them.

HOW WOULD THE KIBBUTZ BE GOOD IN MISSISSIPPI?

Only a small number of people own the good land. The United States government or the state of Miss. can use federal or state money to buy these estates. Now, our government could give or sell land at special rates to poor folks. With this land there is no reason why people could not build a kibbutz farm if enough people are willing.

HOW SUCCESSFUL HAS THIS FARM BEEN?

People living on the kibbutz make up 5% of the total population of Isreal. This 5% produces 50% of the food. There are still problems but whereever people are there will be problems.



WHAT OTHER KINDS OF FARMS ARE THERE IN ISREAL BESIDES THE KIBBUTZEM?

In Isreal there is another type of a farm-- the Moshavim. These Moshavim are small private farms. If the farmer doesn't make enough money to live on the government helps him out with more money.

***

The ideal of the kibbutz farm is to provide a higher form of life for the people. Life doesn't become all rosy and shiny overnight and there will be troubles. However this type of farm does supply the farmers and their families with the basic necessities of life.

This type of farm has worked in Isreal. Do you think it could work in Mississippi?

Prepared by:

Freedom Information Service
Box 366
Edwards, Miss. 39066

JOIN WITH THE

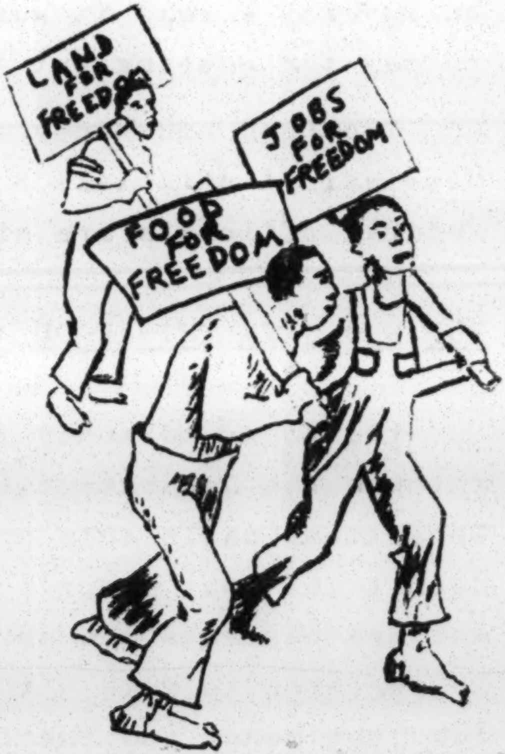
FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

FREEDOM LABOR UNION

DELTA MINISTRY

AND

FIGHT for FOOD for FREEDOM


LAND FOR FREEDOM
JOBS FOR FREEDOM
FOOD FOR FREEDOM

TO THE POOR PEOPLE OF MISSISSIPPI:

Do you know there can be FOOD for you Here in Miss.?

Do you know there can be PAYING JOBS for you giving this food to your brothers and sisters?

IT IS TRUE! There can be FOOD for you and WORK for you.

BUT YOU WILL HAVE TO ORGANIZE AND FIGHT FOR IT!

2 MONTHS AGO the Department of Agriculture said it was sending *24 million dollars worth of commodity foods* to feed Mississippi poor people for six months. The Office of Economic Opportunity - the federal agency that runs the War on Poverty - said it was giving over 1½ million dollars to pay for passing out this food.

The Food and Money are late in coming because local Mississippi officials are *always* against helping the poor. Federal officials are afraid to talk directly to poor people.

BUT WHO GETS THIS FOOD AND THIS MONEY?

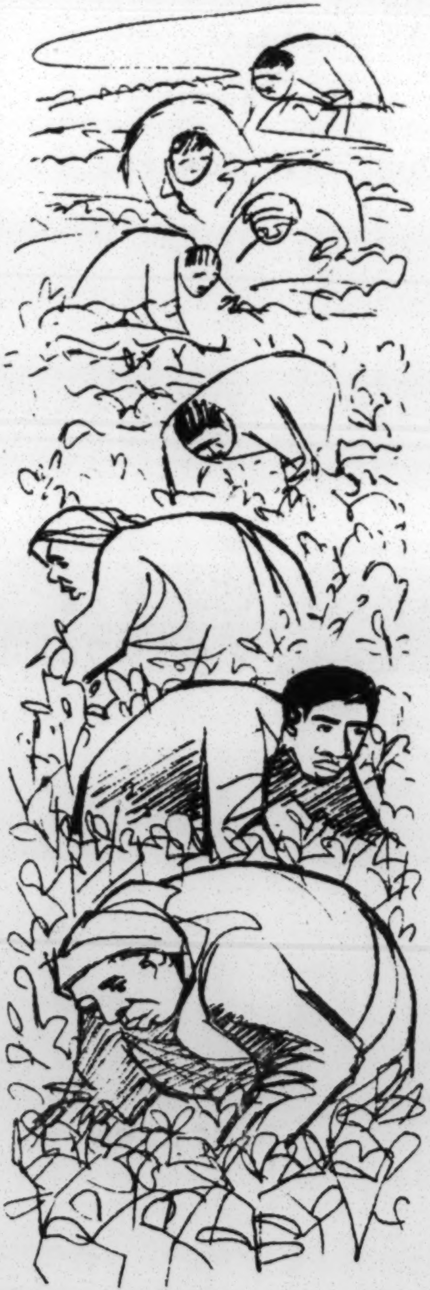
the food and money are going to the State of Mississippi through the Department of Public Welfare. The Welfare Department calls this program "Operation HELP." This same department that discriminates against poor Negroes in welfare payments and throws Negroes off welfare for trying to register to vote - this same department says they will take the money and the food and help poor people.

Who does "Operation HELP" really help?

Your County Board of Supervisors will help control the program.

This means that in your community the rich white boss man who throws you out of work and then calls you no-good and lazy will get MORE POWER OVER YOU from food and money sent to *help you*.

Racist politicians who fight to keep you from voting, going to good schools, and working at decent jobs will *decide who* gets the food and the jobs.



BUT WHAT ABOUT POOR PEOPLE?

All over the Delta and in other parts of the state Negro poor people are being thrown off plantations and fired from jobs.

The white boss man says they can't have a living in his white society.

Many poor Negroes are leaving their Mississippi homes because the white man will not let them earn a living.

And now, the federal government plans to help the white boss by giving him control over food and money for poor people.

Can poor people win anything by asking help from the boss man, who wants to keep them poor ? ?

We think it's time that the poor people organized THEIR OWN "Operation HELP."

The Welfare Department, County Board of Supervisors, and all other white bosses can't be trusted with this program. Only POOR PEOPLE can be trusted to help other poor people. Poor People *know* what poor people need.

That food is OUR Food.

Giving it to poor people is OUR job.

WE NEED TO GET TOGETHER AND FIGURE OUT *HOW* TO GET *OUR* FOOD AND *OUR* MONEY AND HELP OUR PEOPLE !

COME to MT. BEULAH

We want every poor person who wants to organize and fight for a real FREEDOM program to come to the Mount Beulah campus - Delta Ministry headquarters near Edwards -

This FRIDAY - January 28

Let's all get together and plan

How to Get OUR FOOD
OUR JOBS
OUR FREEDOM !

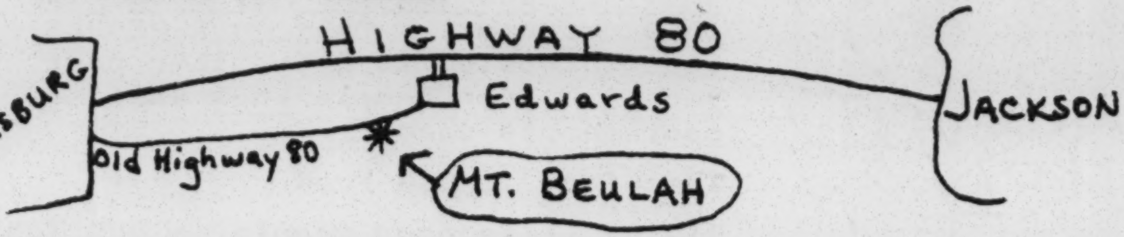
Bring Blankets,
bedding,
and YOUR NEIGHBORS.

Call Jackson 352-9128
or Edwards 852-2622

Prepare to stay several days.

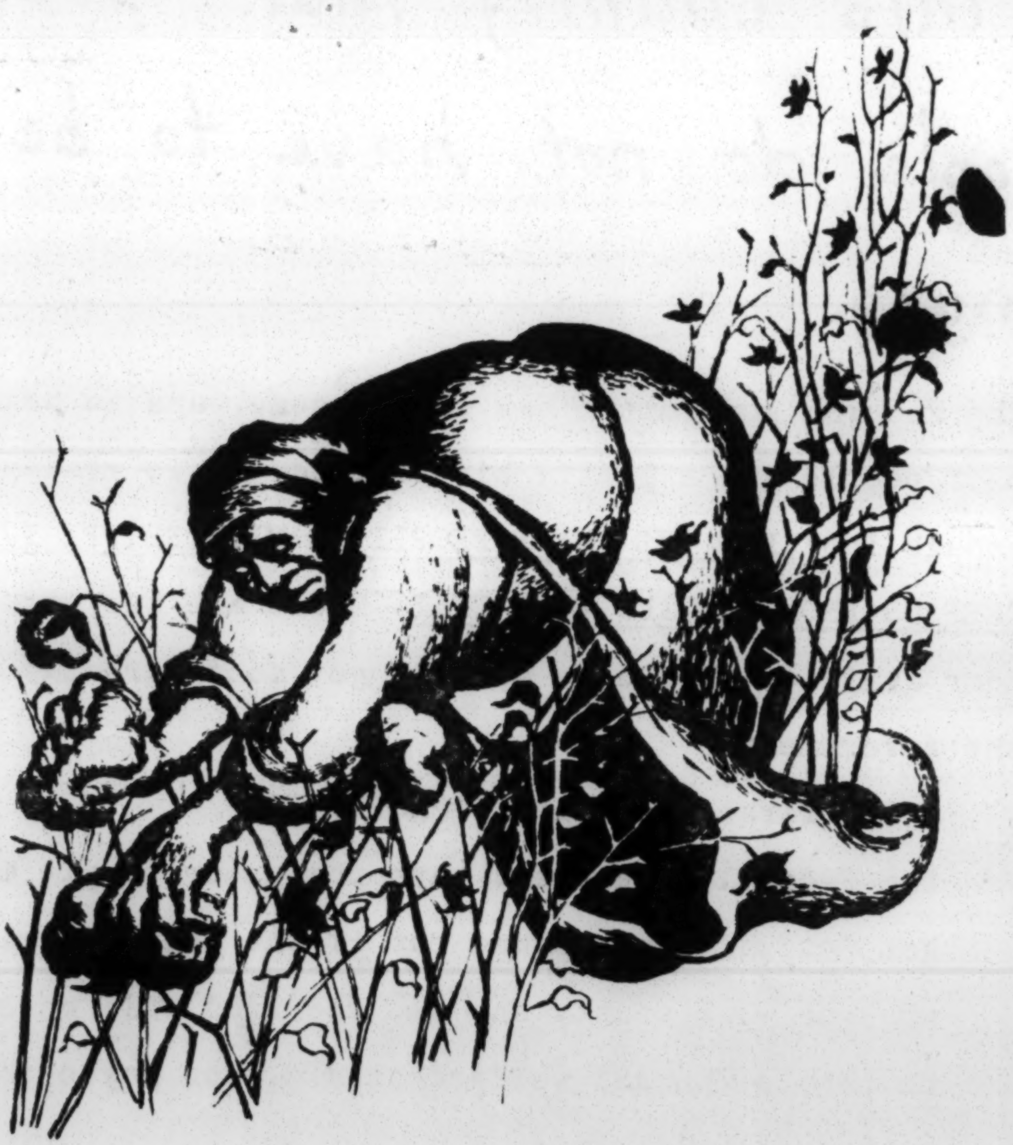
If you have no transportation, rides will be arranged from your area.

TO GET TO MT. BEULAH:


HIGHWAY 80
VICKSBURG
Edwards
JACKSON
Old Highway 80
MT. BEULAH

Exit from Highway 80 at Edwards.

Mt. Beulah Center is 3 miles west of Edwards.



THERE IS ENOUGH FOOD

in this country that poor people do not have to be hungry.

The Federal government has set up some ways to help poor people get a little bit of food. It is really not enough food, BUT THE WHITE PEOPLE OF MISSISSIPPI TRY TO KEEP US FROM GETTING EVEN THAT. There are two ways that poor families should be able to get food directly from the government.

The first is called COMMODITIES.

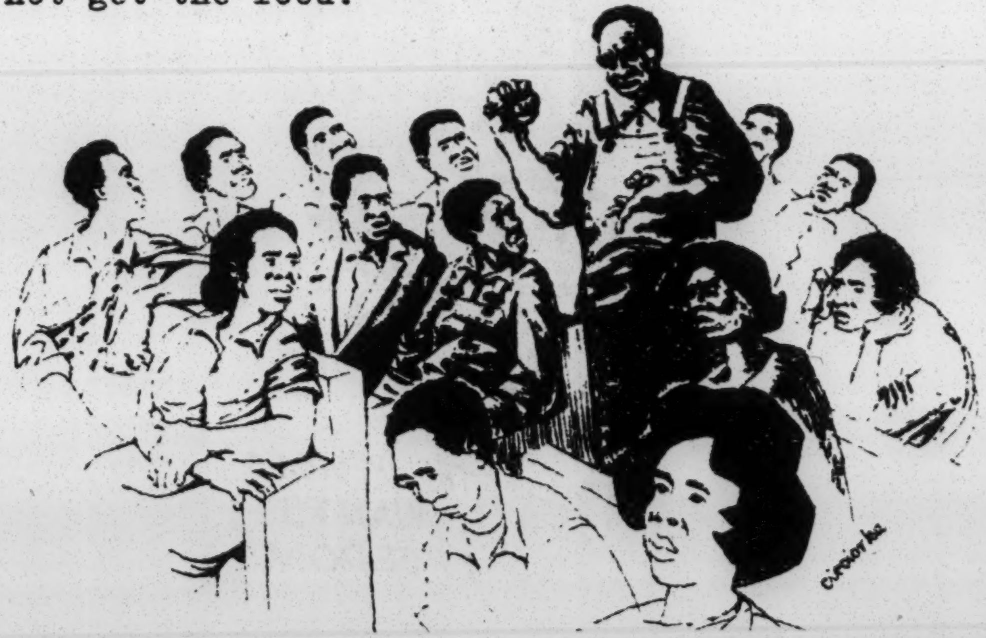
The Federal government says that poor people may get food all year round but if the white people who run your county say so, the food will go only to people who get welfare checks. And maybe to other poor people in winter.

The second way that poor people may get food is called FOOD STAMPS.

It works like this.

If you have money to buy food, you may get stamps with that food to buy more food. If you live in the county, and you are poor and you cook at home, you should be able to get food stamps. A good thing about food stamps is that if the county has them at all THEY MUST GIVE THEM TO ALL POOR PEOPLE IN THE COUNTY, NOT JUST THOSE WHO GET CHECKS. BUT THIS PLAN IS NO GOOD FOR PEOPLE WHO DO NOT HAVE ANY MONEY AT ALL.

The trouble with both the COMMODITIES AND FOOD STAMP plans is that if white people say that you are not poor, you can not get the food.



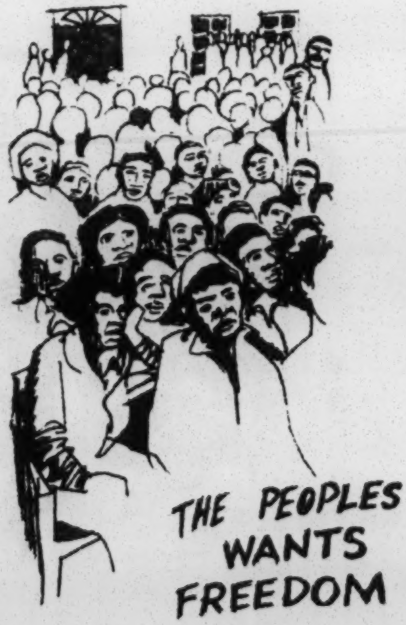
The Federal government does strange things too. It says that people should have certain foods every day.

MILK	MEAT OR EGGS OR BEANS OR NUTS	VEGETABLES OR FRUITS THAT HAVE VITAMIN C LIKE ORANGES OR TOMATOES	BREAD
2 CUPS	2 SERVINGS		4 SERVINGS

But do they give you those foods? And do they give you enough?

They promised FOOD and money to give poor people JOBS giving out that food.

Then they do not keep that promise.



If you wish to make your contribution to the Freedom Information Service on a TAX EXEMPT basis, please make your check payable to the SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE and send it, along with this letter to:

Miss Jan Hillegas
Freedom Information Service
P.O. Box 366
Edwards, Mississippi 39066

- -

Southern Student Organizing Committee
Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee

Enclosed is a contribution of $______ which is to be earmarked for educational workshops in Mississippi.

Please acknowledge receipt of this contribution.

Sincerely,

THE POWER OF THE DIXIECRATS, by Tom Hayden

The last major stand of the Dixiecrats may be occurring in the 1963 hearings on the Kennedy civil rights bill. Behind the wild accusations of communism in the civil rights movement and the trumpeted defense of property rights is a thinning legion of the Old Guard. How long will the Dixiecrat be such a shrill and decisive force on the American political scene? The answer requires a review of Southern history, ideology, the policy of the New Frontier, and the international and national pressures to do something about America's sore racial problem. The conclusion seems to be that the formal walls of segregation are being smashed, but the White Man's Burden can be carried in more subtle ways--as the people of the North well know.

Dixiecrats in history

For more than a generation the Democratic Party has been split deeply between its Southern and Northern wings, the former a safe bastion of racist conservatism and the latter a changing bloc of liberal reformers. The conflict is not new, and cannot be understood properly unless it is traced from the period of the New Deal.

In the 1936 election the Democratic tide was rolling. Roosevelt brought to power 334 Democrats in the House against 89 Republicans. In the Senate 75 Democrats took seats against only 17 Republicans. The President's inaugural address promised the greatest liberal advances of this century: "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished....It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope--because the Nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out."

But Roosevelt, in trying to oust the Dixiecrat bloc from influence, could not escape the contradictions that eventually would paralyze his program. At the 1936 convention he was successful in eliminating a rule that two-thirds of the delegates must support a presidential nominee9-a rule that had meant considerable power for the Southern delegations. Roosevelt's next target, an anti-New Deal Supreme Court, was less yielding, He demanded from Congress the power to appoint justices to the Court within six months after the seventieth birthday of each. The Congress realized angrily that Roosevelt's intent was not merely more efficiency, but to transform the Court into a legal outpost of the New Deal. Immediately the Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans, joined by a few Northern conservative Democrats, began a clamor of opposition. The plan of court re-organization was destroyed--and in the wake, a recalcitrant Congress gained the political initiative.

By the mid-term elections of 1938, Roosevelt and Congress were stalemated, and the nation remained in the clutch of depression. Roosevelt tried to arouse the nation once more in the election campaign, often directing his vehemence against the South, but many of his liberal allies suffered defeat in House and Senate campaigns.

The overt conflict between the New Deal Administration and the powerful Dixiecrat-Republican coalition was slackened by the advent of Worl War II when the nation's leadership "unified". But immediately after the war the fight resumed--and reached a peak at the 1948 Democratic Convention, when the Dixiecrats walked out of the party in opposition to its liberal civil rights proposals. Harry Truman's victory over Dewey, coming as it did without the support of either the left-wing Progressive movement or the right-wing State's Rights movement, seemed to signal the beginning of a more consistently liberal and viable Democratic Party. And so, as the 1949 session of Congress began, Administration liberals joined with liberal Republicans to limit the power of the House Rules Committee, a stronghold of remaining Dixiecrat-conservative influence. Under the liberal reform, the Rules Committee was given 21 days to report out a piece of legislation--or else the chairman of the appropriate House Committee could introduce the bill himself. Meant to subvert the tremendous power of the Rules Committee over legislation and the procedures of the House, the new measure was used only eight times.

In 1951, after 29 Democrats, most liberal, were defeated in House contests, the "coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats, backed by Republican Party leaders and aided by a silent Democratic speaker, restored the group's former privileges" (quoted from Holbert N. Carroll, The House of Representatives and Foreign Affairs, U. of Pittsburgh, 1958, p. 258. For the full debate and proceedings, see Congressional Record, Vol. 95, Oct. 10, 1949, pp. 15096-8.)

Republican strength grew for two years under Eisenhower, but by 1955 the Democrats were returned to congressional committee power. That power was undercut slightly, especially in the Senate, by the remarkable liberal victories in the 1958 elections. But for the most part in recent years, the conservative coalition has ruled Congress as it would a barony.

Dixiecrat Ideology

What are the ideas and programs characteristic of the Dixiecrat establishment?

Often the term "reactionary" has been used glibly by liberal critics to cover a lack of information about specific Dixiecrat behavior which itself is usually not monolithic. In the Thirties there was a minority of Southern "planners" inspired by the National Resources Planning Board, just as today Estes Kefauver had a far different view of economic development than most of his Southern brethren.

Keeping these crucial disunities in mind, it still is fair to lump the Southerners together as conservatives--at least. On the level of political style the Dixiecrats have been known for a stifling demogoguery that kept the better parts of the Southern white conscience silent and the Negro subordinate in every area of life. On the level of issues, the Dixiecrats generally split from the rest of the Democratic Party, Based on Congressional Quarterly (30 Nov. 1962) recordings of roll-call vote splits between the Dixiecrats and Northern Democrats in 1960 and 1962, the following issue differences are clear:

Civil rights--Fifteen splits were caused in the 1962 session of the 87th Congress, 12 in the Senate and three in the House; on a constitutional amendment to ban the poll tax, on a bill to restrict the misuse of literacy tests by registrars, and on Thurgood Marshall's nomination for a federal judgeship. In the 1960 session of the 86th Congress, the two wings of the part split on 27 Senate roll-calls and six House roll-calls related to civil rights.

Foreign aid--Nineteen splits, 13 in the Senate and six in the House, with the Southerners opposing or reducing foreign aid appropriations, and opposing the President's power to send aid to communist nations. In 1960 there were 15 party splits on foreign aid measures. Temporary unemployment compensation, extension to other workers--Opposed by a Southern bloc when it came up in 1962. Depressed areas recovery program--Caused two Senate splits and 10 House splits in 1960. Urban affairs--The conservative coalition successfully opposed the President's plan for a new executive department to be headed by Robert Weaver, the liberal Negro administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Medical care--The coalition prevented the bill from reaching the House floor and killed it in the Senate in 1962.

Taxes--Seven splits occurred in 1962, the Senate Dixiecrats supporting tax relief for DuPont stockholders, opposing dividend withholding in the Administration's tax bill, and opposing amendments to close tax give-aways and loopholes.

In 1960 the House Dixiecrats voted for a "closed rule", a procedure which prevented Northern Democrats from introducing legislation to tax corporation, telephone and passenger transportation services, and temporarily increase the national debt. Minimum wage--South and North split eight times in 1960, the South successfully voting for a minimum extension of coverage and for a wage of $1.15 or lower against the North's proposed $1.25 and broader coverage. Federal aid to education--In 1962 House Dixiecrats killed the President's college aid bill, and Southern Senators voted to delete scholarships from its provisions. In 1960 there were seven splits in which the South opposed federal aid. Housing--In 1960 the Dixiecrats Senators opposed increased public housing authorizations, and Dixiecrat representatives opposed urban renewal and slum clearance grants.[1]

These splits clarify the formal issues on which the Dixiecrats defect from the Democratic Party platform. But there is a spirit as well as a roll-call index that characterizes the Southern establishment. One must read an Eastland speech calling Chief Justice Warren pro-communist; or a Thurmond press release demanding preparation for a war of extinction; or study the hypocritical grabbing of federal funds while denouncing government spending; or merely know that these politicians are in power only because their constituents are poor, politically voiceless, and segregated--to understand the decadence holding sway in America's foremost democratic institution.

The Base of Power

How do Dixiecrats remain in power? The answer primarily is structural, involving the political shape of the South and of the Congress.

First, until very recently almost all Dixiecrats were elected from one-party, non-competitive districts with relatively low perdentages of participating voters. In these circumstances a congressman is more confident of continuous reelection if he can keep his constituents happy or simply acquiescent. Towards Negroes the treatment traditionally has been more severe. They have been excluded from the political process except in instances such as East Texas where they are manipulated by competing white power elites.

Second, although the South is quite diverse, its political representatives historically shared an ideological consensus: the need to defend "the Southern way of life". This defense required unity and, at times, conspiracy against its enemies. Thus the Dixicrats often operate as a high-consensus, interest-conscious caucus. Their views, except on the matter of overt bigotry, converge with those of northern (usually rural) Republicans to form the bipartisan coalition.

Third, the Congressional system works to the advantage of men with tenure, and men with tenure can make sure the system is perpetuated. The key is the principle of seniority, which permits Congressmen, by virtue of their years in office, to be elevated to increasing heights in the committee structure.[2] "No major Western democracy rewards its politicians with so much power for so little relevant accomplishment," writes James MacGregor Burns (Deadlock of Democracy, Prentice-Hall, 1963, p. 244). At present, Southerns chair a majority of committees in both Houses of Congress, although they "represent" only two percent of the national population.[3] While seniority is the crucial principle, it is natural that the rest of the congressional rules structure benefits the Southern minority. Rule 22, the "filibuster rule", makes it impossible to end debate on an issue unless two-thirds of the Senate concurs. Since Rule 22 was first adopted in 1917, there have been 27 attempts in the Senate to end filibusters (and the 28th probably is coming soon). Eleven of these attempts focussed on civil rights legislation and every one failed to cut off Southern oratory. In addition to specific rules, however, the entire tradition of "senatorial courtesy" inhibits any polarization and conflict aimed at radically changing the policies and structure of Congress.

The forces which historically have held the Dixiecrats in power run deeper than these immediate support mechanisms, of course. They include the usefulness of an easily-exploited Dixieland to Northern and Southern businessmen; the structured ease with which the nation has existed without confronting its problems of racial discrimination, and so on. But seniority, rules systems, and the traditions of "the club" are the immediate pins that secure the Southern bloc.

Kennedy and the South

What has been the relation of the New Frontier to the Southern bloc since 1960? The history shows a steady shift from uneasy fraternity to uncontrollable polarization.

It is not oversimplifying matters too much to claim that Kennedy's 1960 election was the direct result of a sympathetic phone call to Coretta King, whose famous husband Martin was impounded in an Atlanta jail just prior to voting day. Certainly the Kennedy political machine capitalized on the event: 800,000 leaflets describing the phone call were distributed at Negro churches in Chicago two days before the election (Kennedy carried Illinois by a popular total of only 9,000 votes--and received 63.7 per cent of the heavily-Negro Chicago vote).

Richard Nixon, meanwhile, issued a "no comment" on the King incident, intensifying the conservative image he had created earlier when he repudiated Henry Cabot Lodge's "Negro in the cabinet" proposal. For this and other reasons, Kennedy scored huge majorities in the Negro areas of the North: 64% of the city vote in Baltimore, 75% in Boston, 64 in Chicago, 71 in Cleveland, 66 in Detroit, 54 in Los Angeles, 63 in New York, 68 in Philadelphia, 67 in Pittsburgh. Both Republican leader Thurston Morton and Robert Kennedy attributed Nixon's narrow defeat to a failure to hold the Negro voting percengages which Eisenhower secured in 1956 (Ike was supported by 36 per cent, Nixon by less than 25 percent).

Though enormously dependent on the Northern Negro vote, Kennedy was enmeshed in even deeper political debts to Dixiecrats and their allies. In his book Kennedy in Power (Ballantine, 1962), Prof. James T: Crown reports that in 1960 agreements were made with Southerners that no civil rights legislation would be backed by Kennedy in the first session of Congress and, further, promises were made of military contracts, increases in the cotton support level, and a $100 million loan fund for the South, attached to another bill. Kennedy, who breakfasted cordially with Alabama Governor John Patterson during the campaign, later appointed an old Patterson aide and prominent segregationist to the Export-Import Bank (which transacts business with "underdeveloped" non-white nations). That many other deals probably were struck is suggested by an editorial which appeared in the Birmingham Alabama Journal during the September 1962 Ole Miss c : the newspaper attacked the President for violating "pledges previously made to secure the Democratic nomination in 1960."

Thanks to the South's traditional pro-Democratic instincts, disclosed and undisclosed bargains, and the active work of Lyndon Johnson and Robert Kennedy, the President carried seven of the traditional ten Southern states--but only five of them solidly, Excluding the Texas vote which Johnson personally captured, Kennedy's electoral advantage in the South was 70-43, with 14 Mississippi and six Alabama electors defecting from the New Frontier to vote as independents.

Kennedy reversed Ike's 1956 success in the South, when the GOP had swept to a 77-50 advantage in the same states. But it should be noted that JFK's surplus 27 votes from the South were still a "cushion" and not a decisive edge. The President finished 81 votes ahead of Nixon and 31 votes over the necessary 269 needed for an electoral college victory. However, the GOP addition of 22 seats in the House crippled the President's legislative chances and, presumably, made him disinclined to alienate those Southern Democrats with whom he disagreed.

The first key to understanding the Kennedy relation to the South, then, is the concept of political balance. The President was elected not just by disparate groups, but by sharply opposed ones, with Kennedy acting as the diplomat-manager of the coalition. In the first year, he sent liberal Mennon Williams to Africa but conservative Charles Meriweather to Export-Import Bank; he strolled with Martin Luther King through the White House but breakfasted with racists as well; he nominated Thurgood Marshall for a federal judgeship but sent four or more segregationists to the Southern bench.

The President is fully aware that the Dixiecrats constitute a political impediment to the success of the 1960 Democratic platform. "Some Democrats," he said at a 1962 news conference, "have voted with the Republicans for 24 years, really since 1938, and that makes it very difficult to secure the enactment of any controversial legislation. You can water bills down and get them by, or you can have bills which have no particular controversy to them and get them by."

Their power is not simply political. It is also economic--the Southern Democrats are enabled by their position to demand privileges that other regions cannot. More specifically, the Administration has seemed reluctant to tread on the interests of Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges, the only Southerner in the Cabinet. Hodges is a former governor of North Carolina and executive of the Southern Textile Manufacturer's Association, the South's most crucial--and most segregated--industry, with 800,000 operatives. Hodges' record indicates little sympathy for the development of racially-integrated labor unions in the South even though they are the only conceivable means by which the Negro will obtain the economic security he desperately needs. At least for the present, Kennedy's establishment rests partially on the support of those who hold the Negro in the lowest sectors of the economy.

Two further factors are operative in the Kennedy program, however, which crucially affect his approach to the South and civil rights. One is the Cold War, which demands that in appearance at least we brush off our racism. Secretary of State Rusk calls racial discrimination the "biggest single burden that we carry on our backs in the foreign relations of the 1960's." While Cold War diplomacy dictates improved race relations on the one hand, it requires also the playing down of incidents which receive front-page attention in the African press. For the Kennedys these colliding requirements have led, externally, to displays of "vigor" with spare content and, internally, to a steady pressure on the civil rights movement to achieve its gains through the courts and negotiation.

The other factor is the evasive one of mood and style. The New Frontiersmen are young, urbane, filled with a sense of internationalism that opposes racial bigotry. But while acknowledgeing much of the modern world, they do not dream of a seriously better life or act on the basis of human values. "Unlike many of the New Dealers of 30 years ago, they have no illusions about remaking America. Crusades are not their style; fanaticism is foreign to them. They are men of power who enjoy high offices because they like to run things...their approach to politics is manipulative and managerial," writes William Shannon (American Scholar, Fall 1961, p. 486). This mood leads to bartering with entrenched Dixiecrats and to discomfort with the spontaneity and revolutionary mood of many Negro demonstrators.,

In this context, the Kennedy administration has done much more in the field of civil rights than any other government--and yet one can argue that the American race problem has grown worse in the 50's, especially in the North, in housing, schooling, and jobs. At a time when the cumulative effects of centuries of racism are running against the "status" of America in a new world, it is doubtful that irregular and partial measures can root out the sore. Kennedy's relations with Congress, up to this summer's unavoidable crisis, show clearly the dismal lines of "progress".

Kennedy and Congress

In the first days of the 1961 session, there was a major liberal effort to amend Rule 22 to permit closure by majority, or even by three-fifths of the senators present and voting. Despite a platform pledge to "safeguard majority rule", the President refused to side with the liberals--and the measure was buried in committee on a motion by Majority Leader Mansfield, the vote being only 50-46. "Mansfield did not bring up the issue again until the September adjournment rush was on. The Liberals' defeat came in slam-bang order," according to Congressional Quarterly (January 4, 1963, p. 12).

The President also passed up the opportunity to support Senator Joseph Clark's move to unseat any Democratic Committee chairman who disagreed with the platform plank related to his committee's area of legislation, which would have robbed the Dixiecrats of their essential power.

Finally, Kennedy approved the modest course of expanding the House Rules Committee from 12 to 15 members--a move that barely succeeded and which has meant very little subsequently because of the extreme conservatism of the House. The enlarged Rules Committee in 1962 released tax and trade bills, but killed measures in civil rights, urban affairs, youth employment, mass transportation, and college aid.

In May, Senator Clark and Representative Emanuel Celler introduced a civil rights "package" especially aimed at discrimination in voting and education. Although the President had designated the two Democrats to prepare the legislation, new Press Secretary Pierre Salinger commented: "The President has made it clear that he does not think it necessary at this time to enact civil rights legislation."

The President was vacuous in his 1962 message to Congress. "The President linked the approaching centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation with a plea for fuller guarantees of racial equality, then made it plain he had nothing original to put forward in this regard," editorialized the New York Times.

In April, two voting bills, with Administration endorsement, reached Congress. One recommended action to prevent the discriminatory use of literacy tests, and to make sixth-grade education (or its equivalent) the only requisite for registration. The other called for elimination of the poll tax requirements in the five states where they still are used.

It is a stunning comment on America that its Senate voted against the bill to prevent the racial use of literacy tests. It was filibustered to death, with Administration lobbyists expressing no essential interest. Anthony Lewis wrote in the Times, "President Kennedy may have wanted the literacy bill as an abstract matter. But he said little on its behalf and did not act to make it a major public concern." The anti-poll tax bill did pass, however, with most Dixiecrats opposing it. But its significance is small, since it will take nearly five years in ratification and only affect a few areas at that time.

After two years of waiting for New Frontier action, New York *Post* reporter Milton Viorst wrote, "Southerners, especially those in the House, voted against most key Administration programs anyway--despite appeasement on civil rights." For example, as Spelman College Professor Howard Zinn pointed out, Georgia Senators Russell and Talmadge both voted with the New Frontier on only two of 12 key issues in 1961, and these two votes were on a non-controversial farm proposal. So it went with other Southern delegations.

In January 1963, Senate liberals again organized unsuccessfully to fight the Southern filibuster. They began a filibuster of their own early in the session, demanding a ruling from Vice President Johnson that the new Senate operates under general parliamentary rules until specific rules are adopted--which would permit a majority, instead of two-thirds, to eliminate Rule 22. Johnson, presumably representing Kennedy, ruled against the liberals, arguing that the Senate is a "continuing body" operating under its past rules. The Administration did succeed, however, in obtaining permanence for the enlargement of the Rules Committee. The price of this ambiguous achievement, however, was silence by liberals on all other congressional reforms.

Then, shortly after, the President presented his first major civil rights message, calling for several reforms which would improve the effectiveness of voter registration efforts in the South, and which would aid school districts trying to desegregate in areas hostile to integration. Although very moderate, as shown by the stronger legislation demanded by the Republican liberal leadership two weeks later, these were important proposals in the history of the New Frontier.

Reforming the Dixiecrats?

During the entire period, the New Frontier was advancing a cautious but substantial program of reforming the Dixiecrat contingent. Through foundation contacts and Justice Department initiative, it was supporting--usually with equivocation--the voter registration and direct action drives of civil rights organizations. It was prudently edging the Executive establishment out of its more glaring attachments to bigotry--hiring practices were changed, some federally-subsidized housing was covered by non-discrimination agreements, etc. It was seeking to persuade "reconstructible" Southern officials of the need for new attidues, and everywhere it was building contacts with and strengthening pro-Kennedy Democratic organizations in Southern states. This spring the Administration broke custom by openly trying to purge 13 Dixiecrat representatives by financing their "moderate" opponents, an action not tried since Roosevelt's miserable failure in 1938.

For a while it appeared that the Kennedys could set their own pace, one which would be tantalizing and infuriating to integrationist and Dixiecrat alike. But their ability to do so was threatened increasingly by the civil rights movement. The government was forced, unwillingly, into situations embarrassing to itself in numerous Deep South areas. It still only took neglifible action, however, even when Negroes were beaten, jailed, and sometimes killed for their efforts. But, imperceptibly at first and later with unavoidable power, the civil rights movement began producing crises which required more controversial Administration responses. The first important one, perhaps, was the entry of James Meredith into the University of Mississippi, which forced JFK into sending troops. More important, though, were the series of revolts building up to the Birmingham crisis of April and May and followed by exploding Negro direct action in the North. History will record if these events finally burned the bridge between the liberal and conservative factions of the Democratic Party. The President was coerced into a "crash" program of mobilizing community support for voluntary desegregation, and he sent to Congress the biggest civil rights proposal to date.

A New Era

Although inadequate in the judgment of the civil rights movement, it did contain sections which would bar discrimination in most public accommodations; further, legalize the role of the Attorney General in litigation against school segregation, and place federal voter referees in certain Black Belt counties. While calling for restraint by Negroes, however, the President did not publicly demand a change in Dixiecrat behavior. There began instead a typical flurry of private political dealing. This time, however, the Kennedy role as broker was threatened by the steady evaporation of a basis for bargaining between liberals and Southerners in the Democratic Party. Liberals, especially those with Negro constituencies, are currently pressing for more comprehensive legislation, while the Administration wants a modern bill in order to obtain Republican support for a measure the Dixiecrats violently oppose.

It now appears that the Dixiecrats have prevented the passage of a bill this session, but the consequence is the greatest tension in party politics since 1948. Inaction on civil rights will increase the militance of the Negro movement, which will, in turn, create so much disturbance that the need for federal remedial action will become all the greater. It will also increase the discontent of Dixiecrats and liberal Democrats, not only with each other, but with the Kennedy establishment.

How long can this stalemate persist? The present tension may be a symptom of the weakening, and perhaps the decline, of the Southern oligarchy. America is obviously passing into a new era of social conflict. One of the enemies, and hopefully a victim, of this transition is the Dixiecrat; for he cannot answer the question posed by a civil rights leader at the March on Washington: "Where is our Party?"

NOTES:

1."An earlier study of 56 roll-call controversies between 1949-56 corroborates these findings and testifies to the longevity of Dixiecrat influence...both Southern Democrats and non-Southern Democrats are split within their own ranks, but two out of three Southerners support the 'conservative-isolationist' view on labor-management policy, displaced persons, taxation and revenue policy, use of treaty power, public housing, rent control, and some other economic issues, while two out of three non-Southern Democrats will support the 'liberal-internationalist'," concludes H.D. Price, in "Scale Analysis of Senate Voting Patterns, 1949-56" (Harvard, unpublished PhD thesis, 1958). Price, however, underestimates actual Dixiecrat strength by not going on to point out that the two conservative Dixiecrats in every three are usually the highest in seniority and committee placement.

2. Of the 16 Senators with the highest seniority, 14 are Southerners; in the House, 66 of the top 125 are Southerns.

3. Southerners chair 14 of the 21 Senate committees and 11 of the 18 House committees.

The pressures weakening the Old Guard are these: first, the voter registration and general political insurgency of Souther Negroes cannot be tranquilized. It can only spread to Northern Negro communities and spill over to create a massive social demand for full employment, housing, and school improvements.

Second, the Negro revolt takes place in the midst of a broad shift away from rural-conservative power to urban-liberal political strength which the Supreme Court's stand on re-apportionment (Baker vs. Carr) is accelerating. The 1958 elections were an early and significant sign of this trend. In that year 15 liberal Democrats and three liberal Republicans were elected to the Senate, and since 1957, the Republican bloc in the Senate has been reduced from 45 to 33. In itself this trend has shifted the balance-of-power from conservatives to the moderates in the Senate. Senator Clark recently charted the path of conservative decline in a brilliant speech to the Senate. Speaking against the remaining conservative "Senate establishment," Clark pointed out that

> since 1958 the establishment has lost control of the Banking and Currency Committee, the Commerce Committee, the Committee on Government Operations, the Interior Committee, and as of Monday, believe it or not, the Judiciary Committee. They never had control of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. They have lost control of the Public Works Committee.
>
> Therefore time is on our side. Unless catastrophe overtakes the liberals of both parties in the election of 1964, I predict that we are within striking distance of obtaining control of the committee system of the Senate for the liberal and forward-looking elements on both sides of the aisle. (Congressional Record, 20 February 1963, p.2530)

As Clark shows conclusively, the Dixiecrats still are over-represented on the crucial Appropriations, Armed Services, Finance, Foreign Relations and Steering Committees. But here a third set of factors runs against the old guard:

Time and seniority are running down. As William Korns demonstrates (in the New Republic, 16 March 1963, p.6):

--the senate majority now consists of 23 Southerners, 37 Westerners, 13 Midwesterners, and 13 Easterners. But 22 of the Southerners entered the Senate before 1958 while nine of the Westerners, nine of the Midwesterners, and ten of the Easteners entered since that time. Thus an attrition rate is working against the South;

--six incumbents died during the 87th Congress. Of the 17 incumbent Democrats now 65 years or over, ten are Southerners. Of the 36 now 55 or over, 19 are Southerners;

--in 1964, when Johnson is likely to win with ease, 19 non-Southerners and only 6 Southerners will be up for re-election. If the liberals do not suffer disastrous losses in 1964, then they can look forward to the greater seniority which they will receive in the 88th Congress and to the probable setbacks for the ten Southern Democrats who must run in the harder mid-term contests of 1966.

Korns concludes: "...despite the prospect of some net losses among non-Southern Democrats over the next two elections, the present age-tenure composition of the Senate majority points to an inevitable shift in the pattern of seniority, with non-Southerners rising to the ranks now occupied by Southerners."

The House is changing subtly as well. Congressional Quarterly's 1962 elections analysis showed that only 25 of 69 retiring congressmen supported the President. Of the 67 new members, 27 are expected to be supporters of the President. This is hardly soothing information for the liberal, but it does indicate that the dwindling GOP-Dixiecrat coalition will be pressed even harder to find enough allies on all issues--their hegemony is broken, if not their ability to obstruct.

While this toppling process goes on "above" in Congress, "below" in Dixieland many Democratic politicians are either reconstructing themselves or being forced into it by the Negro voter and incipient Republicanism. Young, ambitious Governor Hollins, in retiring from the South Carolina gubernatorial chair, received a standing ovation from his legislature this spring when he acknowledged that the 1954 school desegregation was the "fact of the land". Only two Southern governors supported Ross Barnett in his "quarantine" of Ole Miss. "We believe in law and order and in the principle that all laws apply equally to all citizens," declared Georgia's Governor Sanders at his 1963 inaugural. The trend towards a new political fashion is clear.

Hurrying things along significantly is the development of a Republican, urban-and-suburban political party in the South, created largely by the influx of business professionals and aging citizens from the North. Ten years ago the Republicans were completely missing from the Southern scene. In 1961 there were nine Republicans in the House. Today there are 14, and the party plans to run candidates in every district of the South next year. They inevitably will force the Democrats to heed the lower-classes and middle class "good citizens" in the urbanizing South more than the rural reactionaries. No more pungent question could be addressed President Johnson than that of I. Lee Potter, chairman of the GOP Southern political drive:

> H ow popular will they (the Administration) be in the large urban centers of the North if they continue to accept segregationist votes? How popular will they be among Northern Negroes if they continue to imprison the Southern Negro in a one-party Democratic South?

Johnson is political, and wary of the threat which Potter outlines. It is probably no coincidence that Kennedy's political biographer, James MacGregor Burns, in his new book Deadlock of Democracy points the way to a realignment of the political parties in the near future. Dividing the liberal and conservative factions of both parties into what he calls "presidential" and "congressional," Burns forecasts that

> The presidential party that first gains control of its congressional party will dominate the politics of the center-left or center-right for decades to come. (p.339)

The current "presidential party", of course, inteds to dominate. Kennedy, had he lived, might well have alienated the South as soon as November, setting the conditions for realignment. LB J, however may postponedthat inevitable day because of his traditional Southern support. However, the trend is irresistable: the Dixiecrats are outmoded. The problem now is to hasten their decline, of course, but more importantly, to ask whether the party of Wagner and Daley and Johnson is "our party".

To summarize, a review of events indicates that the present Dixiecrat bluster and filibuster on Capital Hill --no matter how influential at the moment--may be the last stand for an idea, for a political style, and for a cadre of political men whose power makes a profound mark on American history. With the Southern Bourbons on the edge of eclipse it is now perhaps time to suggest, briefly, a new agenda of problems which might be confronting the nation before very long.

Prior to any liberal rejoicing over the fall of the South, it must be seen that in nearly every instance of change today, the formal institutions of Jim Crow are being replaced by the deceit of the white commercial class. Urbanization in the South may lead to the scrapping of Negroes and other poor people into the "inner cities." Industrialization and automation, especially in the capital-starved South, may push the Negroes and poor whites still further below the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. These are matters of the immediate future in the South, but not so in the North. If I am less than enthusiastic for the new epoch, it is because I know well the North an its white snaring suburbs, its complicated barriers that never seem either up or down, its millions of insulated consciences. I see the South, in the next few years, becoming part of a nation that cares only for its images and its social peace-while millions and millions and millions live hideously deprived in the city ghettoes, unable to muster quite enough political force to change their condition. In this situation, the Southern politician, shifting from Bourbon to bourbon, will become the same corrupted man of promise which the North has heard through history. The task of defeating the ultras is nearing a climax; but this may be less a reason for rejoicing than for a new wariness.

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The Freedom Information Service
P. O. Box 366
Edwards, Mississippi--39066

WHAT IS A CO-OP?

A co-op is a business. In many ways it's like any other. In some ways it's different.

Why do people join co-ops?

To work together for the benefit of all the people and to make more money for themselves and their family. People must risk some money to get a co-op started. They must be willing to sacrifice for it. If people don't work hard to build it, then theco-op won't be worth anything.

What kind of co-ops are there?

There are as many kinds of co-ops as there are businesses. In Miss. there are co-ops which make clothing,leather goods, toys, furniture and other things. These are all Negro owned co-ops. Other Negro co-ops plan to run a saw-mill, a lumber yard, a feed and seed mill, a cotton gin, gas stations,ceramics(pottery)shops, food stores and a credit union.

Can a co-op elect officers like a board of directors?

Yes

What can a co-op do to make a success?

It can get expert help, it can study the laws, it can start small and grow big slowly, not all at once. It can hire a good manager and elect good people to the board of directors.It can have good meetings where everybody takes part and knows what is happening.

Why do some co-ops fail?

Workers don't come to work on time or treat the co-op seriously. Some co-ops decide to make the wrong kind of goods and thencan't get good prices. They produce too few goods too slowly. They don't order supplies far enough in advance.

How can a co-op get a charter to do business?

Both the state of Miss. and the federal government grant charters. Miss. requires that ten members be listed on the application and that the co-op pay a $20 fee.

Where can co-op members get information and advice?

The best place is the Poor Peoples Corporation at 900 N. Farish st. Jackson,Miss.

Another good place is the National Sharecroppers Fund. James Mays is the representative for the Fund in Miss. He can be reached through the MFDP office at 507½ N. Farish st.Jackson.

Prepared by:
The Freedom Information
Service, Box 366,Edwards,
Miss. 39066

Who can become a member?

Anybody who agrees to buy a share of stock. Co-ops can allow members to pay for the shares when they get the money. Shares can be sold for whatever price the co-op says. Some co-ops sells shares for $.25 apiece.Others sell shares for $1.00 or $100 or even more.

What is the difference between a co-op member and a co-op worker?

Anybody who buys stock is a member although some stock can be sold to people who don't want to be members.

Anybody who the co-op agrees to hire is a co-op worker. In small co-ops the workers are usually members and the members are usually workers.

Who makes the by-laws of the co-op?

The members.

Who does the buying and selling for the co-op? It could be the manager or a special person chosen by the members to do the job.

Can a co-op hire a manager to run the business?

Yes. It can also decide to have a management committee.

Who tells the manager what he can and what he can not do?

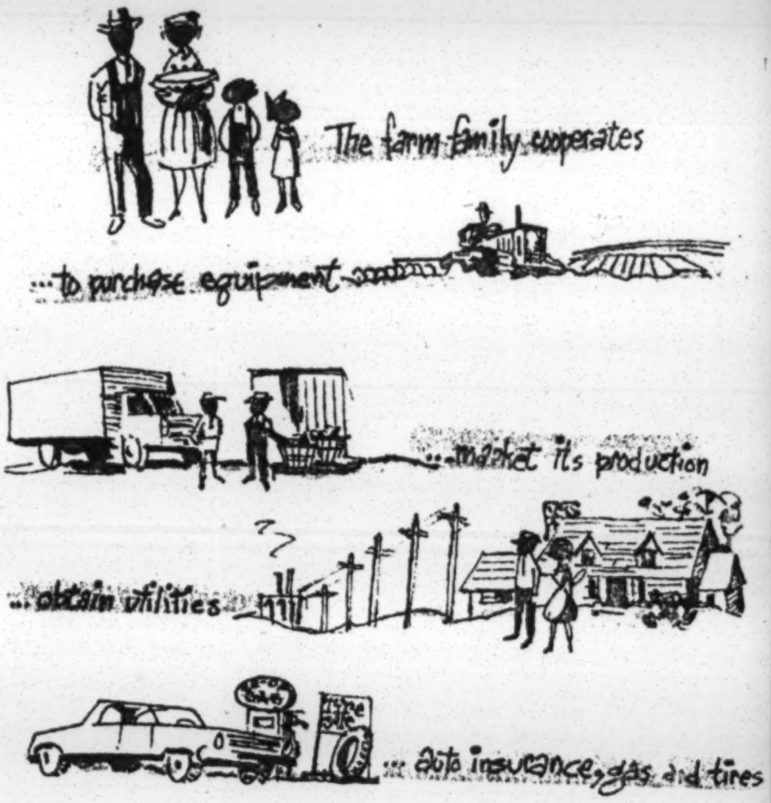
The co-op. The co-op must decide what they want the manager to do. This should be done before the manager is hired. Once he is hired he should be given a chance to do a good job. Everyone must co-operate with the manager or else he

Who can vote at co-op meetings?

Only co-op members can vote. No matter how many shares of stock he may have he can only have one vote. All co-ops believe in the one man, one vote idea.

How can the co-op get money?

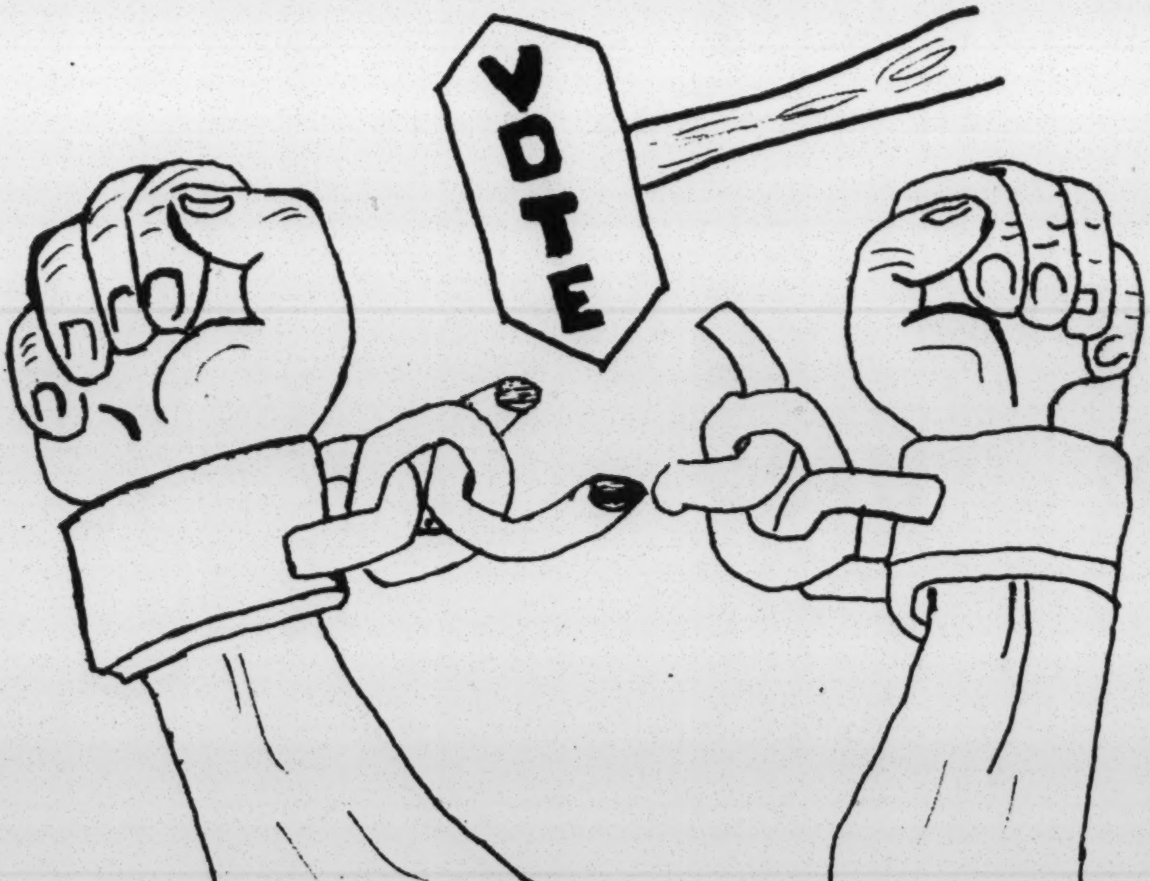
By selling shares of stock. Negro co-ops in Miss. have gotten money and loans from the Poor Peoples Corporation. The PPC grants money at their meetings four times a year.



How much should co-ops pay its workers?

It depends on how much money the co-op has.If the co-op has little money to begin with then some co-ops ask the workers to donate their time free-- at least until the money comes in. If a co-op spends all its money on wages then it won't have enough to buy supplies and materials.

THE POWER OF YOUR VOTE



Your Vote Can *Help* Boss The Sheriff, Governor.

? WHY ?

Because only the people's vote

Your Vote put them where they are. They have to *listen* to the people who vote.

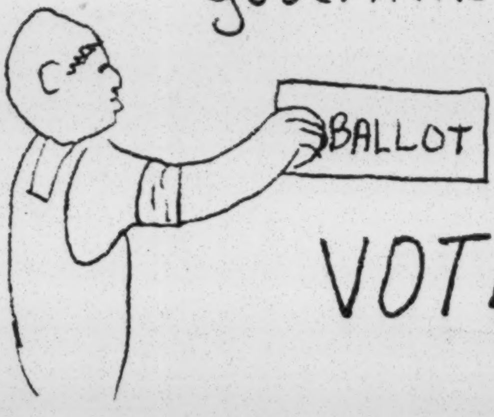
NOW **YOU** CAN VOTE

Your Vote can CHOOSE and *CHANGE* *the people who* run the government.

GOVERNMENT IS SUPPOSED TO *HELP*
ALL THE PEOPLE.

Government is *like* a car.
How and where it goes depends on the driver.
It can run over you and your children, OR
it can run for you, and take you where you want to go. BUT
You must put a good driver in the driver's seat.

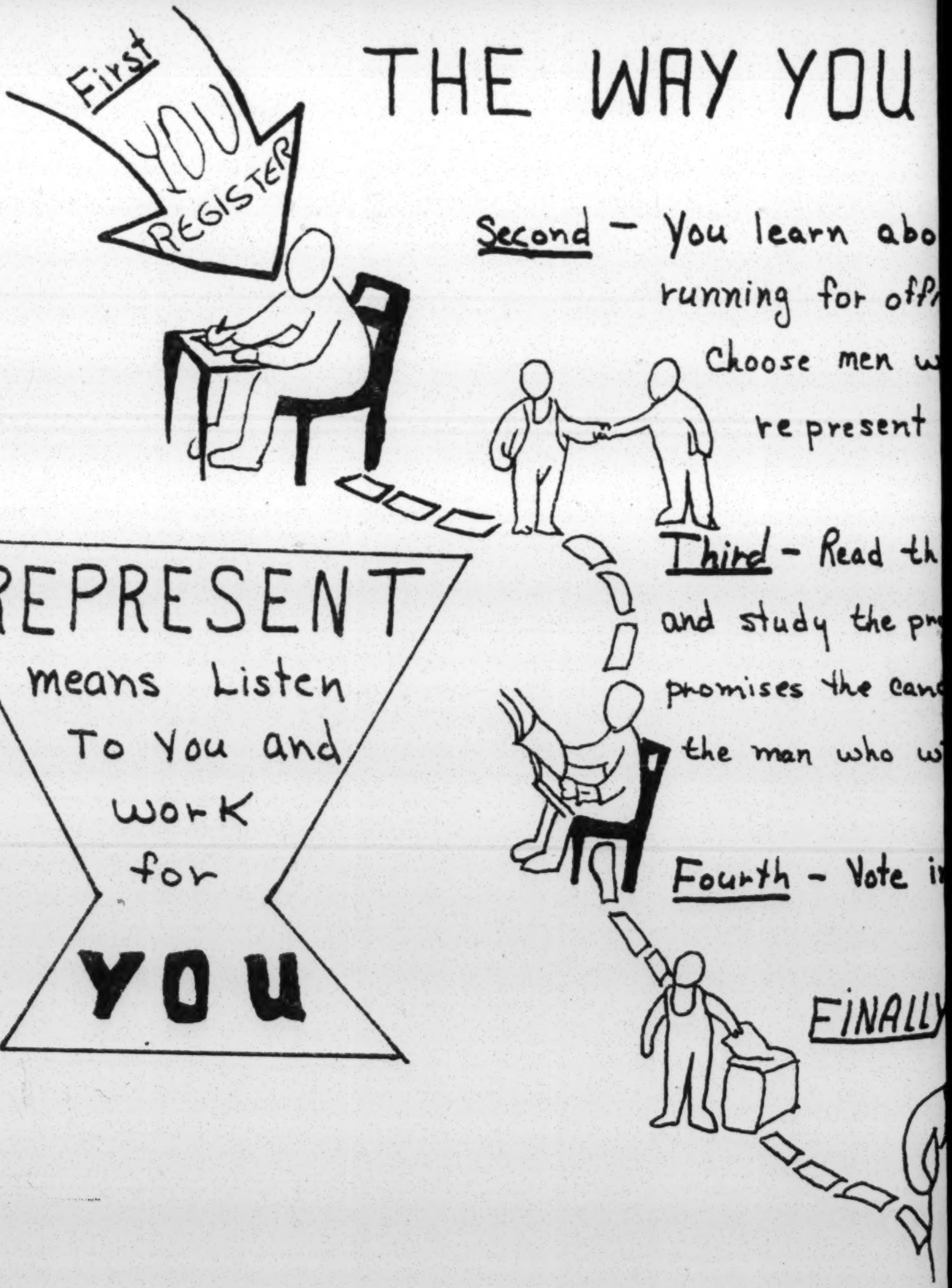
Your vote can choose and change the people who guide YOUR government.



YOUR

VOTE RUNS
GOVERNMENT

THE WAY YOU



Second - You learn abo
running for off
Choose men w
represent

Third - Read th
and study the pr
promises the can
the man who w

Fourth - Vote i

FINALLY

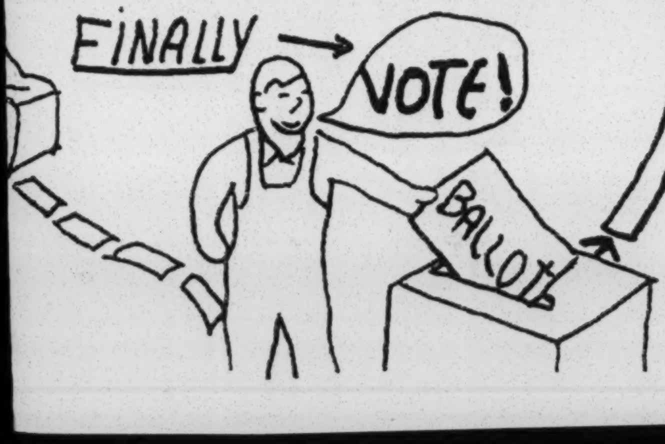
REPRESENT
means Listen
To You and
work
for
YOU

YOU GET YOUR VOTING VOICE

learn about the people ing for office so you oose men who will re present you.

d - Read the newspapers study the problems and the ses the candidates make. Find man who will work for you!

th - Vote in the primary.



TO CHOOSE

Elected Offices

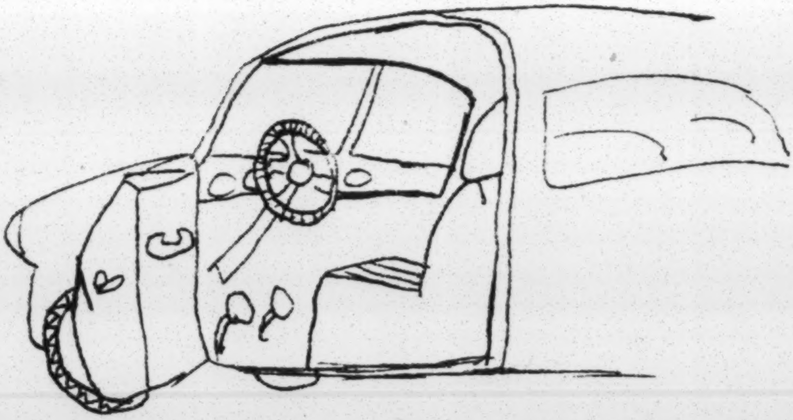
Governor
Mayor
Sheriff
Probate - Judge
Commissioners
Tax Assessor
Tax Collector
Circuit - Solicitor
Circuit - Judge
Board of Education

DO THEY REPRESENT YOU???

WHEN the men who run and guide government listen to you and work for you,

THEN you also sit in the drivers seat.

GET behind the WHEEL



HELP GUIDE GOVERNMENT in the RIGHT DIRECTION

Register and Vote

THE MAN WHO DOESN'T VOTE WHEN HE HAS THE CHANCE MAY BE ACTING AS:

1. A Tom for Mr. Charlie
2. An infduence for bad government
3. A friend of crooks
4. A victim of Jim Crow

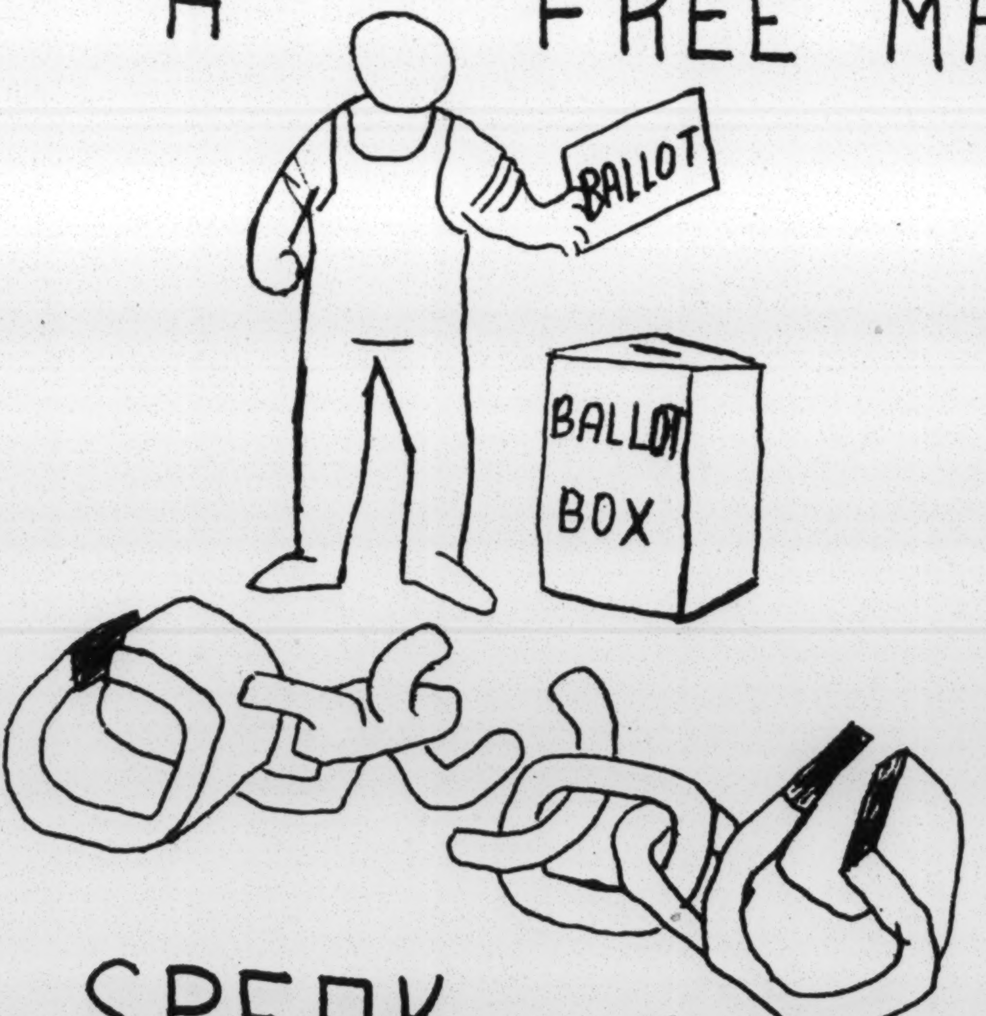
EACH VOTE COUNTS!

If you DON'T vote, you help elect
the man you don't want!

Use your vote to guide government
for the good of ALL.

This is how your vote speaks ⟶

YOUR **VOTE** IS THE VOICE OF A FREE MAN


BALLOT
BALLOT BOX

SPEAK

EMERGENCY APPEAL

From: The Poor Peoples Fund
To: Church, Labor and Civil Rights Groups
Re: Emergency aid

On January 28, 1966 over 1000 people from the Delta came together at Edwards, Miss.

We discussed our problems and came up with a list of demands around food, land and jobs.

Forty of us, acting in behalf of other hungry poor people, moved into the abandoned Air Force base at Greenville Mississippi. We were joined by members of the Mississippi Freedom Demoncatic Party, the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union and the Delta Ministry--National Council of Churches. We moved there because we have no homes, no land, no jobs.

On Tuesday morning, 11:00 a.m., we were thrown off the base, under the direct orders of the President of the United States.

On Tuesday afternoon people from Strike City offered their land to the poor people evicted from the base. This was to be an immediate refuge, and a place where people could get together and make further plans.

Those of us who are homeless are staying at Strike City as a temporary shelter. Some of us had to go back and get our children and our few belongings. Others of us who have homes but no jobs have gone to tell other poor and homeless people that there is now a place to go.

More poor people are arriving every day. We have recieved word from people throughout the Delta that they are ready and want to come if there is a place to go.

THERE ARE SOME IMMEDIATE, EMERGENCY NEEDS TO BE MET TODAY! THEY CAN ONLY BE MET BY YOU.

The federal and state governments have rejected us. Our only hope is to get land of our own. For that we need money today.

Already we have spent over $2000 on transportation alone, and that bill is rising daily.

We must stress the immediate needs, but we must not overlook the long range plans. We must purchase land for the building of permanent homes, permanent jobs and food.

You can send money now to:
The Poor Peoples Fund
P. O. Box 457
Greenville, Mississippi

Make checks payable to The Poor Peoples Fund.

If your organization needs speakers to raise funds, write to the above address or call (914) 335-2988. or 355-1213.

You will receive further information for publication and distribution.

"Only you can be responsible for change in Mississippi."

Freedom Information Service
Post Office Box 366
Edwards, Miss.

Dear

Here are some suggestions about how to get what you are entitled to get from the state Welfare office:

1. First, you must apply at the state office in person. Every county in the state has at least one state welfare office.

2. Ask the welfare case worker for an application form. Some people make the mistake of just telling the case worker his or her name but don't get the application form filled out.

3. If you can't read or write bring along a friend who can. If the welfare worker won't allow your friend to come into the room with you, then ask the welfare worker to help you fill out the application.

4. Make sure you find out the name of the welfare case worker every time you go down to the welfare office. That way you can make a specific complaint against a specific person. It does no good just to complain to the Welfare office in Washington that somebody in the welfare office wouldn't help me out.

5. If you are turned down either in person or by letter you should be given very specific reasons why you were turned down. Save all the letters from the welfare office and write down or have someone write down for you exactly what happened at the office.

6. Everyone is entitled to a fair hearing if you believe that you were cut off welfare or not allowed on without a legal reason. The federal government demands that people be given the right to a fair hearing within 60 days after you apply.

7. Your local welfare office has copies of pamphlets on welfare. You have a right to a reasonable number of them. Don't be afraid to ask.

8. Remember: You are entitled to welfare(if you need it) just as you are entitled to vote. If you are turned down once, don't give up. Notify your local civil rights or Freedom Democratic Party office for help.

Freedom!

PUBLIC

WELFARE

IN

MISSISSIPPI

An Outline of

Welfare Programs

Prepared by
The Freedom Information Service
Box 366
Edwards, Mississippi

- -

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

WHO CAN GET AFDC IN MISSISSIPPI ???

YOU - if you can answer YES to all the following:

I. My child is under I6 or under I8 and in school.

2. My child doesn't have the care and support of one or both parents because of:

   a. Death
   b. Divorce
   c. Desertion
   d. Illness
   e. Hospitalization
   f. Imprisonment

3. My child has lived in Miss. for at least one year.

4. I am applying for aid in the same county that my child lives in.

5. My child lives with his parents or with a close relative.

6. I have property worth no more than $2,500.

7. I don't have enough money to take care of my child.

HOW MUCH CAN I GET ???

You can get up to :

$25 a month for the Ist child

$I5 a month for the 2nd child

$I0 a month for each child after that.

YOU CAN NEVER GET MORE THAN $90 A MONTH...

HOW DO YOU APPLY ???

You should go to the nearest public welfare office. If you can't get there, call or write and ask them to send you an application for aid.

AFTER YOU APPLY - THEN WHAT ???

These things will happen:

I. A welfare worker should vivit you at your home.

2. He should talk to you about how much money you make, if you get social security or railroad pension or things like that.

3. He should find out how much your car is worth, your livestock, any farm machinery you might have and other things like that.

THEN, IF HE TURNS YOU DOWN...

You can ask for a **FAIR HEARING**

See page 7 for how to get a FAIR HEARING...

OLD AGE ASSISTANCE

WHO CAN GET OAA IN MISSISSIPPI ???

YOU - if you can answer YES to all the following:

I. I am at least 65 years old.

2. I've lived in Miss. at least one year.

3. My property is valued at not more than $2,500.

4. I have cash or property (not including my car, livestock, etc.) valued at not more than $800 if I have family or $500 if I am alone.

5. I don't have enough money to take care of my needs.

HOW MUCH CAN I GET ???

YOU CAN NEVER GET MORE THAN $50 A MONTH...

HOW DO I APPLY ???

You go to the nearest public welfare office. If you can't get there, call or write and ask them to send you an application for aid.

AFTER YOU APPLY - THEN WHAT ???

A welfare worker should visit you at your home. He should talk to you about your income. He should also check with your children and see if they can't give you some aid themselves.

THEN, IF HE TURNS YOU DOWN...
You should ask for a FAIR HEARING

See page 7 for how to get a FAIR HEARING...

AID TO THE PERMANENTLY AND TOTALLY DISABLED

WHO CAN GET APTD IN MISSISSIPPI ???

YOU - IF YOU CAN ANSWER YES TO ALL THE FOLLOWING:

I. I can't work anymore because I'm sick or because I'm crippled in some way.

2. I'm over I8 and under 65.

3. I've lived in Miss. at least one year.

4. My home property is valued at no more than $2,500.

5. I don't have enough money to live on.

HOW MUCH CAN I GET ???

YOU CAN NEVER GET MORE THAN $50 A MONTH ...

HOW DO I APPLY ???

You should go to the nearest public welfare office. If you can't get there, call or write and ask them to send you an application for aid.

AFTER YOU APPLY - THEN WHAT ???

A person from the welfare office should visit you at your home. He should check on any kind of income you get, like social security or other possible incomes. You should have a medical examination and the doctor shoud send the report to the welfare office.

THEN, IF YOU ARE TURNED DOWN...

YOU SHOULD ASK FOR A

FAIR HEARING

See the next page for how to get a

FAIR HEARING...

AID TO THE BLIND

The same requirements are needed to get aid if you are blind as for the disabled person. EXCEPT, that you must be either completely blind or else even with glasses, you can't do normal work. If you are under 18, YOU MAY BE ABLE TO GO TO THE STATE SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND.

YOU CAN NEVER GET MORE THAN $50 A MONTH...

Again, your eyes must be checked by a doctor and the report sent to the welfare people by your **doctor.**

THEN, IF YOU ARE TURNED DOWN...

YOU SHOULD ASK FOR A FAIR HEARING

See the next page for how to get a

FAIR HEARING...

FAIR HEARINGS

If you feel that:

1. You aren't getting enough money,
2. You aren't getting any aid even after applying,
3. You haven't heard from the welfare people after 60 days,

OR

4. You feel you have been discriminated against because of your race or color,

THEN YOU SHOULD ASK FOR A FAIR HEARING.

You should go to the welfare office where you applied and ask them for the forms for a Fair Hearing. The welfare office should help you ask for the hearing. If they don't, write to the State Welfare Board in Jackson.

(The address is below)

Mr. M.H. Brooks, Commissioner
Mississippi Board of Welfare
600 Woofolk State Building
Jackson, Mississippi

OTHER ADDRESSES WHICH MAY BE HELPFUL:

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare
Anthony J. Celebreeze
300 Independence Ave.
Washington D.C.

Commissioner of Welfare
Ellen Winston
300 Independence
Washington D.C.

or

Your Local
Civil Rights Project Office

ORGANIZATIONS SERVED BY THE FREEDOM INFORMATION SERVICE

Delta Ministry
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Free Southern Theater
Poor Peoples Conference - Poor Peoples Fund
Congress of Racial Equality
Poor Peoples Corporation
Southern Student Organizing Committee
Mississippi Freedom Labor Union
Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee
Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (President's Committee)
N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Medical Committee for Human Rights

Other Mississippi groups to which F.I.S. services are available

Brick Factory
Mississippi Student Union
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Operation Freedom
? ? ?

* * * * * * *

The library of the Freedom Information Service contains over 400 books and countless pamphlets relevant to the Movement. Also, 10 file cabinets contain newspaper and other clippings and miscellaneous information. About 25 periodicals and newsletters are received regularly. Four daily newspapers are received and clipped and several other papers are clipped elsewhere by volunteers and clippings sent for our files.

PROPOSAL FOR A CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION CENTER

PREFACE

A GREAT DEAL HAS BEEN DONE AND THOUGHT, THEORIZED AND SPECULATED UPON SINCE THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT BEGAN ON A SIGNIFICANT SCALE IN MISSISSIPPI. MANY RECORDS HAVE BEEN KEPT, SOME QUITE FAITHFULLY, BUT PEOPLE HAVE GENERALLY BEEN TOO BUSY GETTING ON WITH THE BUSINESS AT HAND TO GATHER MATERIALS TOGETHER INTO ONE PLACE AND MAKE THEM AVAILABLE TO PEOPLE FOR A VARIETY OF PURPOSES.

THOUGH A PROPER HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE CAN HARDLY BE POSSIBLE NOW IN THE MIDST OF THE STRUGGLE, THE DATA AND RECORDS WHICH WOULD MAKE A FUTURE PERSPECTIVE MORE ACCURATE NEED TO BE DELIBERATELY COLLECTED AND CIRCULATED AT THIS TIME TO PREVENT THEIR LOSS AND BRING TOGETHER SCATTERED PIECES WHILE THEIR AUTHORS ARE STILL ABLE TO GIVE AID AND ELABORATION. ALSO, THERE IS MUCH THAT HAS NOT BEEN RECORDED BECAUSE OF THE RUSH TO KEEP WORKING, BUT THERE IS NO REAL WAY OF KNOWING WHAT STILL NEEDS TO BE GLEANED FROM PARTICIPANTS AND OBSERVERS.

IN ADDITION, THOSE INVOLVED IN THE MOVEMENT ARE FACED WITH THE ENORMOUS TASK OF EDUCATING THEMSELVES AND THOSE WITH WHOM THEY WORK TO THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL ALTERNATIVES WHICH MIGHT PULL US FROM THE MORASS OF HUMAN DECAY WE FIND OURSELVES IN. MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE AND CHALLENGE ON VITAL ISSUES CANNOT HELP BUT ENRICH OUR WORK HERE AND RELATE US MORE DECISIVELY WITH THE MOVEMENT AROUND THE NATION AND WORLD.

IT IS THEREFORE PROPOSED

THAT A CENTER BE ESTABLISHED TO PERFORM THE FOLLOWING GENERAL FUNCTIONS:

1. MAINTAIN A LIBRARY OF RELEVANT MATERIALS.
2. PUBLISH A PERIODICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LIBRARY MATERIALS AND IMPORTANT INFORMATION AVAILABLE ELSEWHERE.
3. MAINTAIN A FILE OF SOURCES OF MATERIAL TO BE FOUND IN BOOKS, MAGAZINES, FILMS, FILM STRIPS, SLIDES, PHOTOGRAPHS, PAMPHLETS, TAPE RECORDINGS, PHONOGRAPH RECORDS, POSTERS, OTHER LIBRARIES, ETC.
4. REPRODUCE AND DISTRIBUTE CURRENT MATERIALS AND COMPOSITE BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND ORIGINAL ARTICLES TO A WIDE MAILING LIST.
5. ENCOURAGE WRITING AND TAPE RECORDING BY PEOPLE IN VARIOUS WAYS CONNECTED WITH THE MOVEMENT, BOTH FOR ORIGINAL AND THEORETICAL MATERIALS AND BACKGROUND OF ACTIVITIES.

SOME DETAILS OF OPERATION

1. LIBRARY:
   - A. UPDATE CLIP FILES, RECLASSIFY, CROSS-REFERENCE
   - B. UPDATE MISSISSIPPI COUNTY NOTEBOOKS, ADD WATS COPIES, SUMMARIZE BACKGROUND OF AREA AND PROJECT INTO EASILY READABLE FORM AND PREPARE FOR PRESS AND OTHER DISTRIBUTION
   - C. COLLECT ALL AVAILABLE WATS REPORTS
   - D. COLLECT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS RELEVANT TO CIVIL RIGHTS, ASCS, WELFARE, POVERTY PROGRAM, AGRICULTURE, ETC., INCLUDING PRESENT COLLECTION OF JESSE MORRIS
   - E. COLLECT NEWS RELEASES AND PUBLICATIONS OF FDP, COFO, CORE, SNCC, MFLU, OTHER GROUPS THROUGHOUT THE NATION WITH SIMILAR CONCERNS
   - F. COLLECT BOOKS, MAGAZINES, FILMS, FILM STRIPS, SLIDES, PHOTOGRAPHS, PAMPHLETS. TAPES, RECORDS, POSTERS, BUTTONS, STICKERS, ETC.

2. BIBLIOGRAPHY:
   - A. PERIODICAL PUBLICATION LISTING MATERIALS AVAILABLE IN THE CENTER AND IN OTHER COLLECTIONS AND LISTING IMPORTANT ARTICLES IN OTHER PUBLICATIONS
   - B. MAILING LIST WILL INCLUDE COFO, FDP, MFLU OFFICES, FOSNCC GROUPS AND OTHER SUPPORTERS, PRESS, MISCELLANEOUS INTERESTED GROUPS AND PERSONS INCLUDING RELATED MOVEMENTS, LEGISLATORS, ETC.
   - C. REQUEST FREE SUBSCRIPTIONS OR DONATIONS OF PUBLICATIONS

3. FILE OF SOURCES:
   - A. SURVEY PUBLIC LIBRARIES, PRIVATE COLLECTIONS, OFFICES, ESPECIALLY FOR MATERIAL NOT AVAILABLE FOR THE CENTER AND KEEP RECORD OF WHERE IT CAN BE OBTAINED
   - B. COLLECT LISTS OF MATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM OTHER SOURCES, AS CATALOGS OF GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS, FILMS, SDS WRITINGS

4. DISTRIBUTION OF READINGS:
   - A. ELECTRIC STENCIL OF OTHER REPRINTS OF LESS ACCESSIBLE MATERIALS TO MAILING LIST AS IN 2B.
   - B. PROBABLY SEND IN CONJUNCTION WITH BIBLIOGRAPHY, ASKING DONATION TO MEET COSTS FROM NORTHERN GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS ASKING TO BE ON LIST

5. NEW MATERIALS:
   - A. ENCOURAGE WRITING ON DEVELOPMENT OF MOVEMENT IN VARIOUS PROJECT AREAS, PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED, METHODS USED, LEARNINGS
   - B. ENCOURAGE INDIVIDUAL EVALUATIONS OF PERSONS, TRENDS, EVENTS, DEVELOPMENT, PROSPECTUS FOR THE MOVEMENT
   - C. ENCOURAGE WRITING ON RELATIONSHIP OF CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, PARTICULARLY IN MISSISSIPPI, TO OTHER MOVEMENTS, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS
   - D. ENCOURAGE ORIGINAL WORKS ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC THEORY, ESPECIALLY AS APPLIED TO MISSISSIPPI MOVEMENT

PARTIAL LIST OF MATERIAL NEEDS

1. EQUIPMENT
   - A. MIMEOGRAPH MACHINE
   - B. POSSIBLE RENT OF ELECTRIC STENCIL MAKER (BEST METHOD OF REPRODUCING PUBLICATION WILL HAVE TO BE DETERMINED)
   - C. THREE-DRAWER FILE CABINET, LEGAL SIZE
   - D. PICA TYPEWRITER, PREFERABLY ELECTRIC
   - E. ELECTRIC FAN
   - F. SHELVES
   - G. VERTICAL HOLDERS FOR TAPES AND RECORDS

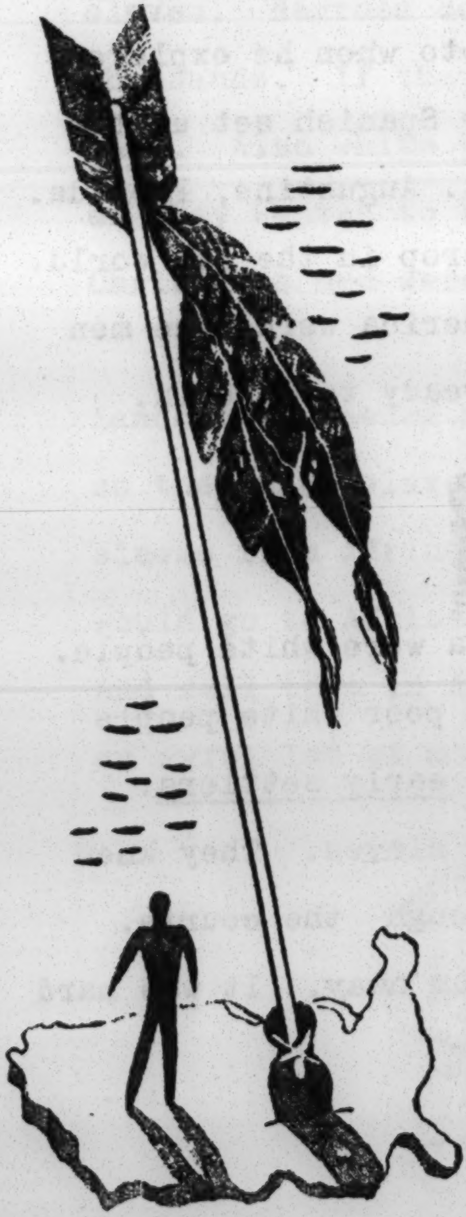
2. SUPPLIES
   - A. FILE FOLDERS
   - B. FILE CARDS, 3 x 5
   - C. RUBBER CEMENT
   - D. STAMPS
   - E. MIMEOGRAPH INK
   - F. STENCILS
   - G. ENVELOPES
   - H. SCISSORS
   - I. STAPLER AND STAPLES
   - J. MAILING LABELS OR ADDRESSOGRAPH
   - K. LIGHTER WEIGHT PAPER FOR CLIPPINGS
   - L. MIMEOGRAPH PAPER, 8½x14, 8½x11, AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE

3. MONEY FOR
   - A. SUBSISTENCE FOR PERSONNEL ($10. A WEEK EACH) (VIA SNCC?)
   - B. MAILINGS (USING OWN OR COFO PERMIT?)
   - C. PURCHASE OF PUBLICATIONS NOT AVAILABLE OTHERWISE
   - D. UTILITY BILLS (ABOUT $10. PER MONTH)
   - E. GAS FOR USE OF CAR (PERHAPS $10. PER MONTH)
   - F. RENT OF 2-4 ROOMS IN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

PERSONNEL

INITIALLY, THE PROJECT WILL BE BEGUN BY JAN HILLEGAS, 22 YEAR OLD COFO WORKER SINCE AUGUST, 1964, WITH COFO COMMUNICATIONS SINCE FEBRUARY 5, 1965. SHE WILL TRY TO FIND ONE OR TWO YOUNG MISSISSIPPIANS WHO WILL GIVE A FEW MONTHS TO THE PROJECT, WANT TO WORK IN SOME PHASE OF COMMUNICATIONS OR LIBRARY WORK, BUT LACK BASIC SKILLS THAT WOULD PREPARE THEM TO TAKE APPROPRIATE FURTHER STUDY AT THIS TIME.

FREEDOM is a constant STRUGGLE



THIS IS A HISTORY BOOK ABOUT US. IT TELLS US THINGS ABOUT OUR PAST THAT WHITE PEOPLE WITH POWER HAVE KEPT US FROM KNOWING. THEY DON'T WANT US TO KNOW THE IMPORTANT THINGS WE HAVE DONE FOR OURSELVES AND FOR OUR COUNTRY. WHY? FOR THE SAME REASONS THEY DON'T WANT US TO VOTE OR HAVE THE THINGS WE WANT AND NEED.

AS WE READ THIS BOOK ABOUT US, WE SHOULD REMEMBER THAT WE ARE WRITING ANOTHER CHAPTER OF IT RIGHT NOW. WHAT WE DO WITH OUR LIVES IS IMPORTANT TO TODAY AND TOMORROW.

WE CAME ACROSS THE SEA

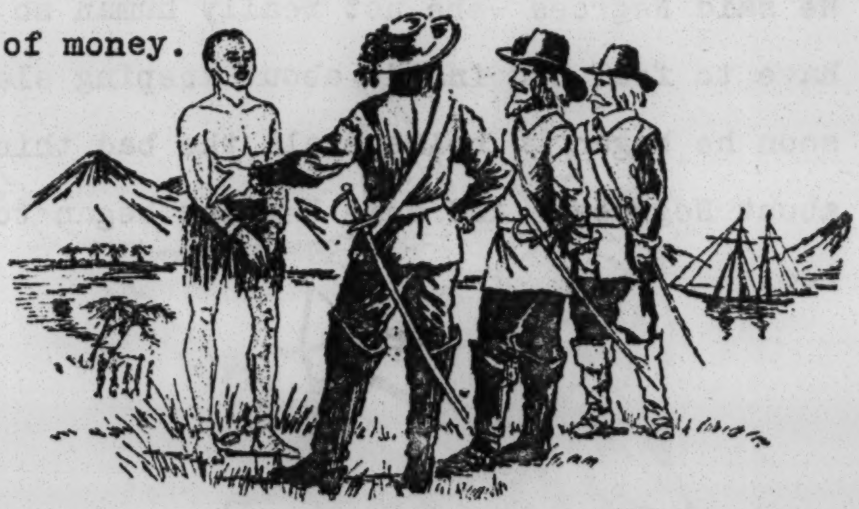
The first Negroes who came to America were not slaves. They came across the sea from Europe with men who wanted to explore the New World. When Columbus discovered America in 1492, a Negro man sailed one of his ships. Negroes were with DeSoto when he explored Mississippi. They also helped the Spanish set up the first city in America, which is St. Augustine, Florida. A Negro man grew the first wheat crop in the New World. So the first Negroes to come to America were free men who did a lot to get the country ready to live in.

The first slaves brought to America were white people. Rich white people in Europe bought poor white people and prisoners and sold them to the early settlers. White people didn't make very good slaves. They knew about how to get their freedom through the courts. They were hard to find when they ran away. It was hard to get enough of them.

So the big landowners tried to make slaves of the Indians. They didn't make very good slaves either because they got sick easy and often ran away.

The landowners found out Negro people made the best slaves. Negroes could be brought from Africa by the thousands. If they ran away, it was easier to find them. Also white people could treat Negroes as badly as they wanted to because whites said Africans weren't Christians and weren't human beings.

Landowners needed more and more labor to work the land, so they made slavery legal. Then they began buying slaves from Africa by the thousands. Slave ships would go to Africa and buy or capture free black people and sell them in America. The owners of the ships made an awful lot of money.



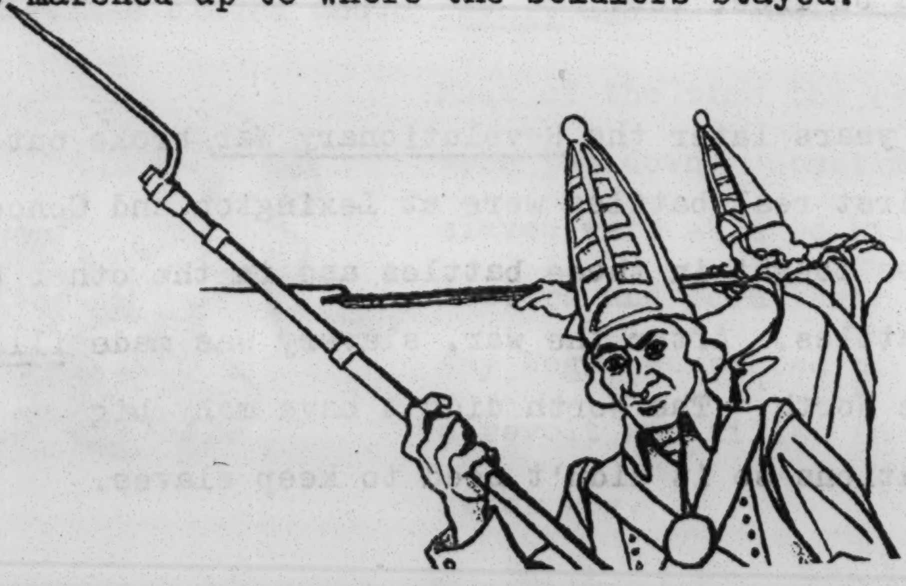
Things were so bad on the slave ships that many of the captured people died before they reached the shores of America. They slaves were chained together and crowded into the bottom part of the ship. They didn't have enough food, water or fresh air. Some of the black people decided they would rather die than be slaves in a strange country, and jumped off the ship and drowned.

Most of the slaves brought to America could not read or write. They didn't have to know how in their life in Africa. Some were very well educated but that didn't matter to the slave owner. He needed the slaves to do the hard work in the fields and make him rich. He said Negroes were not really human so he wouldn't have to feel bad inside about keeping slaves. Pretty soon he began to believe all the bad things he said about Negroes. And some Negroes began to believe him, too.

WE FOUGHT IN THE FIRST WAR

At one time, America was owned by the King of England. He made the laws for this country and made the people pay taxes. This made Americans angry. They decided they wanted to be free. They wrote the Declaration of Independence which said, "All men are created equal." They knew this would make the king mad, but they were ready to fight for their freedom.

The king's soldiers stayed in the towns before the war. The people and the soldiers hated each other. One day there was a fist fight between some soldiers and the people. A little boy got hit over the head by a soldier. This made the people even angrier, and they marched up to where the soldiers stayed.



The leader of the people was a tall, strong Negro named Crispus Attucks. He was a runaway slave who became a sailor. He told the people the soldiers wouldn't dare shoot. A soldier shot into the air to scare the people away. The people threw rocks at the soldiers and they began shooting at the people. One of the bullets killed Crispus Attucks. That made the people so angry that they attacked the soldiers with rocks and sticks. Finally the soldiers backed off and the fighting stopped.

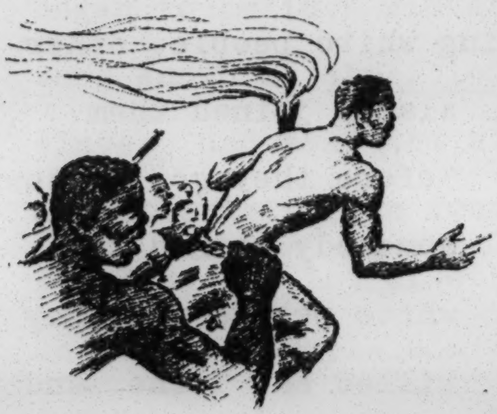
The soldiers had killed four Americans. Crispus Attucks, a black man, was the first person to die for American freedom. This made some people think Negroes should be free, too.

A few years later the Revolutionary War broke out. The first real battles were at Lexington and Concord. Negroes fought in these battles and in the other big war battles. After the war, slavery was made illegal in the North. The North didn't have many big plantations so it didn't need to keep slaves.

For awhile it looked like slavery would end in the South, too. But then the cotton gin was invented and the people in the South decided to keep their slaves to grow cotton. Making money was more important to them than freedom for all men.

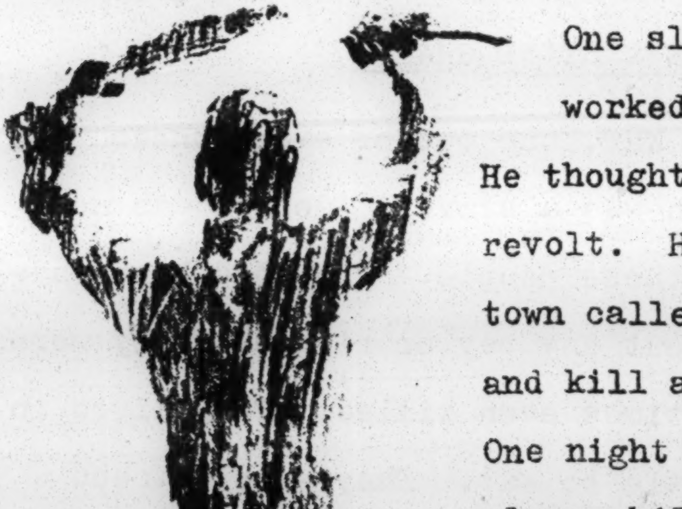
WE CAN'T STAND CHAINS

Just before the Civil War, one out of every three Americans in the South was a slave. America was not the promised land to these people. They had been made to come and work without any pay or rights. They were often beaten and sometimes even killed. They lived in huts and had very little to eat. They were watched closely to stop them from escaping to freedom. Sometimes slaves would revolt against their masters.



Most of the time the revolts were put down. Sometimes the slaves were able to kill their masters and burn their houses. Any Negro suspected of planning a revolt was killed in some awful way.

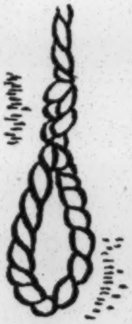
Denmark Vesey organized one of these revolts. He was a slave who had bought his freedom. He got 9,000 slaves together but two days before the revolt, one house slave who was a Tom told his master about the plans. Denmark and all the leaders of the revolt were hanged.



One slave revolt that kind of worked was led by Nat Turner. He thought God wanted him to revolt. He decided to march to a town called Jerusalem in Virginia and kill all the white people. One night Nat and seven other slaves killed their master and his family and burned down the house. As they went along burning houses and killing white people, other slaves joined them. Before they got to town, somebody warned the white people and they killed Nat Turner and his band.

From the time Negroes were made slaves, they had revolts. When there were almost as many slaves as white people, the whites began to be afraid. When somebody said there might be a revolt, white people really got scared. They passed slave codes or black codes to "keep Negroes in line."

The codes said Negroes couldn't be out after dark, leave the plantation, meet other Negroes, or learn to read and write. Some codes even said Negroes couldn't have their own churches. White people passed these codes because they were so afraid.



WE FOUGHT IN OTHER WAYS

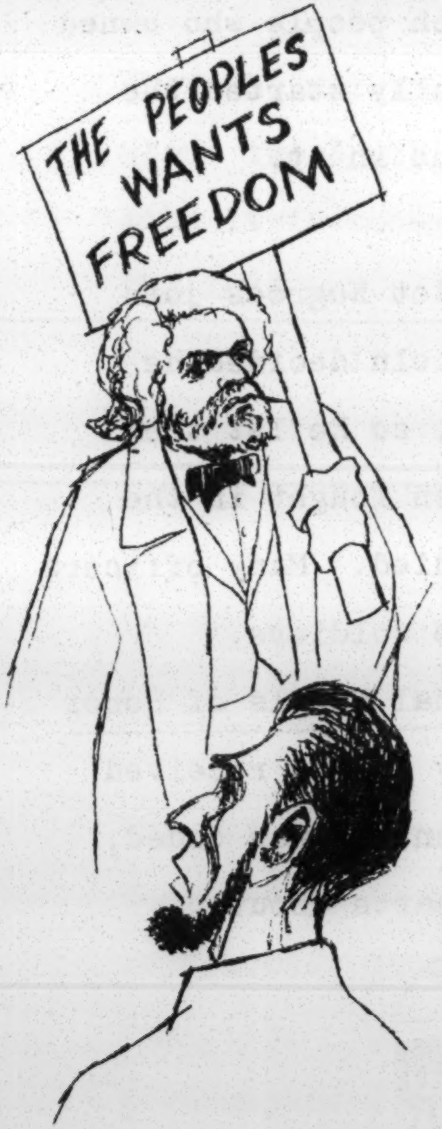
Before the Civil War, a lot of slaves and white people began to believe slavery was wrong. These people were known as abolitionists. They wanted to abolish slavery and make the slaves free men. Some white abolitionists even fought with Negroes in the slave revolts. A lot of other white people wanted to keep Negro people slaves.

They were:

1. Slaveholders who wanted people to work for no pay.
2. Northern businessmen who made money by selling things to the slaveholders.
3. White people who were so prejudiced that they thought Negro slaves were not fit to be anything but a slave. (They forgot that most of the skilled craftsmen in the south - such as carpenters and blacksmiths - were Negro slaves.)

One of the most famous abolitionists was Frederick Douglass. He was born a slave, but he taught himself to read and wanted to be free. He escaped to New York when he was 21 years old. He began to tell people in the North how it was to be a slave. He became a famous speaker and editor.

Douglass believed in non-violence at first, but he came to believe you couldn't change a man's heart by just talking to him. You had to get things for yourself.

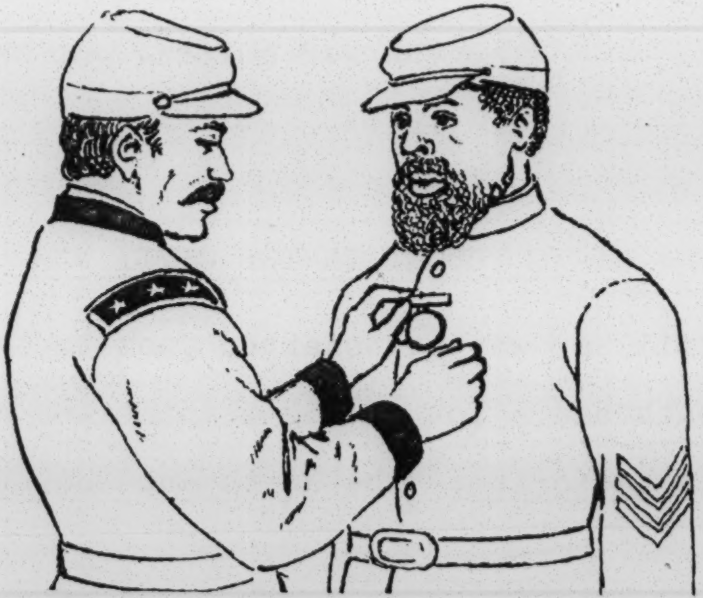


When the Civil War broke out, it made Douglass happy. He went to visit President Lincoln to tell him to end slavery and to let Negroes fight in the war for their freedom. Lincoln wanted to go slow. He was afraid the border states would join the South if he set Negroes free. But after two years of fighting the war, Lincoln decided the North needed Negroes to fight. So he signed the Emancipation Proclamation freeing all the slaves. Douglass spent the rest of his time during the war helping get Negroes to fight in it.

WE FOUGHT IN THE CIVIL WAR

The Civil War was not started just to free the slaves. The South had a lot of big plantations and the North had big factories. The North and South fought about laws that would hurt each other. Rich people who owned the plantations and the factories really started the war and they didn't even have to fight in it.

At first the Northern army wouldn't let Negroes join the fight. But after two years, Lincoln decided he needed Negro soldiers to win the war, so he let them join the army. Some 200,000 black men fought in the war. One out of every five of them died. Many officers said Negroes fought harder than white soldiers. Fourteen Negroes received Congressional Medals of Honor for heroism on the battlefield. Many others received other awards for their courage. When the war ended, Negroes had a lot of hope in their hearts about freedom.



WE GOT OUR DREAM - FOR AWHILE

When the war ended, the North didn't know what to do about the South. Before the war, the South was about like it is today. A few rich white people owned all the land and made the decisions about how the South was run. After the war, many Northerners wanted to put the old slaveholders back into power.

Other Northern people wanted to build a new way of life in the South where everybody would make decisions about his own life and have what he needed.

The freed slaves had their own ideas about freedom. They wanted to own their own land. They wanted to go to school. They wanted to settle down and raise their families. They wanted to vote and take part in the government.

Freed Negroes began to see their dreams come true right after the war. They filled up the schools that were opened for them. They joined with poor white people to get political power. For the first time in history

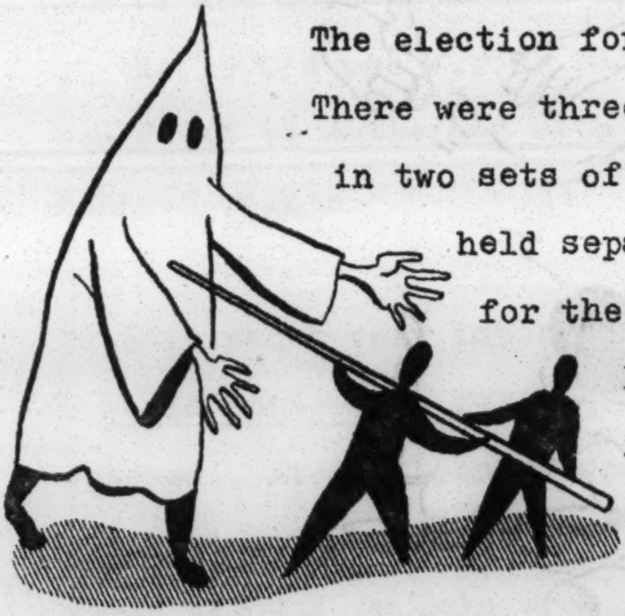
Negroes got elected to Congress and to the state legislatures. Between 1869 and 1901, two Negroes were U.S. Senators and 20 were U.S. Congressmen. They passed good laws about streets and roads, schools and poor people. They became policemen, lawyers and judges.

Freedman's Bureaus were set up by the government. The bureaus helped Negroes get good jobs and go to school. They also helped people find homes and gave food to the hungry.

The old slaveholders wanted to get back in power. They knew they would have to make the poor white people hate Negroes. They started groups like the Ku Klux Klan to frighten poor white people away from black people. At first the KKK couldn't do a very good job because there were federal troops in the South. The poor whites and Negroes defended themselves with guns.

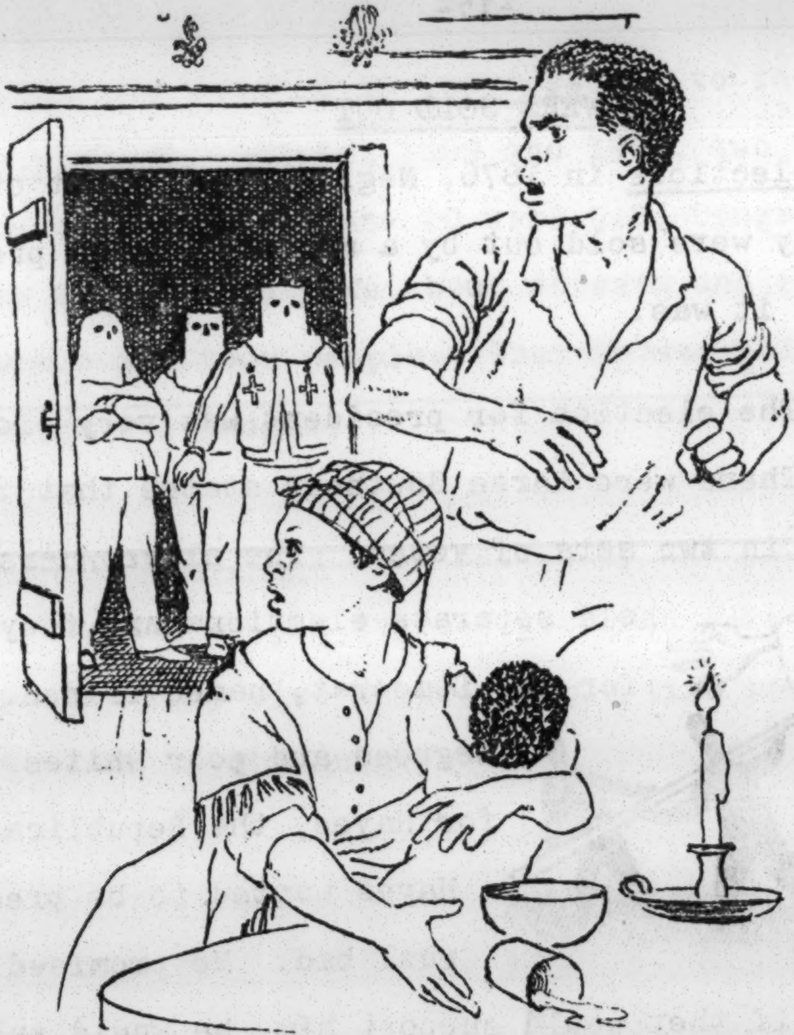
WE WERE SOLD OUT

After the elections in 1876, Negroes lost about everything. They were sold out by a man who became president. This is how it was:



The election for president was very close. There were three Southern states that turned in two sets of votes. The slaveowners had held separate elections and they voted for the Democrat, named Tilden. Negroes and poor whites voted for Hayes, the Republican. Hayes wanted to be president real bad. He promised the slaveowners if they would support him, he would pull the federal troops out of the South. That meant Negroes and poor whites wouldn't have federal protection anymore.

The slaveholders agreed, so president Hayes sold out the hopes of poor whites and Negroes. Without the troops, the KKK was able to make white people afraid of Negroes.



Before long, Negroes lost the right to vote. Their children went to segregated schools if they went to school at all. Jim Crow laws were passed to keep Negroes and whites apart. The rich white man took land away from Negroes. In many ways Negroes were in slavery again. Most of them worked for almost nothing. A lot of them were lynched and nobody was punished.

For a long time it looked like things might never get better. Only a few people cared very much about what happened to Negroes and poor people. They began to organize themselves into various civil rights groups. One of the most important leaders in the first half of the 1900's was W.E.B. Du Bois. He said Negroes would not be satisfied with less than "our full manhood rights."

Du Bois was a very important writer. He also planned a world conference for Negroes which the government opposed. At that conference, Du Bois learned about discrimination against American Negro soldiers in World War I. Du Bois wrote about that and about a lot of other things the government didn't like.

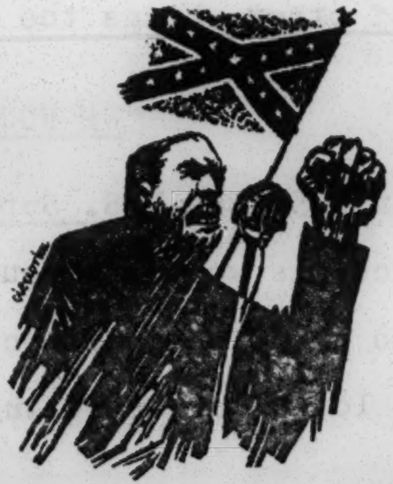
WE FOUGHT WITH NON-VIOLENCE

In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court said white and Negro schools were not equal and children of all races had to go to the same schools. After that the court made a lot of other rulings to get rid of Jim Crow laws.

Most of the court's rulings were never carried out. Then in 1960 four Negro students started the sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina. These were followed by picketing, marching and other demonstrations all over the country.

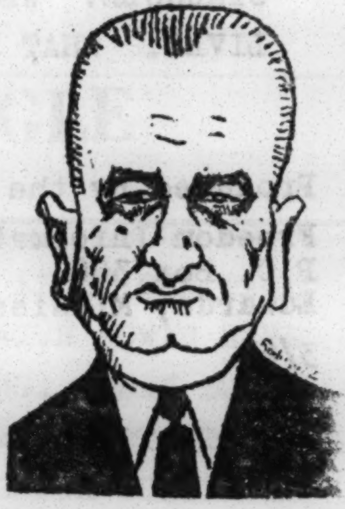
When policemen used dogs and clubs on marchers in Birmingham, the whole world began to know how bad things are for black people. The federal government was afraid to have people know what was happening in America, especially the black people in Africa who had just won their freedom. Congress passed a lot of bills to protect Negroes, like the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act. These new laws don't help very much because the government doesn't really want them to work.

The government of Mississippi and the federal government are really run by rich white people who don't want us to have any power.



WE GOT TO THINK AND FIGHT

Now poor Negroes are beginning to tell the world what it's like to be poor. They are making some Americans afraid and ashamed that some people are hungry in a land that is so rich. The federal government has passed the War on Poverty program because it is afraid of what poor people might do and of what other countries might do. It's not really working because it was set up to make people stop complaining, not really to help poor people.

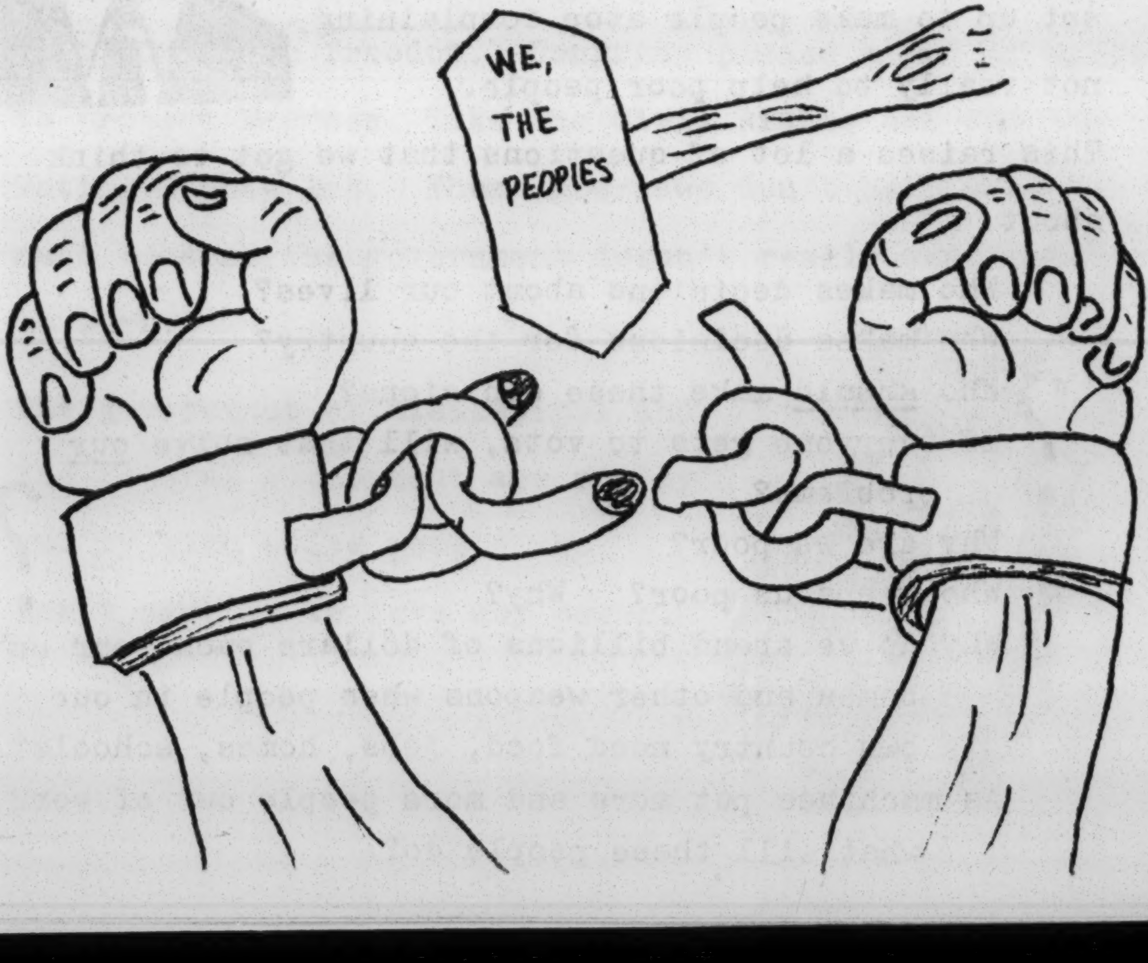


This raises a lot of questions that we got to think about:

Who makes decisions about our lives?
Who makes decisions for the country?
Who should make these decisions?
If everyone gets to vote, will that solve our problems?
Why are we poor?
Who keeps us poor? Why?
Why do we spend billions of dollars each year on bombs and other weapons when people in our own country need food, jobs, homes, schools?
As machines put more and more people out of work, what will these people do?

OUR HISTORY IN THIS COUNTRY HAS ALWAYS BEEN A STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. COLORED PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD ARE STILL STRUGGLING FOR THEIR FREEDOM. POOR PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD, BOTH COLORED AND WHITE, ARE STRUGGLING AGAINST THE CHAINS OF POVERTY. WE ARE A PART OF THE STRUGGLE. WE ARE WRITING TOMORROW'S HISTORY WITH OUR LIVES. WHAT DO WE WANT TOMORROW TO BE ?

Produced by the
Freedom Information Service
P.O. Box 366
Edwards, Mississippi 39066
3/66



Panola County

Okra Co-op

"We used to sell our okra for four cents a pound to Mr. Jacobs (a local white man) until this year. Then we wrote him a petition asking for eight cents a pound," says Mr. Clyde Webb of Macedonia, Mississippi.

"He wrote us back telling us that we should not try to run his business and if we didn't want to sell him okra, that was OK with him. We got together and set up our little cooperative and before you know it Mr. Jacobs wrote us back again asking us to sell him the okra.

Some of us sold it to him but most of us stuck together. We really have something growing now."

Mr. Webb is a member of the Panola County Okra Cooperative. Like most of the 120 members of the coop, he plants most of his land in cotton. But government acreage allotments restrict cotton growing, and in recent years okra has become a popular second crop.

Sitting in the shade of oak trees near Macedonia, Mr. Webb watches the pick up trucks drive up loaded with bushels of okra. The coop members dump the bushels onto a loading table and coop graders pick out oversize (four inches) pods and fling them into a special basket.

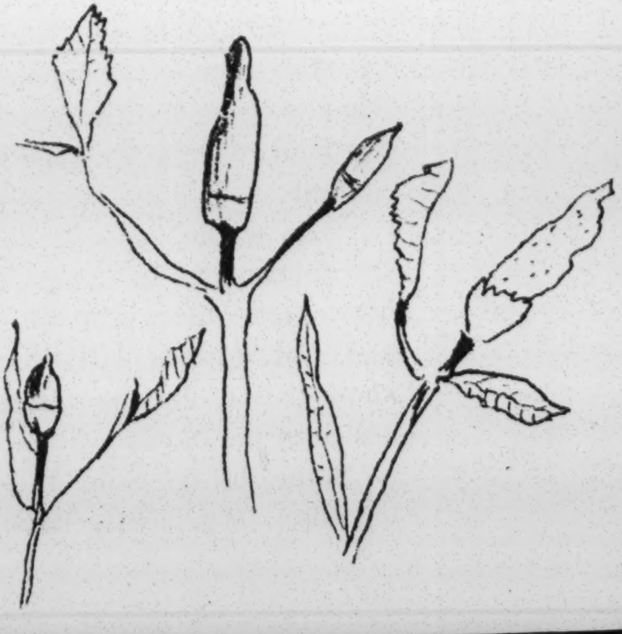
Mr. Jacobs didn't check the okra so carefully, one farmer explained. "He allowed us to dump our baskets and sort it out ourselves. We want to be more careful being a new coop that's just getting started and all."

The Panola County Coop would not be unusual except for one thing: all its members are Negroes. In the Deep South, Negro farmers traditionally have been intimidated from starting cooperatives or any other form of economic organization.

"The white man made us think we couldn't do anything for ourselves. He made us think we were stupid, and we went along with him," Mr. Robert Miles, another coop member explained.

Mr. Chris Williams, an FDP volunteer who has been helping the coop get started, predicts that Jacobs will lose what little business he has in the county next year. Further, Williams thinks that more Negro farmers in the area will join the coop after their contracts with Jacobs expire this year. Few people expect that Jacobs will "come around."

Next year, coop members hope to branch into other cash crops such as tomatoes, butter beans, strawberries and turnips. Fall crops like turnips would provide money for the farmers at a time when they don't normally have it. Yet okra, which appeals to more and more housewives, will pro-



bably be the main coop crop.

Although Memphis - only 60 miles from Macedonia - is the main market for okra now, Williams says that the coop is planning to transport some of the crop to St. Louis and Chicago. In Chicago, okra sometimes sells for twice as much as it does in Memphis.

However, it takes a refrigerated truck to drive the highly perishable vegetables up North. And it costs $120 plus five cents a mile to rent a truck for the two - day trip.

Because of a shortage of funds recently, the coop voted to hold up checks to its members so that money would be available to rent a truck to Chicago. This caused some members who weren't present when the voting occured to worry. Word got around that the coop didn't make good on its payments. But at the next week's meeting, the majority of the unhappy farmers went along with the decision.

The okra season stated in July and lasts through September. During the three month harvest season, farmers pick each plant three or four times a week. When the heat lingers on through the night (okra farmers pray for hot, muggy nights) the okra pod (the part you eat) grows almost two inches in 24 hours. It is one of the fastest growing crops imaginable.

The average acre yields nine bushels, or 240 pounds, of okra. The coop pays five cents a pound so members can gross $12 per acre four times a week. That's $48 a week or $360 for the 12 week season. Cotton will gross about half that but it takes half the time to work.

Okra farmers don't anticipate getting rich quick. But the experience from this year's cooperative is spreading through-out Northern Mississippi. Farmers appreciate the one cent a pound increase (20 per cent) the coop pays over the four cents a pound Mr. Jacobs paid.

The coop grew from meetings in Batesville initiated by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). the Panola County Voter's League and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party

A local minister, Rev. Walter Nash is credited with getting most people interested.

Last February, Rev. Nash was instrumental in getting farmers to sign a petition to Jacobs demanding eight cents a pound for their okra. "We

Reprinted from the
Vicksburg Citizen's
Appeal by the Freedom
Information Service,
Box 366, Edwards, Miss.

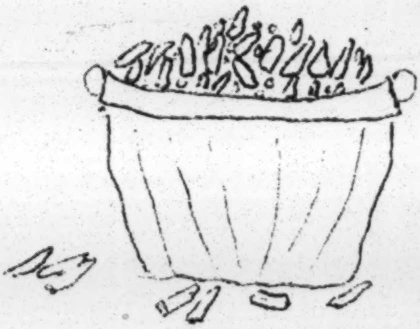
really didn't expect to get eight cents a pound, but we thought he might have given us at least five or six cents," one member explained. From then on, the coop grew.

The coop members average about $300.00 gross every time they go to Memphis. The profits after salaries, insurance, and truck expenses are placed into a bank account.

The members will decide later whether to give themselves dividends or purchase more machinery for the coop. Just recently, the coop arranged a $75,00 loan from the Farmer's Home Administration for pick - up trucks, cotton pickers and combines.

The coop has not yet changed the life of the average Panola County farmer. Yet their merely getting together has had an important psychological impact on people in the county. They are growing to trust each other and learning that trust can pay.

For more info.write to:
Panola County Okra Co-op
c/o Robert Miles,Pres.
Route 2, Box 20,
Batesville,Miss.



A favorite story around the county concerns a meeting between Mr. Bob James, the secretary of the coop and Mr. Jacobs. Jacobs came to the loading station in Macedonia just as the coop got stated. He repeated this offer of four cents a pound. James refused Then he told James, "You know, you're doing this all the hard way, you know that don't you?"

James hesitated for a moment and spoke up so all the people could hear: "Mr. Jacobs, we might be doing it the hard way, but we're the ones' who is doing it."

CIRRICULUM FOR FIELD CAPTAINS

Grand Marie Vegetable Co-op

Monday, May 23, 1966

I. INTRODUCTION OF GENERAL CO-OP PRINCIPLES

A. History of Cooperative Movement

1. Where they began?
The first co-op was organized in England in 1844 by a group of factory workers, (in Rochdale, England).

2. Why did they form a Cooperative?
These factory workmen had a great consumer problem because their food prices were very high. To solve this problem, they decided to form their own organization to buy and sell foods.

3. What are Cooperatives?
Cooperatives are made up of people who are faced with certain needs and the only way they can see that these needs can be serviced is by joining together, pooling their resources and going into business for themselves.

4. Rochdale Principles (Gen. Principles of Cooperation)

a. OPEN MEMBERSHIP
Membership in a Cooperative is open to all men and women of good will of every race, color, class, or creed. While others talk of brotherhood, the co-ops prove it can work.

b. DEMOCRATIC CONTROL
Control of a Cooperative is in the hands of its members. Each member has one vote, and only one, regardless of the number of shares he may have. People-not dollars-control cooperative business.

c. LIMITED INTEREST ON INVESTMENT CAPITAL
The members invested capital (shares) which helps establish the co-op business, receives a fair, but limited, interest rate. The reason is cooperatives do not want to encourage investment from speculators who only desire profits today. Cooperatives need members and members need cooperatives that are dedicated to the building of a business to serve their needs not only today, but tomorrow, too.

d. PATRONAGE REFUNDS
Patronage refunds is another payment members receive from the co-op's net savings (net profits). The refund is distributed in proportion to the members use of the cooperatives' service. Therefore, the members who use the cooperatives service more, receive more of a refund.

e. CASH SALES
Cooperatives do business for cash to avoid problems of debt for their members and themselves.

f. SALES AT GOING MARKET PRICE
Cooperatives sell at prices which are fair to consumer and producer alike. They do not attempt to "run anyone out of business" or to engage in "cut-throat competition." But they can, and where large enough is, prevent price increase which are unfair to consumers.

g. CONTINOUS EDUCATION
Cooperatives believe in these above principles. Therefore, they carry on constant educational work to enable increasing numbers of people to share actively in Cooperative ownership, and the Cooperative approach to solving their problems.

h. CONSTANT EXPANSION
To compete favorably in todays changing world, cooperatives must expand continously to serve their members.

5. Kinds of Cooperatives

a. MARKETING COOPERATIVES
These are formed for the purpose of jointly handling, selling (marketing) the products of the members.

b. SUPPLY COOPERATIVES
These are formed for the purpose of jointly obtaining production supplies (fertilizer-feed, seed, etc.).

c. SERVICE COOPERATIVES
These are formed for the purpose of improving existing services or furnishing additional services (electric, credit, insurance).

COOPERATIVES ARE DIFFERENT

Cooperative Corporation	"Private Profit" Corporation
1. Who is Served? The members who are the owners. A few sales are made to nonmembers.	1. Who is Served? The customer--generally nonowner customers.
2. Why Set Up? The cooperative is operated solely in the interest of its members, --purpose, the best possible service, quality, fair price, etc.	2. Why Set Up? The business is operated to bring a profit to the individual investors or corporate owner.
3. Who Decides Policy? Board of Directors--Basic policy questions are decided by a general meeting of the members who also elect the Board.	3. Who Decides Policy? Board of Directors. They are elected at the annual meeting of stockholders.
4. Who Manages? General Manager and staff. The board of directors is responsible for efficient management.	4. Who Manages? Officers and their assistants, the President, Secretary, Treasurer and other officers employed by the board to carry out its decisions and policies.
5. How is Voting Done? Each member has one vote regardless of the number of shares of stock owned.	5. How is Voting Done? Each shareholder has one vote for each share of stock.
6. Who Owns the Business? The members and patrons.	6. Who Owns the Business? The stockholders.
7. How is the Business Financed? Members' capital and borrowing from banks and individuals.	7. How is the Business Financed? Stocks, bonds, loans, and profits.
8. Returns on Invested Capital? Usually 4% to 6%. Cooperatives pay the normal interest rate charged for the use of money.	8. Returns on Invested Capital? Returns are unlimited. The Board of Directors declares the "dividend."

THE SWEET POTATO ALERT PROGRAM
(Progress Report - June 1, 1966)

The educational program of the Sweet Potato Alert Program was officially underway the week of May 8, 1966. Director, Charles Prejean and Field Captains Carol Prejean and John Zippert prepared programs for the special orientation sessions to begin immediately for all the field captains working with this program. Mr. Prejean, Mr. Zippert and Miss Prejean met daily to prepare these programs for the field captains, arrange for supplies the field captains would need, i.e. consumables and visual aids and to set up the place where these orientations sessions would be held.

We continued to work with the board of directors and members of the Grand Marie Cooperative, helping to arrange for local meetings to solicit new members, helping to inform the farmers of the purposes and aims of the educational program and to help promote good membership relationship among these farmer-members in their cooperative.

We also contacted the county agents offices in the four parishes concerned and the offices of the F.H.A. Supervisors, soliciting the technical assistance of these personnel for the education program. To date, we have received responses from county agents and F.H.A. Supervisors in the Parish of Lafayette, Acadia, and St. Martin.

In the orientation sessions which were held for the four field captains, we prepared the daily programs which the field workers would attend. The field captains familarized themselves with all information and literature concerning the Grand Marie Cooperative, e.g. Articles of Incorporation, By-laws, and Rules of Operation. We also had reviews and discussions on the techniques to be used in this cooperation education program.

During this first week the director, Mr. Prejean, released job applications for field workers from among the farmers or rural communities involved in the program. After ten days the applications received back were reviewed and screened by Mr. Prejean, the field captains and representatives from the board of directors of the Grand Marie Cooperative.

The field workers were officially hired as of May 23, 1966. That week they began attending the daily 4 hour educational sessions.

After the first week in operation the Sweet Potato Education Program accomplished some significant results. The entire week was spent in introducing general cooperative principles to the field workers and the application of these principles to the Grand Marie Vegetable Cooperative. Besides this the field workers began an extensive study of the Articles of Incorporation, Rules and By-laws of Grand Marie. Also Mr. Alfred McZeal and Miss Una Mae Hargrave gave to the field workers two very inspiring presentations, Mr. McZeal on "The Techniques Used in Approaching People," and Miss Hargrave, "The Techniques Used in Holding House Meetings."

The field workers attended the educational sessions enthusiastically in the mornings and in the evenings relayed this information to co-op members and prospective cooperative members. There was only one phase of the program that wasn't looked upon by the field workers enthusiastically and that was filling the forms. Their travel vouchers and evaluation reports were done somewhat begrudgingly and haphazzardly the first week. After a discussion with them on the necessity of these records, especially for the evaluation of the effectiveness of this program, they decided to spend more time on them and complete them as accurately as possible.

The field workers have been including on their evaluation forms some of the other problems that the farmers have. The problems may range from suggestions as to how to control their weed problems, different types of fertilizers, information on the Feeder Pig Program, types of farm loans, and many other problems. These problems are discussed at the educational sessions and sometimes some of the field workers are able to offer solutions for these problems. The problems that we are unable to solve we will refer them to the County Agents and F.H.A. Supervisors.

In many cases our field workers come accross farmers who have stopped cultivating sweet potatoes because of the low returns they received from the markets. These very farmers considered the movement towards cooperatively marketing their sweet potatoes as the solution to their prior failure with the sweet potatoes and that their only regret was that, had they only been contacted earlier they would have planted sweet potatoes this year and would have marketed them through Grand Marie.

We did run into the problem of the large landlords refusing to permit their sharecroppers to become members in the co-op, but this was understandable. They are becoming rich off of these people and the other small farmers and the co-op would hinder them from exploiting these people.

One thing which should be mentioned in this report is that the field workers are contacting white farmers as well as Negro farmers. Of the thirty-four new members that joined the week of the 23-29, about six were white farmers. Some white farmers who should join the co-op aren't joining because of the fact that Frank Melancon is encouraging them to join his group. Every effort will be made to try to get as many low income farmers to join the co-op as possible, regardless of race.

On May 16, a membership meeting was held in Opelousas and of the 160 members of the Grand Marie Coop, about 100 members turned out to learn how their co-op was doing. They were brought up-to-date as to what transpired since they last met together. They were pleased to learn that the Charter and Articles of Incorporation were filed with the State Office and that Secretary of State, Wade O. Martin had sent them the official copy of the Charter announcing that the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Cooperative was officially recognized as a legitimate Coop in the State of Louisiana. They were also pleased to learn that the rules and By-laws were submitted to F. H. A. office in Crowley along with the budget for the kiln. It was clearly manifested by the membership in attendance that their confidence in the co-op was greatly strengthened. They really left convinced that this co-op they had been talking about so long was no longer simply a dream but was beginning to materialize.

On June 7, a Mr. Joseph Montelaro, a Sweet Potato Specialist from LSU will hold a session for the field workers. He will also bring along an Anthromologist and a Pathologist to help with this educational session. This workshop will deal with production and cultural practices, storing, packing, and marketing of sweet potatoes. On June 14, Mr. Fermin, County Agent of Acadia Parish, will hold a session with the field workers from Acadia Parish to discuss with them specific sweet potato problems relevant to the Acadia Parish area.

Reports similarly to this one will be submitted to you periodically to keep you informed as to the progress of The Sweet Potato Alert Educational Program.

May 23 - 29, 1966

TOTAL CONTACTS	TOTAL FIELD HOURS	TOTAL MILEAGE	TOTAL NO. OF FIELD WORKERS
			P.T. - F.T.
96	125	3,481	16 - 8

TOTAL HOURS AT EDUCATIONAL SESSIONS	TOTAL HOURS AT MEETINGS	NEW MEMBERS
386	30	34

Membership from beginning of Grand Marie Co-op to first week of May ----- 165

New membership for first week of Educational Session -------------------- 34

Since the part time field workers are only required to put in four hours a day and the educational sessions lasted for four hours the first week, the contacts and evening meetings were made by the full time field workers.

Charles O. Prejean
DIRECTOR

John Zippert
FIELD CAPTAIN

Carol Prejean
FIELD CAPTAIN

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS'

CO-OP NEWSLETTER

Volume V, NUMBER V July, 1966 LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

PROJECT HEAD START

Southern Consumers' Ed. Foundation, is sponsoring Head Start Program in eight Civil Parishes in the State of La. Listed below are the Parishes and the number of children:

Acadia	--	500
Lafayette	--	400
St. Landry	--	700
Vermilion	--	300
Iberia	--	300
East Feliciana	--	200
West Feliciana	--	168
St. Mary's	--	200

All programs, with the exception of Acadia, are four month program. Acadia Program will be an eight week program.

After a long and tense negotiations, St. Mary's veto was withdrawn by the Governor thus making it possible to continue the program in St. Mary's.

The Board of Directors and staff of Southern Consumers' are grateful and thrilled about the cooperation and help that all have given to the program. We congratulate and thank all volunteers who are so helpful in making the program possible for a great number of children. Without the volunteers we could not have this program. To all a word of thanks for true community responsibility and cooperation.

(Dr. Jones,M.D. examines child)

CONGRESSIONAL MEETING

Congressional Meeting for July will be hosted by the local group in Abbeville.

Date: JULY 10, 1966
Place: Pleasant Green Baptist
Chruch Ed. Bldg.
South Miles Street
Abbeville, Louisiana

Meetings: Board of Directors 1 P.M
Local Chairman's 1 P.M

Custodians Meet 1:30 PM
Credit Committe 2 P.M.
CONGRESS MEETS 3 P.M.

LOCAL CREDIT UNION

Vermilion Parish Credit Union, has received a grant from the O.E.O. for three full time employees to work & manage the Credit Union for that Civil Parish. The grant will make it possible to have full time staff who will spend more time at an educational program as well as family counseling and wider membership contact. Southern Consumers' is the Sponsoring Agency and Acadiana-Neuf is the Delegate Agency.

The following persons were hired by the Screening Committee: Mr. Horace Maxile, Manager; Mrs. Rudolph Campbell, Clerk-Bookkeeper; Mrs. Irvin Levy, Financial Counselor.

The three are presently being trained by Credit Union Managers, who are operating Credit Unions in the low-income areas of Chicago,Ill. and in Washington, D.C. They will receive on the job training for ten days,with follow-up supervision by the staff of Southern Consumers'.

The training program for the new staff was arranged through Mr. Bob Dolan of C.U.N.A., National Headquarters for Credit Unions, in Madison, Wisconsin.

WORLDWIDE PARTNERS

A special word of *Thanks* to all who sent donations to S.C.C. through "WORLD-WIDE CO-OP PARTNERS".

Donations were used to purchase added office equipment for our work here in La. To all we say, "*THANKS*".

Highlights

At the May Congressional Meeting the following people were elected by the Delegates present.

Speaker of the House - Mr. Albert Malveaux

Asst. Speaker of The House - Mr.Fred Lognion

Secretary of House - Mrs. Louise Bellamy

Attenion all Local Chapters:

We are presently working on an educational kit for all local chairmans'. The emphasis will be Membership Education.

We are urging all local chairmans' to attend the special workshop for them on July 9th, and 10th. At this workshop come with the date of local meetings so that we can get organized and print the dates in each Newsletter.

SPECIAL NOTE TO ALL LOCAL CHAIRMAN'S

All Local Chairmans' are asked to attend a special workshop on July 9th, from 9:30 A.M. to 3 P.M.

Workshop will be at 204 Gauthier Rd. in Lafayette. (S.C.C.'s new office.) Call Miss Hargrave at 232-9206 if you need directions.

With us for this special workshop will be Mr. Carl Hutchinson, of Co-op League. Mr. Hutchinson has worked with Co-ops in India and the U.S.

Highlights

(Highlights, continued)

Southern Consumers' Ed. Foundation is the Sponsoring Agency for three remedial programs in St. Landry Parish. The three are located at: Dunbar High School, Phillys Wheatley School and Lincoln Morrow High School.

Total budget for the three programs, funded through O.E.O. is $240,911.00.

GRAND MARIE VEGETABLE CO-OP

Grand Marie Vegetable Co-op was organized by a group of farmers in the Church Point area. The Cooperative came into existence about a year ago,as a result of an increasing number of farmers being faced with the plight of what to do with their sweet potatoes. Marketing seemed to be their key problem. But from the begining they wanted to expand their cooperative to include other services to themselves and to other poor farmers of their area.

The Cooperative now has a membership of 280, with a growing number of potentional members. It now includes farmers from St. Landry, St. Martin, Acadia and Lafayette Parish.

Grand Marie asked Southern Consumers' to help them with technical assistance and an educational program for their members.

A grant from O.E.O. has made it possible for four staff members of S.C.C. to work full time with nine full time field workers, selected from among the members of Grand Marie Co-op, and 18 part-time workers. The field-workers, are responsible for contacting potenial members, and to organize and lead small discussion groups and seminars on the principles and workings of Co-operatives.

(Cont. on next column)

This educational program will allow the Grand Marie Vegetable Co-op to have a good begining and a sound program of education.

BLUE CROSS PLAN

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS CO-OP

All members who are now enrolled in the *BLUE CROSS INSURANCE* under S.C.C. are asked to mail your monthly payments to the Central Office before the first of each month. Send to:

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' CO-OP
BLUE CROSS INSURANCE DEPT.
P.O. BOX 3005
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501

The accounting department is over worked at the moment, and would be most grateful if all members would mail in their payments without any reminders.

THIS IS MEMBERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY!!

BUY YOUR PRODUCTS

"ACADIAN DELIGHT"

PRODUCTS

Made in Louisiana's *Evangeline Country* from traditional Acadian Receipes.

HOW CO-OPS CAN CONTRIBUTE

This Is The Challenge

If you're ready to have more of a say in shaping the way business is run . . . If you're looking for a way to get the goods and services you want at cost . . . If you want better control over the way your money is used . . . If you'd like to have your opinion count . . . If you're tired of being on the sidelines . . . If you want the fun and satisfaction of sharing and working with other people to realize a common achievement, then

You Belong in a Co-op

REMINDER TO ALL MEMBERS:

If you have moved or if you are not receiving your newsletter with the correct address, please send to us at the Central Office! Do Not Forget Your Zip Code!!

The war on poverty leaves no room for conscientious objectors. . . . A nation that can afford to spend thirty-plus billions of dollars to put a man on the moon, ought to be willing at least to make a sizable commitment to help put a man on his feet right here on earth. And we're making that commitment and we're making it in many ways.

Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President

Southern Consumers'
Education Foundation
P.O. Box 3005
Lafayette, La. 70501

Bulk Rate
U.S. Postage
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Lafayette, La.

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PROGRESS & FINAL REPORT
SWEET POTATO ALERT - PHASE I
AUGUST 1 - SEPTEMBER 30, 1966

The last months of our Sweet Potato Alert - Phase I Educational Program were among the most crucial since these months of August and September mark the beginning of the digging season in most of the areas and communities served by the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Co-op, Inc. This was the period in which the ideal of a sweet potato marketing association for poor farmers was tested in practice in the context of a highly competitive and dynamic market situation. The educational work and value of our field workers was proven during this period because without their efforts at explaining the co-op's policies and regulation our many members might have succumbed to the great pressure being constantly applied by local private shippers.

Most small sweet potato farmers in the areas polled by field workers are satisfied and surprised that the local price paid to growers has been stabilized at $3.00 to $3.50 per hundred pounds since August, a phenomenon attributable almost completely to the co-op. Each year the shippers reduce their local price to growers during the harvest season in order to fill their storage houses but this year they were forced to maintain a buying price at the same level or above the co-op's return on green potatoes shipped for members. Since the co-op has a fixed cost for packing potatoes ($1.10 - $1.15 per crate) and a fixed retain for equity ($.25 per crate) its returns on a per crate basis to farmers in August when the net return on FOB shipments was $2.80 a crate and was $1.40 which rose in September to $3.00 or a return to farmers of $1.60 per crate. These figures on a per crate basis have to also be considered in light of the twenty-five cents paid as a revolving equity in to the co-op and which will in the future be returned to the members in the order and amount in which it was paid in to the co-op.

Most of the big potato shippers were receiving the same net return of $2.80 to $3.00 on their potatoes and they have to meet a similar fixed cost of around $1.25 to pack potatoes. This meant they were actually operating at $1.55 to $1.75 per crate return to them. Since they are buying potatoes at $3.00 and $3.50 for one hundred pounds they have very little margin of profit on the sweet potatoes they are moving in the green market. Mr. Gousolin of Castille & Gousolin, one of the largest sweet potato shippers in Sunset, stated publically at a meeting to establish a Sweet Potato Parish Association on Tuesday, September 20, 1966 in the St. Landry Parish Courthouse that he was losing about fifteen cents on every crate of potatoes he shipped green in hopes of holding on to markets in which he could recoup his losses with sales of dry kiln potatoes. We also found out that Castille and Gousolin has had to resort to purchasing potatoes in Oakgrove in West Carroll Parish, 250 miles from here and truck them that distance into Sunset to pack them for their orders. The sweet potato auction at Plaisance has also maintained high and steady prices and returns to the farmer. Most of these activities in the local sweet potato market is due to the presence of the co-op. The co-op has handled close to 55,000 crates of sweet potatoes since it began its operation in mid-July. We presently have 25,000 crates stored at Sunset and in the on-the-farm kilns of several of our farmer-members. We have shipped over 20,000 crates of No. 1's and about 10,000 crates of No. 2's, many of which had to go to the canners for next to nothing.

One of the greatest complaints of our members is over the delay in payment for sweet potatoes by the co-op until the co-op receives payment for them from the recipient in the northern market. The waiting period is approximately three weeks to a month for a return on potatoes shipped green. Some members have had their

6

potatoes stored for dry kiln marketing since August and will have to wait 4 to 5 months for their money. Many share croppers are being intimidated by their "bossmen" for bringing their potatoes to the co-op where the waiting period for returns is so long. Some farmers have been forced to break their contracts because of the co-op inability to pay off immediately at a time when a farmer's bills begin to fall due in the fall of the year. We originally asked for a revolving fund in our FHA -OEO loan application in order to make partial but immediate payment to our members particularly on potatoes that have already been shipped on the green market. One share cropper said to me not long ago, "I am too poor a man to be storing potatoes." Thus he sold most of his potatoes to the local shippers who are now storing his potatoes and they will probably be able to sell them after a while at $4.00 and $5.00 a crate. The 24,000 crates we have stored is a tribute to the faith and trust of our membership in the co-op and its ability to market their produce at a fair price. Much of this trust in the co-op is the result of diligent and continuing work and persausion by the co-op's OEO financed field workers during the Sweet Potato Alert Program. The field workers themselves have also been among the most faithful members of the co-op in bringing almost all of their own sweet potatoes to the co-op. One of our field workers who was transporting a load of 75 crates of his potatoes to the co-op in his pickup truck was flaged down, stopped on the road and asked to sell his potatoes to a local shipper--but he refused and brought them on to the co-op.

Another problem the co-op faced which the field workers have helped to remedy was the poor quality of potatoes coming to the co-op. Many members were not taking care to grade in the field and were sending crates with 50% and less No. 1 content. The cost of washing and packing potatoes increases as the quality decreases so this was a significant step toward putting the co-op on a sounder financial basis. The board of directors of the co-op also instituted new procedures for charging members for the cost of packing which puts a premium on good grading--these policies were communicated via field workers, house meetings, and general membership meetings. The field workers also encouraged members to care upon and use the co-op's truck more often for delivery and pickup of crates. In this way the co-op will make enough money to begin purchase of a second truck which is a necessity.

The field workers have also been stressing the importance of diversification of vegetable crops. While many of our members due to a late harvest and lack of proper pig-proofed facilities will not be able to plant winter vegetables this year, most are planning to do so in the Spring. We do have about 200 acres of cabbage planted among our membership primarily in the St. Martin Parish area although there is some in Church Point (Acadia) and Plaisance (St. Landry). The co-op was able to supply cabbage seed for its members at $3.30 for a one pound for which the local price is fifty cents or more higher than that. We had a meeting at Sunset on September 29, which was attended by Mr. A. C. Moreau a horticulturalist from LSU of the State Extension Service and Mr. Herbert Thompson of the Lafayette Parish County Agents Office to discuss raising these vegetables which was very informative to the more than 100 farmers who came out to this meeting. In the Spring, we hope to have our members plant a variety of vegetables including: okra (Canning and market varieties), bell peppers, squash, cucumbers, radishes, egg plant, melons, snap beans and others. People in other areas are very interested in the vegetable program even if due to conditions of the soil their land was not appropriate for sweet potatoes. In the Palmetto-Rideau area of St. Landry Parish in which the soil does not produce a good sweet potato, several meetings have been held on the vegetable program which has met with a very favorable response. One lady went around on a volunteer basis and collected pledges in that area for 35 acres of okra and bell peppers already. We hope to be able to provide on-the-farm demonstrations of the techniques and agricultural practices used in producing these vegetables since many of our members will be planting these types of vegetables for the first time on a commerical basis. Most small farmers in the area are realizing themselves that cotton is not the most money yielding crop any more and they are searching for substitutes which makes this an ideal time for the type of diversification program outlined in Phase II of the Sweet Potato Alert and begun already in Phase I and on a continuing volunteer basis.

The co-op is also attempting to handle several tons of pecan nuts grown by its members and others desirous of joining. Since many of our members have pecan trees and since several of them approached the co-op through its educational field workers to market these pecans in a way similar to sweet potatoes the co-op is now attempting to do this by getting pecan producers to pledge to hold onto and sell through the co-op a portion of their pecans.

When the formal educational program of the Sweet Potato Alert - Phase I ended at the close of September - the field workers agreed to continue working on a volunteer basis. Many house meetings, community meetings and door-to-door visits have been made since the official end of the program by our field workers who are now unpaid and working on their own time.

GENERAL SUMMARY:

In four months the Sweet Potato Alert Proposal in conjunction with the acutual physical establishment of the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Co-op, Inc. has been operating a great many material as well as intangible changes have occured.

The SPA program increased Grand Marie's membership by 125% from 165 to 375 in six weeks which was a margnificant record for a recruiting drive.

The SPA program helped to develop a spirit of cohesion among the membership of the co-op which has helped the co-op to handle over 50,000 in its just three months of operation.

The SPA program developed a competant and confident field staff composed of local farmer-members of the co-op through instruction, practical training in group dynamics and field work.

The SPA program created an on going drive within the co-op for more education particularly on crop-diversification and farm management which led to the writing by farmers themselves of the Sweet Potato Alert - Phase II to be sponsored by the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Cooperative, Inc.

Charles Prejean
Charles Prejean
Director, SPA - I

John Zippert
John Zippert
Field Captain, SPA - I

Carol Prejean
Carol Prejean
Field Captain, SPA - I

John Zippert
412 Westwego Street
Opelousas, Louisiana

4 August 1966

Mrs. Debora M. Cole
Executive Secretary
The Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York City 10022

Dear Mrs. Cole:

I want to thank you for your generous loan and offer of assistance to the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Cooperative,Inc. On the first of August we received our loan funds from the Farmers Home Administration and so much of our initial financial crisis has been alleviated. Since they have lent us $68,000 for real estate purchase, crates and three months operating expenses, the manager of the co-op as well as the board of directors felt it would be best to return your $5,000 to the Norman Fund for use in assisting other worthwhile endeavors like ours.

Our co-op has just shipped out its 5,000 th. crate of sweet potatoes at the end of just under three weeks in operation. On Wednesday night we had a general membership meeting, the first in our own premises which was attended by over two hundred of our members who seem pleased with our progress and are already looking toward future expansion into other vegetable. Wednesday was also our first opportunity to pay farmers for their potatoes since the proceeds from our first sales had arrived. We have been able to make at least a penny a pound more on potatoes for our farmers than the local shippers have been paying. One man showed us both checks on the same load of potatoes that he had divided between us and a local shed and we were 32¢ higher per fifty pound crates plus an additional 25¢ which we had retained per crate on a members potatoes to pay out the loan.

We sincerely hope that you come down and visit us at the co-op's shed in Sunset and really see for yourself what we have done and are doing. Thank you again for your kindness in wanting to assist us but since we have received the funds from the source from which they were promised and supposed to come we feel your funds could be better used in assisting others who need the same type of help we do.

'Till Total Equality,

John Zippert
John Zippert
CORE Louisiana Field Staff
Advisor to Grand Marie Co-op

John Zippert
1520 North Market Street
Opelousas, La.

11 December 1966

Editor-in-Chief
The Daily Advertiser
Lafayette, Louisiana

I feel that I must explain and clarify several misstatements made in the - December 8, 1966, edition of your newspaper under the screaming slanderous headline "Area Poverty Worker Linked to Communist Youth Festival."

Let me first state that I believe this attack is made upon me in order to shift the people's attention away from the real issues of the necessity for a reorganization of the board of directors of Acadiana Neuf, Inc., to give the poor and minority group a controlling voice in the poverty program. The white power structure and its Uncle Tom "slaves" have tried everything possible to discredit the legitimate leadership, act-vities and aspirations of the poor and the Negro in our area. They ought examine their own incompetant, ineffective and irresponsible action before casting stones.

I am not now nor have I ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America - but I am not satisfied either that our democratic society has reached the pinnacle of economic, political, social and racial success, equality and justice. This is the reason I am working to perfect our society and its institutions.

Bob Angers' articles attempt to connect me with a series of organizations and activities which are said to be "communist" or "communist dominated" but not one of the organizations or activities has been cited by the Attorney General on his list of subversive organizations.

Angers calls upon a list of biased"experts" like: J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI, who called Nobel Peace Prize winner, the Rev. Martin Luther King, a "liar"; Young Americans for Freedom, a conservative youth group that provided most of the college support for Barry Goldwater; Ed Willis, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which has been attacked by most of the progressive forces in the country; and a group called the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee, the purpose of which is not indicated; to substantiate his false claims.

Yes, I was a member of the Committee for Participation in the Ninth World Youth Festival. I joined the committee knowing the past history of these festivals and knowing that some of the statements to be issued by the plenary sessions of the festival (which are only a small portion of the total two week event) I would not fully agree with. I also knew that there would be student representatives of Communist countries present at the festival but I felt that American students should attend in order to meet and talk with young people of other countries, customs and political persausions. If an American student cannot support and defend the policies and institutions of his country in the "free market place of ideas" then he really has not thought them out but follows them with blind allegiance- which is the very thing we indict the Russian and Chinese communists for instilling in their people. Should we quit the United Nations because Russia and other communist countries are members or should we use the opportunity it affords us as a discussion forum to move closer to world peace?

To my knowledge not one of the members of the American Committee on the Youth Festival was or is a member of the Communist Party and not one of the members was a member of any organization on the Attorney General's list.

Angers then suggests that I spoke at a " teach-in" protesting the war in Vietnam at City College on the same platform with an avowed member of the Communist party. This is indeed true, I did speak on the same platform with Herbert Aptheker but that same program had speakers who also spoke in support of the war in Vietnam including the college's president, Buell G. Gallagher. The "teach-in" as the name implies wasan educational program that had persons who spoke on all sides of the Vietnam issue.

Angers then goes on to suggest that I received dishonestly or illegallly two $1750 checks from the Grand Marie Co-op's FHA loan. Early in July, several of my personal friends lent the co-op $1750 without interest to help defray expenses until the FHA loan came through. The check was a repayment of this loan and nothing more. There was one check not two. Then there is the $550 salary I supposedly received from the Southern Consumers Co-op for work in the OEO Sweet Potato Alert Program. I worked on an "in-kind" compensation basis for the program which meant that the $500 salary that I would ordinarily have made was credited toward the 10% contribution the local community must make as its share of an anti-poverty program. The $550 I received w-s to pay my travel costs for which vouchers are on file with Acadiana Neuf, Inc. Lastly, I am reported to be the author of an article entitled " Farmers Organize". The article was really titled " Rural Community Organization" and was a scholarly statement on some of my ideas on how rural people could go about solving their problems.

It is clear that your newspaper is cooperating with the power structure in hiding the real issues. Why have you never printed both sides of an issue in the same article? Why has Mr. Angers failed to interview me and get my views before printing a scurrilous attack? Will you print my reply on the front page in bold face type as you did the attack on me? Why have you never fully reported the work of the poor people in straightening out the poverty program? Where were your reporters when seventy poor people took a bus to Austin, Texas, to protest the board of directors and staff of Acadiana Neuf to force a reorganization?

I have been working in this area for eighteen (18) months on a volunteer basis for the Congress of Racial Equality and I left my college education unfinished to assist the poor people in helping themselves to perfect our democratic system and live up to its own ideal of "liberty and justice for all." Because we have been too successful, because the poor people really want and have a voice in determining their own destiny, you would attack me and hope to set us to fighting each other instead of you in the power structure. You in the staff of Acadiana Neuf who have squandered $63,000 of the taxpayer's money without doing anything for us. You segregationists on the board of directors of Acadiana Neuf who feel it is more imporatnt to go duck hunting than to come to a meeting to vote for a Headstart program for our small children. You Uncle Toms who have"sold-out" your people time after time for nothing more than a pat on the back from a white man. But we will not let you divide us and tell us lies and half truths, we know the truth, the truth shall set us free... we are on the move and ain't nobody goin' to turn us 'round....

Yours for Justice and Equality

John Zippert
CORE Louisiana Task Force

1 - 26- 67

Memo To:

Edwin Evans, Moscow, Ark.
Gene Edwards, Sherill, Ark.
Vince O' Connor, Pine Bluff
✓ Al Ulmer, SRC
Jac Wasserman, NSF

Subject: Follow-up Jefferson Co. Cotton Gin Co-op Development

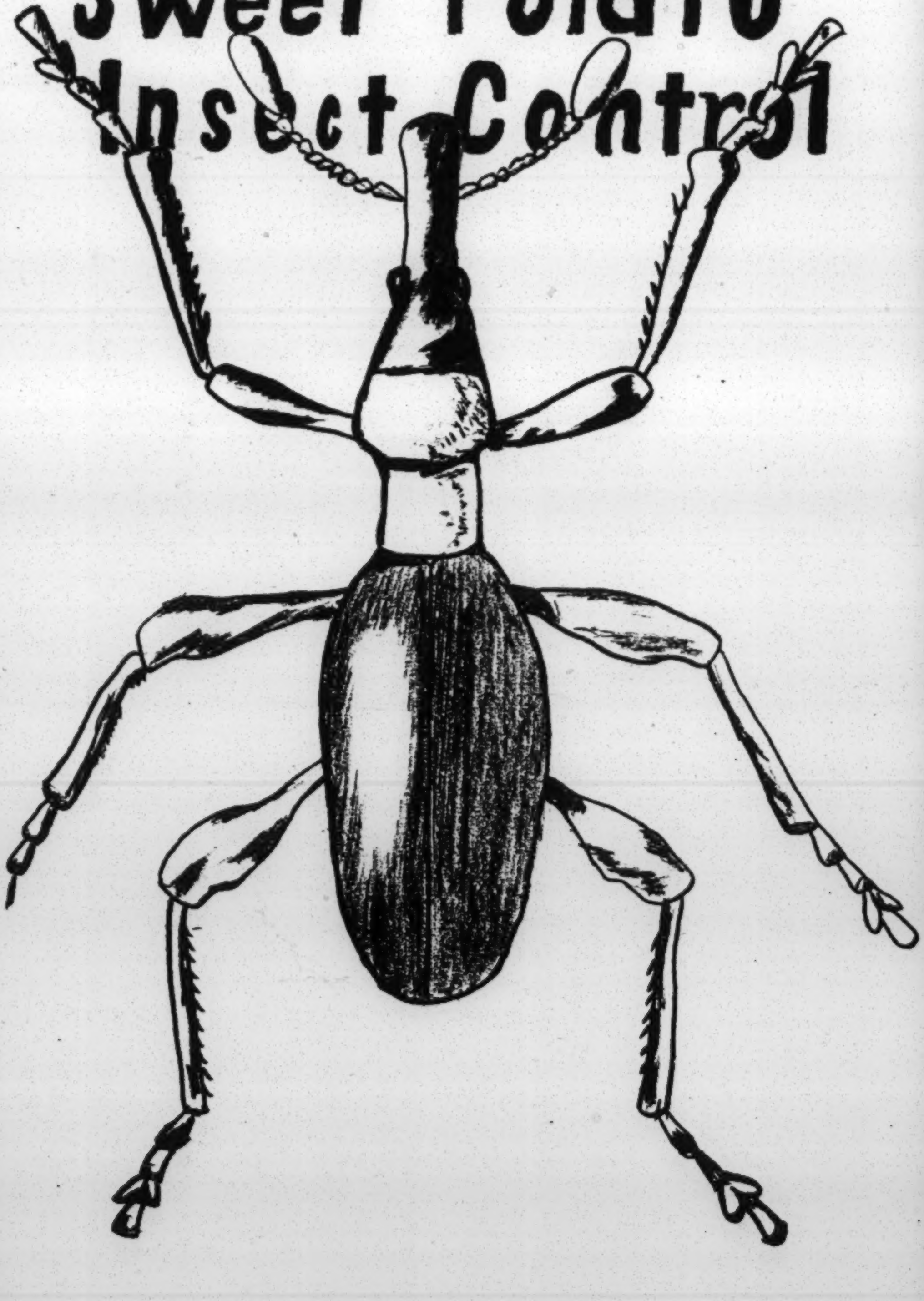
Several weeks ago in December when Nelva Guillory and I had an opportunity to visit with you, we discussed possible steps to take in the organization and formation of a cooperative cotton gin owned by the Negro farmers of Jefferson County, Arkansas, this letter is an attempt to follow up on that visit and see what kind of progress you are making on this project.

During our visit we discussed the necessity of making a house to house farm by farm survey to determine whether there was enough interest in a cotton gin project and enough cotton available for you to make that program a success. A survey of this type would also have brought out other needs of the farmers for supplies, fertilizers, poisons, seeds, petroleum products and other things. This survey could also have been used to determine whether the farmers were interested in diversifying their farm production into vegetables and raising live stock like feeder pigs. This survey would also have given you some idea of whether one gin on each side of the river was feasible or whether it would have been necessary to get all of the farmers in the county together on one project. I hope such a survey was made and that you are progressing toward chartering your organization and applying to FHA for funds. It is still not too late to get started on this survey and some type of cooperation among the farmers this year.

If there is any additional help I can give to your project please let me know. I will be in Homer, Louisiana on the first Sunday in Febrary, the fifth (5th.) and so I will be close to you if we can arrange a meeting. You can always call me at 318-942-2810.

John Z ippert
1520 No. Market Street
Opelousas, La.

Sweet Potato Insect Control



SWEET POTATO INSECT CONTROL

Sweet potatoes are subject to the attack of many species of insects throughout their growing season as well as while being held in storage. The damage caused by their feeding on the roots and foliage can result in serious losses to the producer.

Root-Feeding Insects

Sweet Potato Weevil - The larva attacks the roots of the potato plant, tunneling through the root as it feeds. The sweet potato is susceptible to the attack of this insect at any time during its growing period as well as in storage.

Banded Cucumber Beetle - The larvae chew shallow holes in the growing tuber which affects the grade of the harvested root and permit soil fungi to enter.

Flea Beetles - Several species inhabit sweet potato fields. Their larvae damage sweet potatoes in the same manner as the banded cucumber beetle.

Wireworms - These are larvae of click beetles which tunnel into the developing roots in feeding. These are more prevalent in sandy soils and especially in fields which were in turf the preceding year.

Grubworms - These are larvae of Junebugs. Damage to the potato is from their chewing large, shallow holes in the developing roots. These insects are found primarily in fields which were in pasture or hay crops the preceding year.

Foliage-Feeding Insects

Beetles - These include the banded cucumber beetle, the flea beetles and the tortoise beetles. They injure the foliage by eating holes in the leaves.

Leaf Hoppers - Heavy populations may develop in fields late in the season. Damage to the plants is from their sucking the sap from the leaves causing severe chlorosis (yellowing)

Southern Armyworm - Heavy populations of this insect may occur in Goldrush, Centennial and Acadian varieties of sweet potatoes. Severe defoliation may result from their feeding.

Insect Control in Storage

Seed sweet potatoes should be selected at digging time from fields known to be free of the sweet potato weevil. They should be thoroughly dusted with DDT to prevent infestation by weevils and stored separately from the commercial potatoes.

Insect Control in Seed Beds

Seed beds should be located as far as possible from last season's plantings or beds, or where volunteer potatoes grew.

Seed beds should be treated to prevent weevil infestation. Using a 2% dieldrin or heptachlor dust, treat the beds at the rate of 1/4 lb. of the formulated dust per 100 ft. of row (27 1/4 lbs. per acre). Applications should be made at the following times:

1. When the first plants begin to emerge: Apply the dust to the plants and on the soil surface.
2. When most of the plants are up: Apply the dust to the soil surface so that all soil in contact with the plants is covered.
3. When plants are pulled: Apply the dust to the soil surface.
4. If plants are allowed to run: Apply the dust to the soil surface at the time the plants drop to the ground.

Insect Control in the Field

Before planting:

For control of wireworms and grubworms: Apply a broadcast treatment of 1½ lbs. technical dieldrin or 2 lbs. technical chlordane per acre prior to setting plants and work into the top 4 to 6 inches of soil. Control is usually necessary in pastures or fields where hay was grown the preceding year.

After planting:

For control of sweet potato weevils: Make one application of 75 lbs. of 2% dieldrin dust 4 weeks after plant set OR one application of 40 lbs. of 2% dieldrin dust 4 weeks after plant set followed by 35 lbs. of dust after field has been "laid by" or 2 weeks after first application, whichever is later.

For banded cucumber beetles and flea beetles: After setting of plants in the field, weekly applications of 10% DDT dust at the rate of 10 lbs. per acre of 1/2 to 1 lb. of technical DDT as a spray should be made to the foliage of the plants throughout the growing season. The DDT applications will also aid in controlling the sweet potato weevil and armyworm.

NOTE: Dieldrin incorporated in the soil for control of wireworms and grubs will not control sweet potato weevils, nor will a surface application of Dieldrin for sweet potato weevils control wireworms and grubs. Therefore, land which was in sod, hay, or pasture the previous year may require 1½ lbs. technical dieldrin or 2 lbs. technical chlordane per acre as a soil incorporated application for control of wireworms and grubs plus an additional 1½ lbs. technical dieldrin per acre as a surface application for sweet potato weevil control.

Prepared by E. A. Cancienne, Associate Specialist (Entomology) and Jack L. Bagent, Extension Assistant (Agr.)(Ent.), Louisiana Agricultural Extension Service

Revised February 1966

NEGRO FARMERS APPLY FOR JOBS A SWEET POTATO INSPECTORS

WHAT KIND OF JOB IS IT ?

The job of sweet potato inspector is a civil service job. You must take a test given by the state of Louisiana but the U.S. Department of Agriculture has the power to license these inspectors. Members of the Grand Marie Sweet Potato Co-op have petitioned to get this job opened to Negroes - now Negroes must apply to take it. The job has the official title of ENTOMOLOGY INSPECTOR I . The word entomology means the study of insects so you will really be an inspector for insects like the sweet potato weevil and other bugs that harm the crops.

The job involves inspecting farms for insects and diseases harmful to the agricultural crops in the state. You will have to help farmers to get rid of these pests by teaching them how to destroy them. You must have a years experience at this job before you can move up to Entomology Inspector II (Second Grade). These inspectors, inspect produce at shipping points and issue certificates allowing potatoes to move and certifying their grade.

WHAT ARE THE QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE JOB ?

Two (2) years of experience in insect inspection or control work; FARMING, law enforcement, warehousing, work involving enforcement or inspection for compliance with established laws, rules or regulations or other closely related experience.

High school training may be substituted for the required experience on the basis of two years of high school for each year of experience.

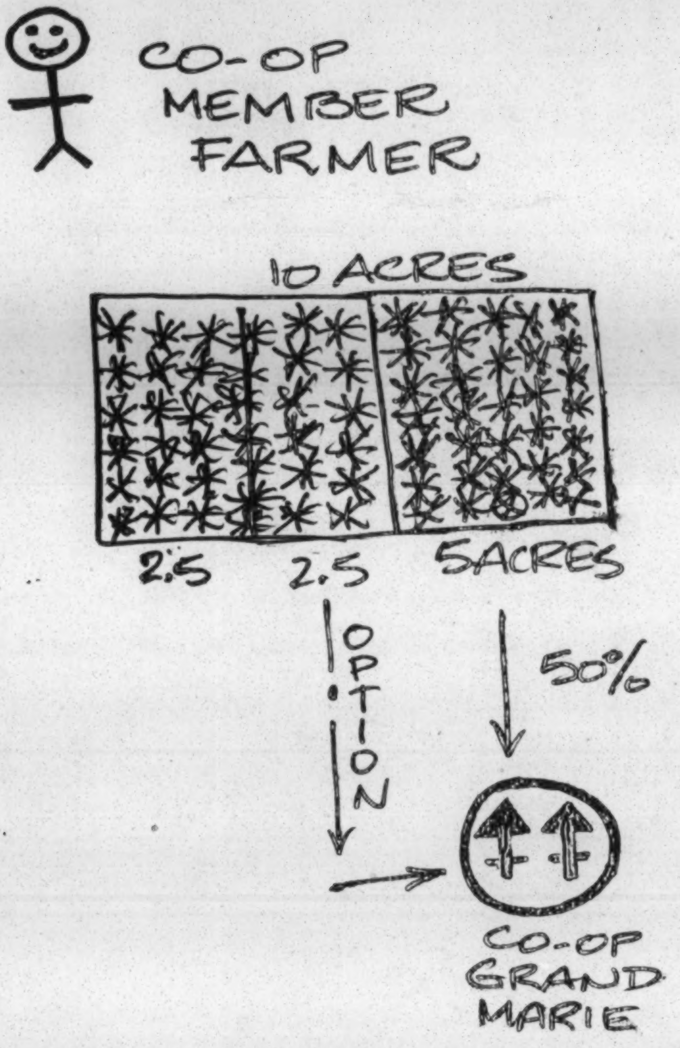
WHAT KIND OF TEST DO THEY GIVE ? WHERE IS IT GIVEN?

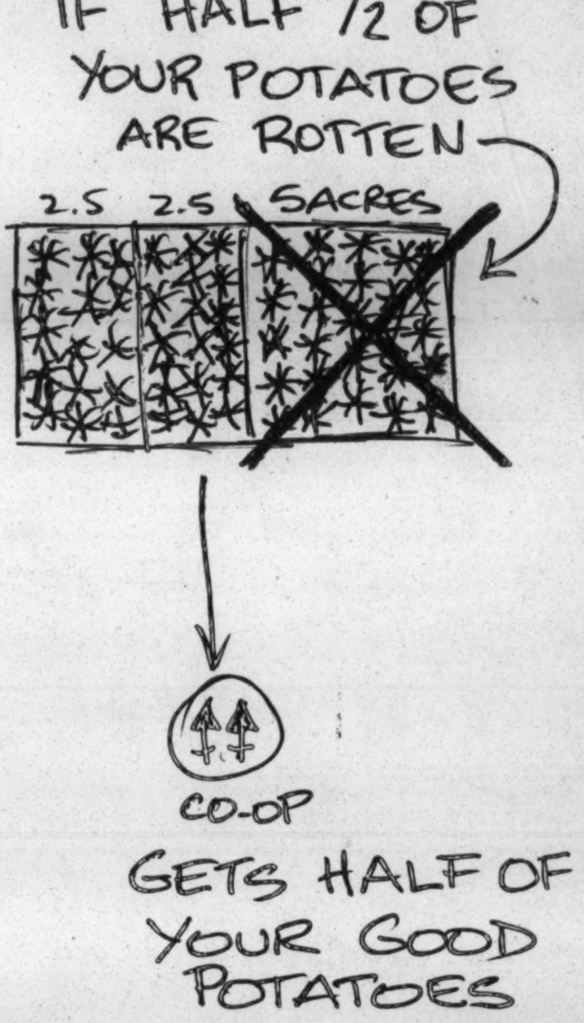
You have to take a written test to get this job. The test has questions on insects and diseases, general questions on english and arithemetic and some on inspection work. There are from 100 to 125 questions.

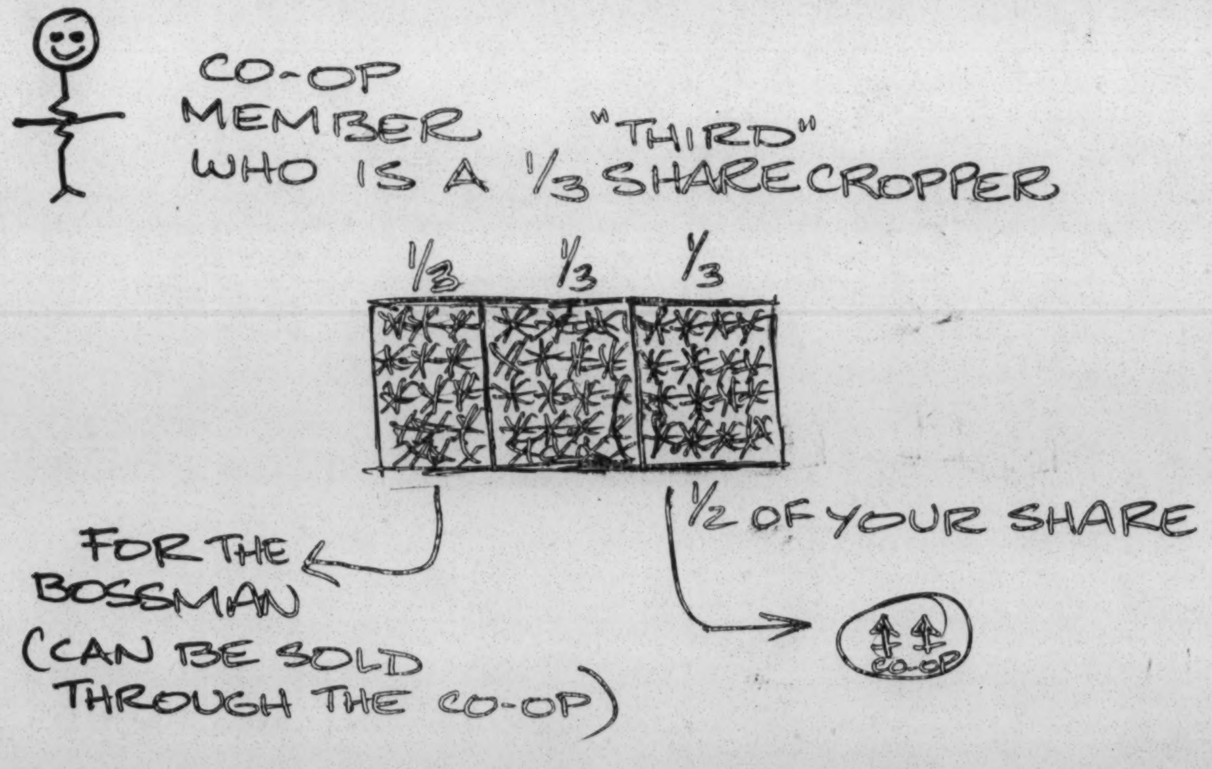
You can take the test at the Civil Service Office in Baton Rouge every day from 8:00 to 1:00 or on Saturday it is given at the Civil Service Office in Lafayette. YOU CAN GET AN APPLICATION TO TAKE THE TEST by writing to:
DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL SERVICE, STATE OF LOUISIANA, P.O. BOX 4111, CAPITOL STATION
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA.

IF YOU HAVE ANY TROUBLE IN GETTING AN APPLICATION OR IN TAKING THE TEST AND YOU FEEL YOU ARE BEING DISCRIMINATED AGAINST CALL OR WRITE:
JOHN ZIPPERT, CORE, 1520 NORTH MARKET STREET, OPELOUSAS, LOUISIANA 948 8297

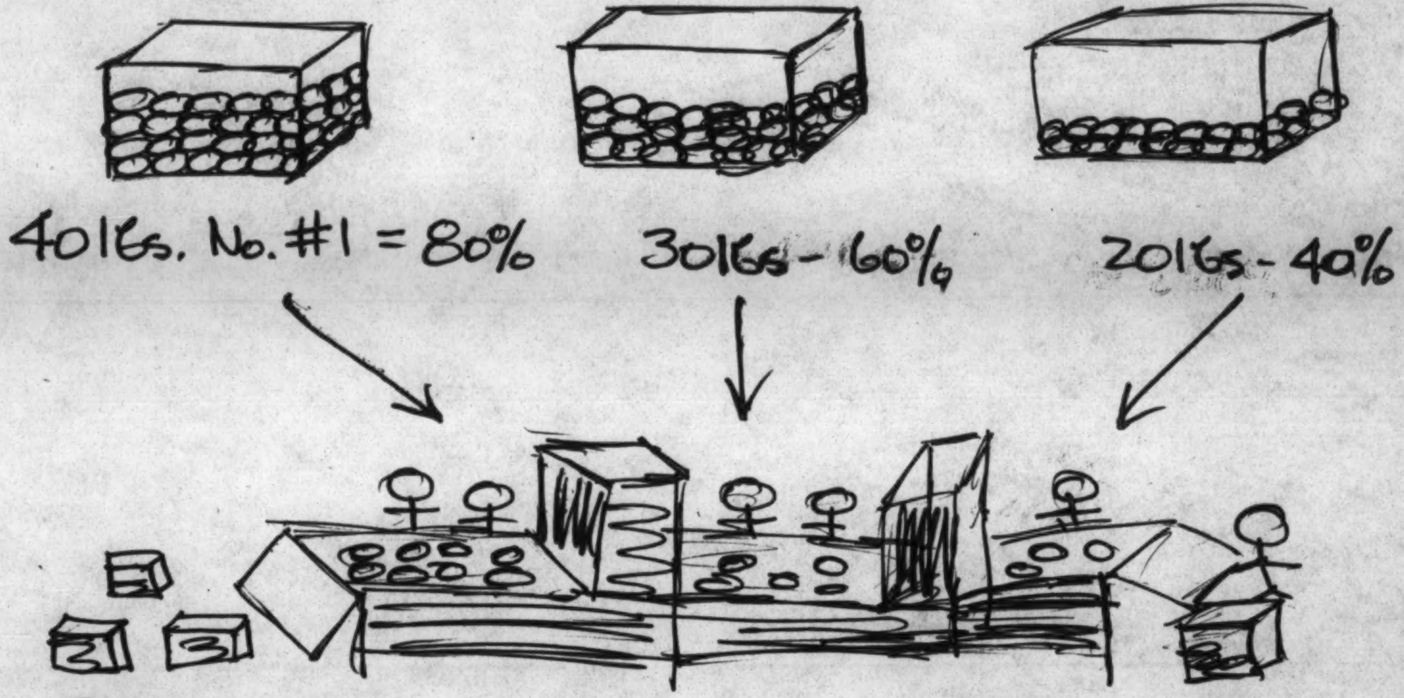
BEST COPY AVAILABLE


CO-OP MEMBER FARMER
10 ACRES
2.5
2.5
5ACRES
OPTION
50%
CO-OP GRAND MARIE


IF HALF 1/2 OF YOUR POTATOES ARE ROTTEN
2.5
2.5
5ACRES
CO-OP
GETS HALF OF YOUR GOOD POTATOES


CO-OP MEMBER WHO IS A 1/3 "THIRD" SHARECROPPER
1/3
1/3
1/3
1/2 OF YOUR SHARE
FOR THE BOSSMAN (CAN BE SOLD THROUGH THE CO-OP)
CO-OP

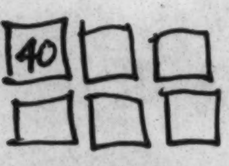
CO-OP COST & BAD GRADING


40lbs. No. #1 = 80%
30lbs - 60%
20lbs - 40%

300
CRATES AN
HOUR

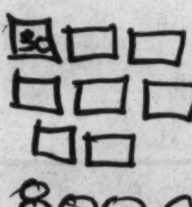
8 MEN GET
$1.25 AN
HOUR — $10
PER WORKING HOUR

WASHING, WAXING, GRADING

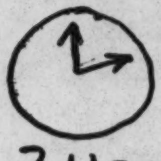


600 CRATES

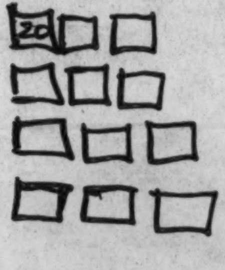
2 HOURS
NEEDED



800 CRATES



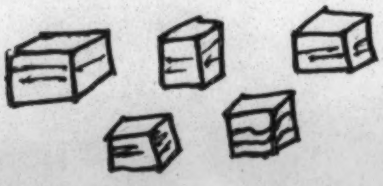
2 HOURS
40 MINUTES
NEEDED



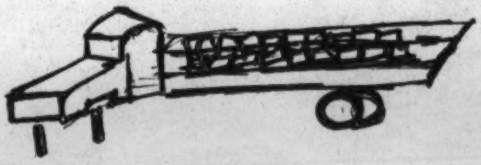
4 HOURS
NEEDED

TO MAKE ONE 480 CRATE CAR

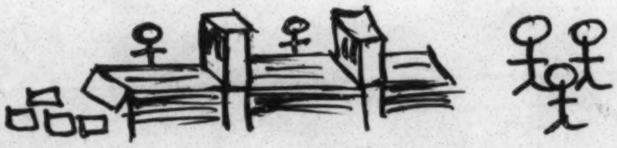
CO-OP COSTS



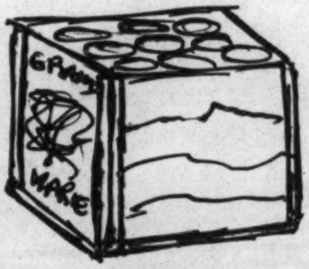
CRATES $0.45



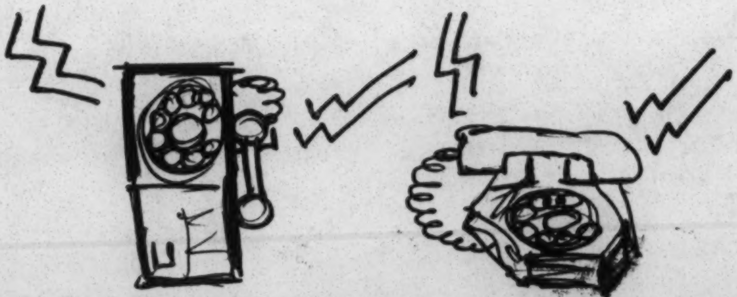
HAULING $0.15



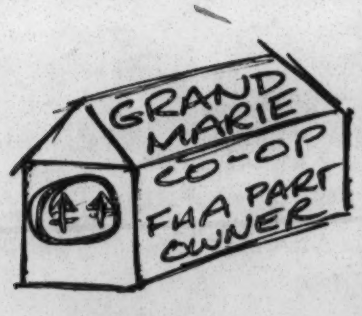
STORING, GRADING, WASHING
LABOR, WAXING
$.25 – $0.30



BOX COVER, LABEL,
INSPECTION $0.10



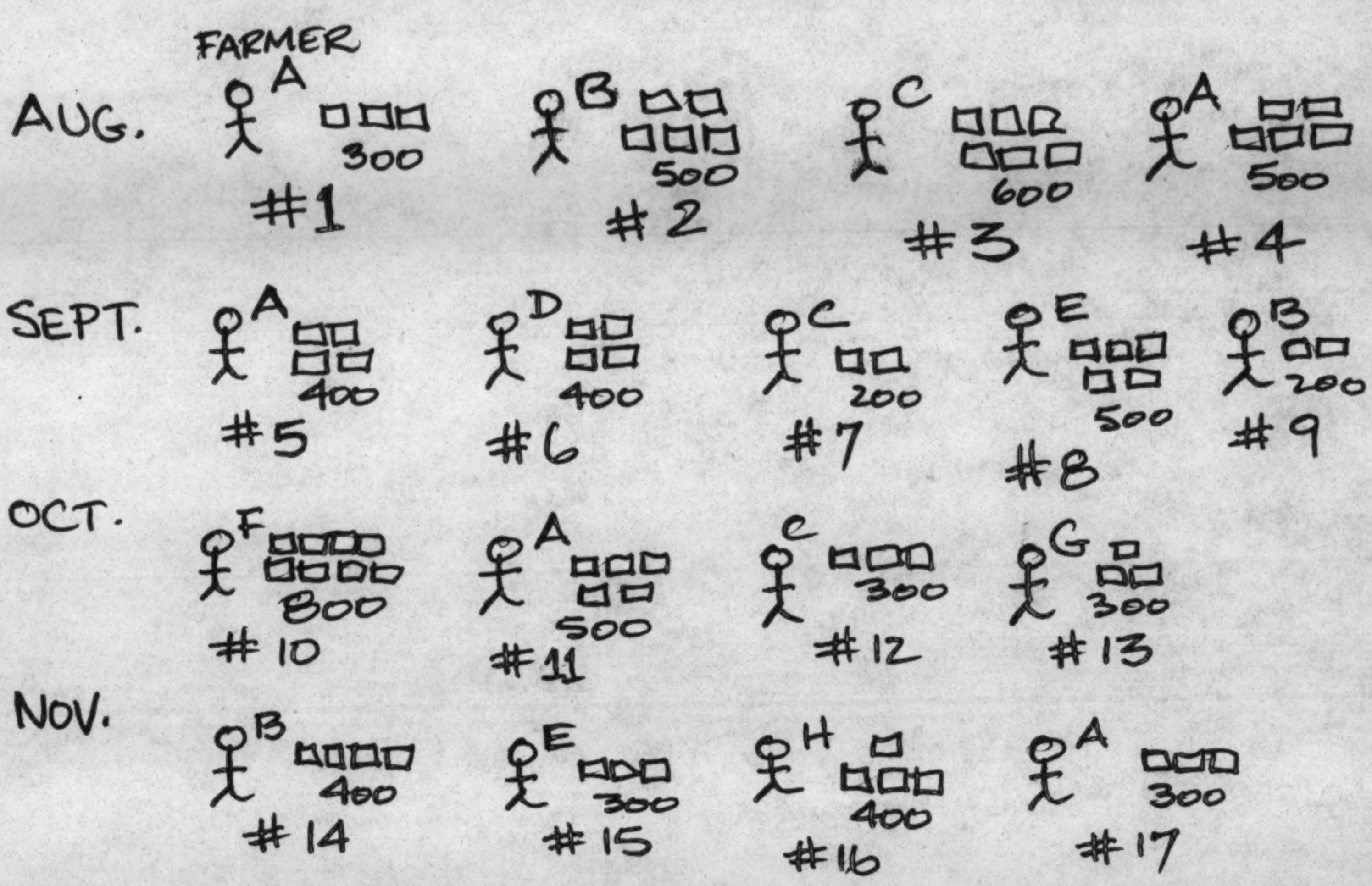
BROKERAGE $0.15


GRAND
MARIE
CO-OP
FHA PART
OWNER

RETAIN $0.25

THESE ARE THE COSTS THAT THE CO-OP WILL TAKE OFF THE F.O.B. PACKED OUT PRICE OF A MEMBERS SWEET POTATOES. THE DEDUCTION WILL BE ABOUT $1.35

FIRST DUG, FIRST SOLD


FARMER
AUG.
A
300
#1
B
500
#2
C
600
#3
A
500
#4
SEPT.
A
400
#5
D
400
#6
C
200
#7
E
500
#8
B
200
#9
OCT.
F
800
#10
A
500
#11
C
300
#12
G
300
#13
NOV.
B
400
#14
E
300
#15
H
400
#16
A
300
#17

THE GRAND MARIE CO-OP WILL PACK OUT ITS MEMBERS POTATOES IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY ARE DELIVERED TO THE CO-OP FOR STORING. EACH LOT OF POTATOES BROUGHT TO THE CO-OP WILL GET A NUMBER AND THE POTATOES WILL BE SOLD IN THIS ORDER. THIS SYSTEM IS FAIR TO LARGER FARMERS LIKE "A" WITH LOTS #1, 4, 5, 11 & 17 AND SMALL FARMERS LIKE "D", "G", "H" WITH JUST ONE LOT NUMBER. IF YOUR TURN COMES UP YOU CAN' PASS AND HAVE YOUR LOT RE-NUMBERED WITH THE LAST NUMBER ON THE LIST.

Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Cooperative, Inc.
Sunset, Louisiana

Profit Or Loss Statement
Ending July 30, 1966

Sales:	Cash	$287.60	
Services:	Hauling	302.65	
	Inspection & Advertising	77.24	
	Washing & Grading	885.93	
	Retains	495.85	
Net Sales:			$2,049.27
	Truck Expense		
Operating Expense:			
	Truck Expense	24.90	
	Salaries	1,254.54	
	Rent	250.00	
	Utilities	50.00	
	License	42.00	
	Office Supplies	27.72	
	General Expense	27.81	
Total Operating Expenses			$1,676.97
NET GAIN			372.30

Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Cooperative, Inc.
Sunset, Louisiana
Profit Or Loss Statement
Ending July 30, 1966

Sales: Cash $287.60
Services: Hauling 302.65
Inspection & Advertising 77.24
Washing & Grading 885.93
Retains 495.85
Net Sales: $2,049.27
Truck Expense
Operating Expense:
Truck Expense 24.90
Salaries 1,254.54
Rent 250.00
Utilities 50.00
License 42.00
Office Supplies 27.72
General Expense 27.81
Total Operating Expenses $1,676.97
NET GAIN 372.30

Grand Marie Vegetable ~~Producers~~ Cooperative, Inc.
Sunset, Louisiana
Balance Statement
Ending July 30,1966

Assets		
Current Assets:		
Cashin Banks		
Churchpoint (Membership)	$ 436.42	
Churchpoint (Operating)	133.10	
Sunset (Operating)	5,353.97	
Accounts Receivable	7,894.95	
Inventory:		
Crates & Tops	906.82	
Materials	120.88	
Soda	21.55	
Total Current Assets		$ 14,867.69
Other Assets		235.04
Total Assets		15,102.73

Liabilities & Capital		
Current Liabilities		
Farmers Acct. Payable	$4,637.98	
Co-op Acct. Payable	77.50	
Other Accts. Payable	2,438.53	
Notes Payable	6,890.00	
Total Liabilities		$14,044.01
Capital: Membership	686.42	
Gain	372.30	
Total Capital		1,058.72
Total Liabilities and Capital		15,102.73

GRAND MARIE VEGETABLE PRODUCERS COOPERATIVE

OPERATING RULES AND PROCEDURES

1. Each member of the cooperative shall be required to sign and carry out the provisions of a "marketing agreement". All provisions of such marketing agreement not explicitly mentioned in these rules shall still hold to be binding.

2. Each member of the cooperative must pledge on or before the 30th day of June, to deliver one half of his total sweet potato production to the cooperative. The cooperative shall endeavor to dispose of as many potatoes as possible on the green market but the farmer must accept that the fifty per cent of his crop so pledged will probably have to be stored. The farmer must further pledge to give the cooperative the first option to sell and ship an additional one quarter (twenty-five per cent 25%) of his crop provided that the co-op has shipping orders for such quantities.

3. Any loss the cooperative may suffer because of damaged or inferior quality of the products at delivery to the co-op or during storage in the cooperative's facilities shall be charged against the member who brought them, unless negligence on the part of the cooperative or its agents can be shown.

4. The cooperative requires that the farmer bring to the cooperative a fifty pound crate of sweet potatoes with forty pounds or more of U.S. No. 1 Sweet Potatoes for storage. If a farmer places less than forty pounds of U.S. No. 1 grage sweet potatoes in his crates he will be liable for the additional cost to the cooperative of packing his poorer grade of potatoes.

5. The cooperative shall endeavor to make contacts and contractual agreements with haulers, brokers and canneries to dispose of its memberkentire sweet potato production including the No. 2 and 3 canning grade potatoes.

6. The cooperative shall pay to its members the full value of their products based upon the packed out F.O.B. prices that a member's potatoes brought with deductions made for the costs incurred by the cooperative and a retain to finance the capital expenditures of the cooperative.

7. The cooperative shall retain twenty five cents ($0.25) on each crate of U.S. No. 1 Sweet Potatoes packed out and sold by the cooperative and ten per cent (10%) of the packed out and sold price on U.S. No. 2 Sweet Potatoes.

8. The cooperative shall provide crates for its members at the time of digging in accordance with amount of potatoes they intend to dig. Any damage of these crates shall be charged against the member causing the damage. All crates supplied by the cooperative shall be stamped with the cooperative seal. No member shall use crates supplied by the cooperative for any other purpose than to bring sweet potatoes to the cooperative.

9. The cooperative shall provide transportation to pick up and haul the potatoes from the farm of a member to the facility of the cooperative. The farmer will be required to pay a standard fee of fifteen cents ($0.15) for this service. Any member providing transportation for his own potatoes shall have fifteen cent hauling charge deducted from the cost of shipping his sweet potatoes.

10. The cooperative shall not advance a member any funds for sweet potatoes that will be stored by the cooperative but the cooperative shall endeavor to locate banks that will provide this service for its members.

11. The cooperative shall to the extent that it is possible advance to the farmer one half of the difference between the F.O.B. price that his potatoes were sold and shipped for and the deductions the cooperative shall make for its costs and retains. The farmer shall be entitled to full payment of his sweet potatoes at such time as the cooperative receives payment for these potatoes from its buyers.

12. The cooperative shall have the rights to collect all of its costs in the preparation for marketing of a member sweet potatoes, including but not inclusively; hauling, crate, labels, crate cover, washing and waxing costs, brokerage fees, inspection fees. The cooperative shall further be entitled to charge a differential in rates for the packing of potatoes that fall below the standard contents of U.S. No. 1 grade sweet potatoes.

13. The manager of the cooperative shall prepare a list of all farmers planting early potatoes that will be ready for digging between July 15 and August 10 and provide as fairly as possible to market those potatoes for the members.

14. The manager shall on any particular day when he must fill an order for a carlot of potatoes endeavor to pro-rate the order over the several member that supply the cooperative with potatoes on that day suitable for packing for the green market.

15. Each member shall have his individual aisle's or area within the storage house where his crates will be stacked separate from those of the other members.

16. Sweet potatoes stored in the cooperatives facilities will be sold in the order they are bought to the cooperative for storing. Each time a farmer brings a load of potatoes to the cooperative that load shall be assigned a number in ascending numerical order. In this way a list will be prepared listing the order in which each member potatoes entered the storage house, the number of crates assigned that number and the name of the member who brought them. Potatoes will be sold from the storage house according to numerical order of these lot numbers providing that they are sufficiently cured to be marketed. If a farmer does not wish to sell when the number of his lot is reached, he may pass, but this lot will be renumbered and given the last number which the cooperative list has reached.

17. The cooperative will allow its members who have suitable facilities for storing their own potatoes to store them on their own farms. The cooperative must certify a facility before it can be used to store produce owned by the cooperative. Members of the board of directors or their agents shall have free access at all times to the facilities of members used to store produce subscribed to the cooperative.

18. If a member fails to deliver the products stipulated in his agreement, he shall be subject to a fine of fifty cents per crate on each crate disposed of in a way in consistent with his agreement with cooperative.

CASE HISTORIES SHOW REASONS FOR FAILURE

Take a case in point. I recall a small farm supply cooperative a good many years ago which had pulled itself up by its bootstraps into a pretty good position. The co-op owned three trucks to haul supplies from the warehouse to its members' farms. These trucks were, of course, insured in the usual manner. The manager, the directors, and the bank for cooperatives assumed that everybody concerned was protected with adequate insurance.

Then the manager found that during his slack season one of the trucks was idle most of the time. So he contracted to use the idle= truck to haul cotton from a local warehouse to another one some 60 miles away--thus keeping the driver and truck busy and bringing the co-op some additional revenue besides.

This deal, however, ended tragically. In an accident the truck killed one person and permanently disabled another. At first everyone thought the insurance company would take care of everybody concerned. Upon preparing the claim, however, it was discovered that the insurance policy and the premium classification protected the co-op just so long as the trucks were engaged in their usual activity of delivering farm supplies to members' farms.

As a net result, judgments obtained against the co-op put it into liquidation. Not only was the co-op forced out of existence, but the family of the injured people wasn't adequately provided for.

In this case it is clear that it was primarily the manager's responsibility to check the insurance policies or to consult the insurance agent before taking on the cotton hauling contract--although this could easily be overlooked. And when the matter of taking on or not taking on the cotton hauling contract was discussed with this board of directors, as no doubt it was, an inquiring director might have said to the manager, "Now, Jim, I think this is a good deal, and we have all voted in favor of it. If you haven't already done it, be sure our insurance covers the truck while it is hauling cotton."

Now take case 2. This marketing co-op had been operating fairly satisfactorily so its directors had drifted into the habit of leaving everything up to the manager--letting him do as he pleased in the matter of policies, finances, accounts receivable, and the like.

One day the manager disappeared. Within a short time the co-op found he had not only taken a substantial amount of the co-op's money with him, but had also left the association heavily in debt to a lot of people.

The cooperative owed its members a lot of money for commodities that had been delivered during the preceding month or so for marketing, and had a number of other large accounts outstanding about which the directors knew nothing. The manager had even bought commodities from commercial dealers, sold them, and pocketed the money without paying the dealers for them.

This co-op couldn't overcome this shock and had to liquidate. The manager went to the penitentiary, but that didn't enable the co-op to stay in business or pay its debts. Incidentally, the manager was bonded for only $5,000.

If the board of directors had been as diligent as they should have been, this situation would never have developed. If they had seen to it that the manager was adequately bonded, the loss would have been cut down or avoided entirely. If they had been paying attention to operations, the manager could hardly have bought commodities in the open market and resold them as he did to the detriment of both the co-op and the dealers.

Had they seen to it that the cooperative's policies were carried out, that accounting records were adequate, and that complete financial statements went to directors each month, this thing could not have happened.

Case 3. This case in point shows that it is important for directors to check up on things from time to time. One day a representative of the bank for cooperatives dropped in to get acquainted with the folks at a local farm supply cooperative, one know for doing a splendid job. The manager appreciated the visit, and showed the bank man a copy of his financial statement after showing him around the office.

The bank representative noticed a substantial surplus item in the balance sheet. Naturally he was interested in knowing how this item was being handled and praticularly if it had been allocated to the members on a patronage basis. Upon learning the surplus account had not been allocated, he called the manager's attention to the effect this might have on the co-op's income tax status. The manager was surprised to hear this.

After further questioning, the bank representative found that the co-op had never filed application with the Bureau of Internal Revenue for exemption and had never filed an income tax return. The manager of this co-op was completely honest in his assumption that farmers' cooperatives were automatically exempt from the income tax regulation. It was necessary to explain to him, of course, the serious implications, involved, including a possible tax liability of $40,000 to $50,000.

Fortunately the manager and directors of this co-op decided to do the forthright thing--they got in touch with the Bureau of Internal Revenue. It was obvious to the Bureau that this was an honest-to-goodness co-op, that these men were honest in their intentions, but that they just simply had been ignorant of their income tax responsibilities. So the Bureau was able to give the co-op an opportunity to allocate its surplus account to its patrons as provided in the bylaws, file an application for exemption, and take the other necessary steps to straighten the matter out. This could, however, have proved disastrous for the co-op; and, as a matter of fact, it is doubtful that a co-op in a similar situation today would receive as much consideration.

Case 4. This is one case where the directors took too much interest in certain phases of the co-op's operations, failing to recognize the principle that the board should establish the broad operating policies within which employed management is to operate and then give management full authority and responsibility for carrying out the policies and getting results.

A good many years ago a centralized selling co-op was coming along very well until it expanded to indlude several new associations. The original board had consisted of six conservative individuals and one not so conservative, but aggressive and personable, whose judgment wasn't always too good. Up to the time of the expansion, the other six members had been able to hold him in check.

However, when the new and inexperienced directors were admitted to the board representing the new groups, they were naturally full of enthusiasm. Since they and the one member of the old board had the majority number of votes, this new group in effect took over control the organization.

They believed that both the general manager and the general sales manager were too slow moving to suit them. While they didn't see fit to replace them because of their long and successful experience, the directors set up a committee which in effect took over the management of one division's operations. The general manager became a figurehead, and the committee itself hired a new sales manager for this particular division--responsible not to the general sales manager, but to the committee.

At the end of one season's operations this committee had made most of the mistakes in the book. They were over-ambitious, they over-estimated their potential market, and then unwisely held their product off the market in order to get better prices, while competing processors moved theirs--completely ignoring the counsel of both the general manager and the more experienced general sales manager.

Results were inevitable. This co-op was left holding the umbrella for the rest of the industry and lost the good will of the trade which had been painstakingly built up through the years. Here was an organization with an excellent product, the good will of the trade, and splendid consumer acceptance--all dissipated in a few months time because of the wilful and inexperienced leadership of men who had usurped the rightful responsibilities of management.

For two years thereafter the organization had to fight for its very existence--even after lines of authority were properly restored. The fight was finally won, and the organization resumed its growth and progress.

So this is an almost failure, but it serves to show how just one mistake in the relationship between the directors and management can nearly wreck an organization.

ONE MEMBER, ONE VOTE

Most cooperatives operate on basic principles developed more than a century ago in Rochdale, England, when poverty-stricken weavers opened the first consumer-owned store.

The first of these is open membership. Cooperatives have no membership restrictions of class, creed, color, or conviction.

Second, each member-owner has only one vote, regardless of the number of shares he ownes.

Third, invested capital receives only a limited return.

The fourth principle is the patronage refund. Service is provided at cost, and prevailing price levels are maintained. What remains after all costs are met and reserves provided for a distributed to users of the service in proportion to their use. Cooperatives also stress the wisdom of cash trading, where feasible, and the need for constant expansion and education.

Unless members understand what they own and are encouraged to use and invest in their business and elect competent officials, their cooperatives may fail. Above all, elected boards need to hire efficient management personnel.

Not all cooperatives apply all of these principles, but they have been basic to the success of co-ops for more than a century.

PRESIDING OFFICER DUTIES & PARLIMENTARY PROCEDURES

American Parlimentary Law is built upon the principles that Rights must be respected: (a) Rights of the Majority; (b) the Rights of the Minority; (c) Rights of the Individual; (d) Rights of the absentee; (e) Rights of all these together.

There are two major reasons for Rules of Order. First, Rules of Order is based upon the same enduring principles on which our nation itself is founded; (A) Rights of the Majority to decide; (B) Rights of Minority to be heard; (C) Rights of the absentees to be protected. It provides a way of bringing these principles into practice both in great assemblies and in average Local meetings.

Second, the object of Rules of Order is to assist an assembly to accomplish in the best possible manner the work for which it has designed. To do this it is necessary to retain the individual in any community to do what he pleases, is incompatible with the interest of the whole. Where there is no Law, but every man does what is right in his own eyes, there is the least of real Liberty.

The presiding officer is in complete charge of the meeting and he should be respected by the members and should respect the members as well and keep the meeting in an orderly manner. The responsibility of Unity and Harmony depend on how well the presiding officer does his job. No member should ever attempt to speak in a meeting withou first getting permission from the Chair--the presiding officer.

A motion is a proposal that the assembly take certain action, or that it express itself as holding certain views. A motion is made by the member obtaining the floor from the presiding officer, by addressing the presiding officer as saying after rising, Mr. Chairman, Mr. President, or Madam President or Madam Chairman, as the case may be.

Proper motions are used to accomplish certain objects. Motions are very important as well as necessary to accomplish certain objects and dispose of a question after a discussion, so that the order of business may be obtained.

When a member wishes to make a motion he rise, address the chair to obtain the floor. Then state his motion by saying: "I move that . . . etc.," stating the question. If another member agree then he rise and say: "I second the motion." After the motion is moved and seconded, the chair, the presiding officer, then restate the motion in a loud and clear voice and ask: "Are you ready for the question: All in favor vote by either raising one hand or by voice vote, saying Aye or standing or balloting or roll call, etc." Those oppose ~~approve~~ have the same right to vote in like manner as those who are in favor. If those for the question get more votes, the chair will declare the motion CARRIED. ~~[illegible]~~t; if those oppose ~~approve~~ are in them majority the motion will be considered last and so stated by the chair.

Amendments are made to a motion to alter the motion made, by inserting or adding words or paragraphs; by striking out words or paragraphs; by striking out certain words and inserting others; by substituting one or more paragraphs for others, or an entire resolution for another on the same subject.

Who is to prepare the agenda when there is no standard agenda or order of business. Most organizations will adopt a regular procedure or agenda to follow at each meeting. i.e. -- Opening, Reading of MINUTES of last meeting, Reports of Committees, Unfinished Business, New Business, Adjournment. This agenda have been commonly accepted and have been proven to be most effective in keeping the meeting in an orderly manner and is a time saver.

When NO such agenda is adopted by an assembly, the presiding officer will prepare and present the agenda. This assembly will vote upon the agenda, for its acceptance, and procedure to follow. The presiding officer is responsible to see that the agenda is followed as approved and no member have the right to change said agenda until by majority vote of all members present.

Robert's Rules of Order is the good book to use for all assemblies using Parliamentary Law as the Rules of Order. Great study should be made in detail to increase knowledge and obtain order and proper procedure that the rights of all may be respected and protected at all times.

HOW NOT TO HOLD A DIRECTORS' MEETING

President: Gentlemen, this Board of Directors' meeting was called for 10 o'clock and since it is now about 10:30, I guess it is about time to get down to business.

(Director 1 enters at this point, late.)

Director 1: Hi there boys! You fellows are kinda starting ahead of time, aren't you?

President: We are trying to get started just 30 minutes late this morning, Charlie. Well, I guess we had better get down to business. Have you got an agenda? What are we supposed to talk about here this morning?

Manager: Mr. President, I just haven't got much on the agenda here this morning; I've been sort of busy down at the warehouse there and felt like we didn't have too much to talk about. Got a few things we might discuss, but I didn't do too much preparation on this meeting here today because usually we don't do too much at our meeting anyway, so I just didn't prepare much.

President: I guess we ought to have the minutes from the last meeting. Anybody have the minutes?

Manager: My secretary has, but she is doing Christmas shopping, so she didn't get those minutes typed out. I'll get those and mail a copy some time this month. No, it will probably be January before she gets to them anyway.

President: I guess we will just have to dispense with the reading of the minutes.

Director 2: I think the minutes ought to be read.

Director 1: I don't see any sense in reading them. We were all here last time, weren't we?

Director 2: You don't pay much attention here and I think they ought to be read so you can have a chance to study them. There are some things that maybe ought to be reviewed.

Director 3: Mr. President, we have all these questions coming up that are not on the agenda here, we will be here quite a while. I make a motion that we dispense with the reading of the minutes.

(Voted here and motion carried.)

President: All right, we haven't had a meeting here in 4 or 5 months. Manager, do you have a report to give us?

Manager: I have a little short one here. I had to type this thing out myself. You know I was telling you that my secretary is doing a lot of Christmas shopping. We had total sales last month of $94,000; total purchases of raw products, $55,000; utility expenses, $1,000; taxes, interest, insurance, and depreciation, etc., $4500; miscellaneous expense was $20,000; salaries was $10,000; contributions and advertising was $2,000; made us a total of expenses of $92,500. We have a savings of $1,500, Mr. President.

Director 5: I'd like for you to explain why your accounts receivables are so large; we had an awful good year in Mississippi. Looks like somebody is not on the job like they ought to be. Not getting things collected, and it is getting late in the year now.

Manager: We have two or three great big accounts here. They are sort of going up. I don't guess there is much to worry about because one of those is Director 6's account and the other is Director 4's.

Director 6: I think that times are pretty hard; my account has been on there since back in the spring. The farmer is having a pretty hard time paying. I think you ought to let these accounts receivables alone and quit worrying the farmers about them. Carry them over to next fall, too. The manager has been out there talking to me twice, and talking to some of my neighbors. I think we had better straighten him out on this thing and make him let these farmers alone.

Director 2: If we do that kind of business, we will soon be out of business ourselves, too.

Director 5: How much are you paying this Sam Wilson you have working for you?

Manager: We are paying him $250 a month.

Director 5: $250! Good gracious alive! I have a brother who doesn't have a job. He will work for less money than that. I'll be frank with you; I think he ought to have the job. He's kinda in the family and needs a job and I'm going to make a motion that he be hired for less money.

Director 6: I second that motion.

Director 2: Pretty bad policy to hire members of the family. I don't believe you are going to do right to put members of the family in here.

Director 5: Wait a minute! Let me tell you something about hiring somebody! I don't get lots of money for being on this board, and my time is worth something. I think somebody in the family ought to have something out of this.

Director 6: I want to ask for a vote; I have already seconded the motion.

President: Well, we have a motion and a second here that the board of directors do the hiring and that we hire Director 5's brother. Any further discussion on that?

Manager: Mr. President, I don't want to say anything that would be a reflection on any of our member's relatives or anything like that, but we have to consider experience. Sam Wilson has been with us for 6 or 7 years. And he started out with a low salary. I admit that $250 a month is a little bit high, but actually that man is worth something, and if something happens to me, Sam could step in. A new man with no experience---at least I don't know just what experience this other man has, that's an awful big consideration that I would just like to throw in. Of course, whatever the board decides is all right with me.

Director 2: I still don't think that he ought to be hired just because he is kin to a member of the board.

Director 5: I think the board ought to hire him. You are going to save money with him. As far as experience is concerned, he can get it just like Sam did.

President: I want to bring the thing to a vote. A vote has been called for. (Voted and motion carried.)

Director 2: One other thing I would like to comment on, or get an explanation of, is that large amount of expense under miscellaneous. Looks like to me that you could detail a $20,000 item. After all, that is a lot of the farmer's money.

Manager: Well, you know it's hard to get bookkeepers and they don't like to break down expenses much as it complicates their work in putting up this account. It takes more paper, more ledger books, and more journals, and everything. Just for example, there may be 15 or 20 or 30 accounts in this thing, such as travel and entertainment. Of course, that's pretty good item there.

Director 2: Several of the accounts there will cover a lot of help if you have it set up properly.

Manager: Well, we just lump them all together there in salaries.

Director 2: Looks to me like a mighty lot.

Director 3: Mr. President, I think you are going a little too far there to expect a man to give all the details of miscellaneous.

Director 1: I would like to ask this question, on that $20,000 item. What are some of your big items?

Manager: One of them was that Christmas bonus last year, the one we voted the directors and the office people. That took a pretty big chunk of it. You know we went on a couple of fishing trips last year. Part of the board was there; I don't believe all the board was there.

Director 1: Just how much did that reflect, that is what I want to know.

Manager: I guess that was pretty good amount; I don't have it broken down. I don't know just how much. We have directors' salary in that account, too. I just felt like maybe we had better leave that alone.

Director 1: We had better leave that account alone.

Director 5: I'll tell you right now if you do anything about it, it's going to mess up those fishing trips.

Director 3: It'll mess up his books, too. I think we had better leave it alone.

Director 2: A fellow can get a friend and go fishing. He don't have to take the whole board of directors.

Director 1: I have a proposition to put before the board. You know I am a director of this organization, myself. Down in the 4th District, I am running for supervisor. You know service is one of the things we are supposed to do. One of the major planks in my platform is that through my influence with this board, I will get them to make truck deliveries to every farm in my beat. I understand you are not doing it in other districts, but I think the board ought to make an exception for mine. I promise those people that I would do that. They are looking to me to get it done and if you don't do it, I'm afraid it's going to beat me as supervisor.

President: Well, what do you think about that, fellows?

Manager: Mr. President, you know we have 3,000 members. A lot of these people come in and they want one sack of fertilizer, or two sacks of fertilizer, or three sacks of fertilizer, and sometimes 25 pounds of seed; deliveries would be costly.

Director 3: Mr. President, I see both sides of this thing. I see the value in promoting this co-op quite a bit by delivery. And I think we should hit a middle-of-the-road position. We can deliver in cases where we won't lose any money and then drop a few sacks at these other places along the road getting there. So I make a motion that we start a delivery service, except that we don't deliver at less than cost.

Director 2: Gentlemen, I go along and second that motion.

Director 3: Second the motion that we don't make any delivery at less than cost. If you can make a little above cost----------

President: I will go along with that. Any more discussion? If not, all in favor of the motion say "Aye."

(Voted and motion carried)

Director 5: Last month I was in here and talking to the Manager and I asked him to cut down on the number of men working. He has men on the trucks to take off the feed and I think he ought to cut some of the men off the truck, so I told him to take them off and let the driver load and unload the feed. He hasn't done anything about it. I think it's time the manager did what the directors tell him to do.

Director 6: I had the same trouble with him. I've been telling him to quit bothering these farmers about accounts receivables and I notice lately that he has gone to bothering two of my neighbors about bad checks they gave him back in the Spring. I think it's time he left these things alone.

Director 5: It's gotten to the place it's hard to get the manager to do the things the directors tell him to do. Maybe the time has come around that we need to hire another manager. This one won't fall in line with what we tell him to do. I think that if the manager can't give the board of directors a satisfactory explanation of why he won't do what they tell him to do, I think it is time we elect a new manager.

President: Is it a good idea for everyone of us to drop in here individually and see if there is anything we want done, or to tell him to do it; change the way he is operating, or, do you suppose it would be a better idea for us to just hold that and take it up at the board meeting? And let the board tell him when they are in session what to do and set the policy.

Director 4: I think that would be a good idea.

Director 5: If I am going to be a director, and he can't do what I want done, when I tell him to do it, I don't know if there is any advantage in keeping him. If we are going to have a decision, I still think it would be a good idea to change managers.

President: I guess we can't take any action on that.

Director 5: He may have a satisfactory explanation, but I haven't hear it so far.

Director 6: Whether we take any action or not and whether he gives us a satisfactory explanation, I want the board to attend to this bill and check collecting and the manager to let that alone. I have talked to him three or four times about it. He keeps calling me about my account, too.

Manager: Mr. President, I can give some explanation there. It might be a little embarrassing. Of course, my face is already red. I think maybe I really ought to just turn in my resignation, but I will give whatever explanation I can. We have the situation here on our board where I have been told by some of the board members that I ought to get these accounts receivables down; it has been pretty large. Of course, I have been going out trying to get them down, and then every time I go out I have one of the other board members telling me I ought to leave them alone. Now about loading the trucks. Actually 100 pounds gets pretty hard to keep labor. The competitors down the street always pay a man to drive a truck and have a helper to help him load it. That is just sort of a customary situation now in our kind of business. I know when I grew up, I didn't have a helper to help me, but when you have competitors that have people operating like that, if you keep your labor, you have to do that. Sometimes I have to help them load up, when they show up late. If I fire them I won't have anybody and I will have to load it all. It's pretty hard a proposition to keep this labor anyway; you sort of have to baby them around a little bit.

Director 3: Something that the manager should be looking after is this question of more space. We have been talking about this business of a warehouse now for a year or two and we just can't expand like we should until we get some more building space.

Manager: I'm sure glad that you brought that up because we are really on the ball on that one. The other day I went over and purchased that Brown Estate. Here is the deed to it right here. I was going to mention it before the meeting was over. Already given them a check for $3,000. Got that thing tied up, lock, stock, and barrel, and ready to put a building out there.

President: Well, gentlemen, it looks like we aren't getting anywhere and the manager has taken care of buying us the land we needed. He had already paid for it and has the deed on it, too. Anything else that you all think of that needs to come up?

Director 4: I move that we adjourn.

Director 1: Second that motion.

President: All in favor say "Aye."

All: "Aye."

The West Jacksonville Association For A Better Community
A None Profit Civic Oganization
805 Line Street Jacksonville, Florida 32209 Telephone 355-3210 (Area Code 904)

SEP 2 1965 REC'D

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:
MR. ROBERT L. C. WILLIAMS, Director
MR. HUGH RANDALL, Assistant Director
MR. FEACHER L. WILLIAMS, Secretary
MR. WILLIE BROWN, JR., Treasurer
MRS. GENEVA COTTON, Youth Advisor
MRS. MILDRED CARRIER, Ladies, Group Chairman
MRS. ROSIE STEPHENS, Voter Education Chairman

MRS. SADIE M. WILLIAMS
MRS. WILLIE TASKER
MRS. VERMEL SIMS
MRS. DAISY CHARLESTON
MRS. MINNIE L. PITTS
MRS. CONSTANCE HIXON

August 28, 1965

This is it!

Mrs. Jacklyn Wilkes, Associate Director
Southern Region
National Student YWCA
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Wilkes,

I certainly appreciate your letter of August 23rd. Really didn't expect to hear from you so soon. But anyway, it found me well, a bit tired and on the go as usual.

Yes, I had begun to feel that you and your group were a permanent part of our city. But, then on that last day, I had to accept the bitter fact that every journey thats started, must come to an end. And this was it.

We are very appreciative and most grateful to you. For truly, "You have done so much in such a short time." I do not know the exact number, but many parents are following your instructions by sending their children to the nearest school.

I further appreciate your concern and interest in the West Jacksonville Association For A Better Community. We are making great strides. The New York Wall Street Journal, radio, television and other newspapers have really concerned themselves in giving us high publicity. Channel 4 television station is giving us thirty minutes on the air one day this week. They have made a special project of our efforts(a community helps itself). The health department is exploring the idea of puting up a health clinic in the area. The health department has put two health inspectors in this area to help us in the cleanup program. Quite a number of persons are painting up their homes, cleaning yards and fixing up. The city street cleaning department put three to four trucks, one bull dozer and other

A Community Takes A Giant Step - In Unity I Find Strength To Opportunity

Slums Do Not Make People-People Make Slums

heavy equipment out here two days a week removing trash and heavy junk. The City Housing Department has negotiated the removal of many delapidated houses. Many have been removed already. The health department has cut all vacant lots. Within the past three weeks, over one hundred loads of trash has been hauled away.

We have contacted the school board pertaining to setting up some adult parent classes at school in this community. They would be home making, health, child care, marketing, etc. So far, it looks very promising.

We are persistantly working for a youth center in this area. I think we are going to get it too.

We continue to have weekly meetings, drawing many people.

Already, we have received many letters of congratulations. No, I do not accept direct credit for what is being done in this community. Instead, I pass the credit on to the members and community people.

Many citizens here have encouraged me to make application to Mr. Sargent Shriver for employment in the Anti-Poverty Program, feeling that community accomplishments, experience and understanding of people and human nature would be of great value to the program. I understand that in a few days a number of citizens will begin writing letters to the President and Mr. Sargent Shriver that I be considered.

Since so many people have been talking this to me, I have begun to give it quite a bit of thought. And, if I should decide giving it definite consideration as to filing application I will let you know.

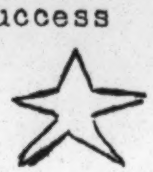
On September 11th and 12th, quite a number of NAACP members including myself, will be in Birmingham, Ala. giving support to the Ala. NAACP after 12 years of absence.

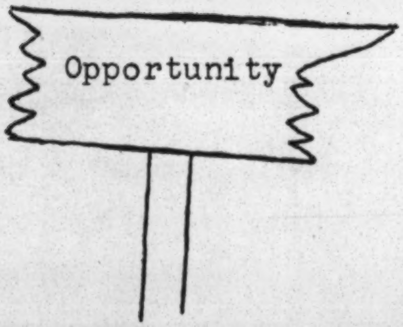
At this time I must close. So do take care of yourself and hello to any of the group that you might see.

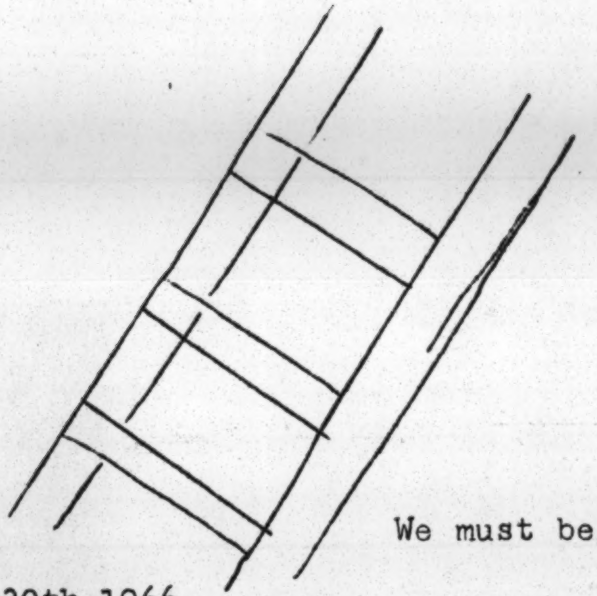
Sincerely,

Robert Williams

Robert L. C. Williams, Director







We must begin to Climb
NOW

At 1200 High Noon April 30th 1966........

A Clean up, Fix up, Trash Pickup Community Betterment Parade (walking and riding) sponsored by your West Jacksonville Association For A Better Community will assemble at Line & Commonwealth Ave

behing the West Jacksonville Elementary School. From here we will go into Mixon Town to Goodwin and Lewis Street.

In the open field we plan a Pantomime play and speaking. The city government, school board and fire and health departments are giving us support.

Don't miss the Greatest Community Parade ever. Won't you help to make this a real success.

Looking For You at Parade Time.........

The West Jacksonville Association For A Better Community

A None Profit Civic Oganization

805 Line Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32209
Telephone 355-3210 (Area Code 904)

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MRS. WILLIE TASKER
MRS. VERMEL SIMS
MRS. DAISY CHARLESTON
MRS. MINNIE L. PITTS
MRS. CONSTANCE HIXON

May 6, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulmer,

Our parade and pantomime play was quite a success. People are yet talking about it. Wish you could have been here.

Yes, I have received the special reports and the news letter. They are very informative. Some youth here are supposed to be making application.

We deeply appreciate your concern in our efforts here for a better community and welcomes you at any time.

Hope to here from you soon.

Sincerely,

Robert L C. Williams

Robert L. C. Williams, Dir.

P.S. Enclosed are some news paper ~~articles~~.
ARTICLES

A Community Takes A Giant Step - In Unity I Find Strength To Opportunity

Slums Do Not Make People-People Make Slums

PARADE SET TODAY

Negro Group to Push Own War on Poverty

A parade to push a private war on poverty will be staged today by the West Jacksonville Association for a Better Community, a group of about 100 Negroes who believe that slums don't make people — people make slums.

Under the leadership of Robert L. C. Williams, the organization has been successful in promoting do-it-yourself cleanup campaigns in the residential area north of Beaver Street and west of the Beaver Street viaduct.

Today's community betterment parade steps off at noon from Line Street and Commonwealth Avenue behind West Jacksonville Elementary School. The marchers will head south on Line, and parade along McQuade, Baker, Beaver, Stockton, Forest, Goodwin, and Lewis streets.

To Present Play

The marchers will gather in a field at Goodwin and Lewis, where a pantomime play will be presented.

According to Williams, the play's theme will center around climbing the ladder of opportunity and will encourage high school students to remain in school and complete their education.

The parade will officially launch the association's summer activities which, the group hopes, will spur incentive, ini-

(Continued Page 44—Column 1)

Negroes to Parade Against Poverty

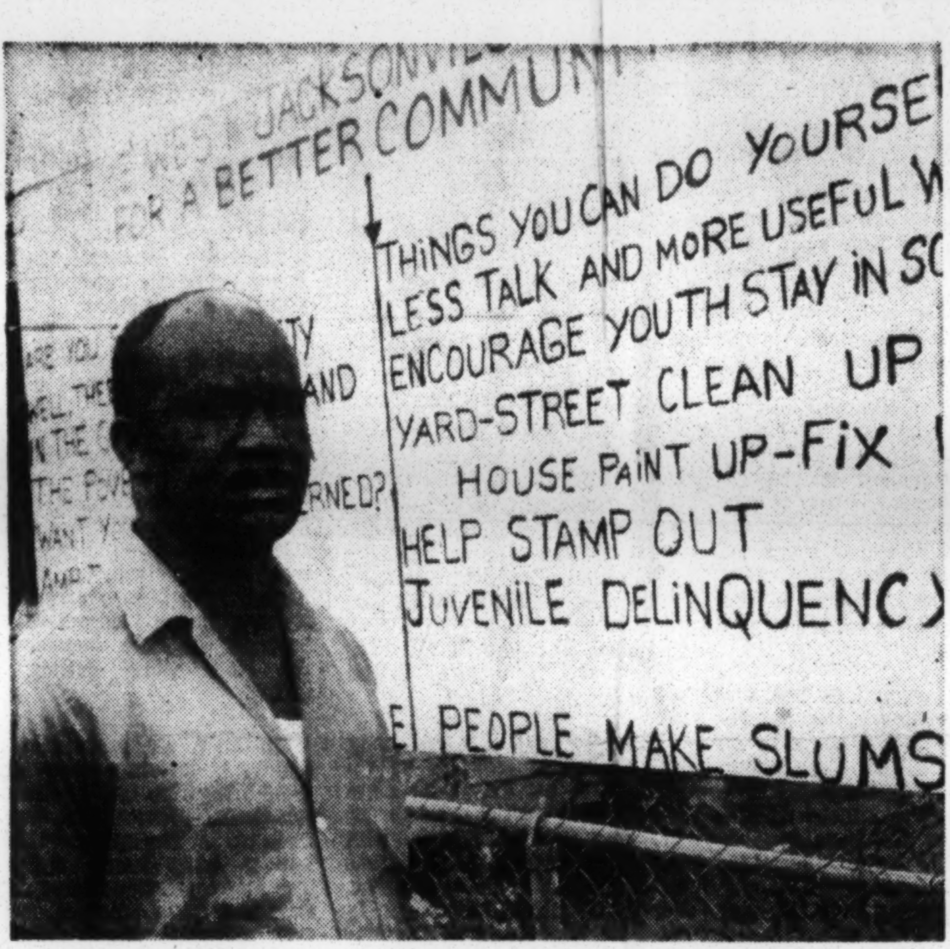
(Continued from Page 33)

tiative, self-motivation and responsibility toward self-help efforts "to lift us up from the unfathomable depths of poverty to the heights of prosperity and human dignity," Williams said.

Since the group was organized last May 13, Williams said the following has been accomplished:

More than 100 homes have been painted by citizen-owners and five by realtors who also installed screens and made other repairs; more than 50 homes have received major improvements; 115 loads of trash were hauled away in a mass cleanup program; some dilapidated vacant homes have been torn down; 15 new homes were completed or are under construction in the neighborhood; two streets were resurfaced; $30,000 was appropriated for a community center; a home demonstration club was formed; increased attention to civic affairs has been indicated by increased attendance at City Council meetings; and mercury street lights were installed in 60 percent of the neighborhood.

The association is a nonprofit organization which charges $1 a year dues to its 100 members.



WILLIAMS WITH SOME OF HIS GROUP'S GOALS

Journal Photo

Ex-Ma Energi

By GEORGE HARMON
Journal Assistant City Editor

Robert L. C. Williams, 41, is a Negro postal worker who has been arrested for trying to integrate a downtown Jacksonville restaurant.

"I've demonstrated all over the country," he says.

Nowadays, he cruises his neighborhood in a car equipped with a loudspeaker, telling people to clean the trash out of their yards.

On the fence outside his home on Line Street, he's erected a sign that sounds more like an old-time conservative speaking, rather than a social protestor.

"People make slums," says the sign.

"Less talk and more useful work," it says.

"Encourage youth to stay in

★ ★ ★

New Aspect: The Power

By GEORGE HARMON
Journal Assistant City Editor

Special Report

A social worker told a Journal reporter recently: "I'm afraid I've lived too long."

A veteran employe of the Florida State Welfare Department, she inserted her gloomy comment into a discussion about an aspect of the war on poverty which is thus far untested in Jacksonville.

But the test here is coming — and soon.

What makes the social worker apprehensive is the fact that one of the cornerstones of the war on poverty is the idea that America's poor should play a big role in hoisting themselves up the economic ladder.

According to this theory, poor people know better than anyone else what their problems are, and should be listened to if a community is expected to develop reasonable antipoverty projects.

And, goes the theory, "poverty pockets" often have numerous residents with untapped talent and leadership ability, who are capable of running such projects efficiently with only a fraction of "outside" help.

The welfare worker who fears she has "lived too long" isn't a foe of the crusade against poverty. In fact, it's doubtful if the concept of abolishing poverty in the United States would ever have arisen without the experience and knowledge of welfare workers.

Still, the social worker is apprehensive. She has lived through an era in which social work has developed into a highly-skilled profession — requiring at least four years of college, often a year or two of postgraduate schooling, plus frequent attendance at short courses and seminars.

Then, suddenly, the theory switches. The voice of the poor, the ignorant, the "culturally deprived" takes on value.

The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity insists that "community action" organizations waging the war on poverty at the local level must draw at least one-third of their directors from poverty neighborhoods before the organization can qualify for federal funds.

In Jacksonville, the community action organization is Greater Jacksonville Economic Opportunity Inc. (GJEO). Fifteen of its 45 members live in "poverty pockets." In addition, neighborhood advisory committees have been established so that GJEO can hear even more voices on the poor.

Two weeks ago in Washington, national war-on-poverty chief Sargent Shriver was booed and otherwise verbally abused at a national conference in which representatives of the poor complained that the impoverished should have an even larger voice in administering the antipoverty projects.

And there have been reports of concern in Congress that the power of the poor, once it is developed, might express itself politically.

For instance, if the poor become organized and aware of their rights, and decide they want paved streets in front of their rented slums, or hot water inside, won't they march on city hall?

Or vote against the time-honored machine?

These two questions take on added importance now that GJEO has received federal funds to establish two "neighborhood centers" in the worst poverty area of Duval County — the neighborhoods fringing downtown Jacksonville in a crescent that starts and stops at the north bank of the St. Johns River.

There will be 52 persons employed at each of the neighborhood centers. Of these 52, a total of 34 employes will be chosen at each place from among the ranks of the poor.

Some of the 34 will work at such jobs as assisting trained health specialists who will be working at the centers. Others will assist social workers, employment counselors, recreational supervisors and specialists concerned with the problems of people who are both poor and old.

However, 15 of the persons hired from among the poor at each neighborhood center will be classified as "neighborhood workers." They will be sidewalk pounders and doorbell ringers.

-Marcher Now Uses His ergies To Battle Poverty

: HARMON
nt City Editor

Villiams, 41, is
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Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Williams doesn't find it necessary to picket the restaurant where he was arrested. Negroes eat there all the time.

So how does Williams use up his energy?

He works during his off-duty hours as director of the West Jacksonville Association For a Better Community. In the Negro residential neighborhood north of Beaver Street and west of the Beaver Street viaduct, his 100-member organization is waging a private war on poverty.

The West Jacksonville Association began, said Williams, after he had traveled elsewhere in the nation to participate in demonstrations against racial segregation.

"You get tired, going to other places, then seeing how bad things are here," he said.

He decided, he says—echoing again a conservative battle cry — that "freedom carries responsibilities."

So he talked with some of his neighbors. Last May 13, they organized the West Jacksonville Association (WJA). It doesn't receive any federal money, but Williams hopes someday it will qualify for antipoverty funds.

"We charge $1 year in dues," he said.

So far, the $100 in the kitty hasn't been used up. The biggest expenditure of WJA, said Williams, was $42 spent on a chartered bus to give children in the neighborhood a tour of Jacksonville.

(One problem of low-income neighborhood residents, disclosed during last summer's Head Start program for impoverished preschool children, was that some kids in such neighborhoods have never been far from their own homes. They think the world is a big slum.)

One thing that adds interest to WJA's work right now is the fact that the county's antipoverty agency is establishing a program in which people living in "poverty pockets" near downtown Jacksonville will be recruited to take part in the war on poverty, instead of leaving the job solely to social workers.

So what has WJA accomplished? Can neighborhood action groups actually get results? Williams says yes, and he offered some examples.

He described his neighborhood as a place where 60 per cent of the people are buying their own homes. Only 40 per cent, maybe less, are renters. But a lot of the houses, said Williams, were once rental units whose owners were "pushed into" buying the aging houses after real estate men couldn't milk any further profits from them.

"There are about 1,000 homes here, something like 5,000 to 7,000 people living in them," said Williams.

Under WJA's urging, he said, more than 100 homes have been painted by their owner-occupants within the past year.

"Over 50 home owners have made capital improvements," he said. Some have made additional rooms by enclosing porches. Some have added new rooms. Others have installed bathrooms. Some have replaced weathered siding with quality wood.

WJA representatives told city hall officials that trash pickups weren't frequent.

"The people here wouldn't put out trash because sometimes it would stay out there for months," said Williams. "Garbage collection was good, but not trash."

Now, he said, trash pickup takes place in the neighborhood at least once a week, sometimes twice. People living in the neighborhood, in a concentrated drive last summer, cleaned 115 truckloads of trash from their yards.

"Before we started," said Williams, "real estate men just didn't invest money in quality homes out here."

The neighborhood was sliding steadily, he said, and "a lot of people were talking about moving."

Now and then, an individual would build a new home, and sometimes rental operators would move shanties from expressway rights-of-way to the WJA neighborhood, and start renting them.

"But there weren't any companies building homes for sale. There hadn't been any of that for 20 years that I know of," said Williams.

Today, two building corporations are constructing new homes for sale on a speculative basis in the WJA area. Fifteen of these structures are either finished or under construction. They are architectually neat and apparently well built. Some have three bedrooms. They have tiled baths. Monthly notes, including taxes, range from $59 to $63.

WJA has encouraged residents to attend City Council hearings, particularly young people—the idea being that they are less apathetic about voting when they've seen elected officials at work.

"We've had as many as 50 people at a council meeting," said Williams. "We organized a car pool to get them there."

Most of the streets in the WJA neighborhood are unpaved—"just wide paths of sand," said Williams. But talks at city hall have resulted in pavement on Baker Avenue and Eastbrook Avenue since WJA has organized.

New sidewalks have sprouted on some of the streets. Williams said many residents didn't know that it took a simple petition to get sidewalks installed. Once informed, dozens have proved themselves willing to have liens placed against the property to guarantee payment for the walks.

For young people in the neighborhood, a poolroom was the only available hangout. WJA adults started holding "sock hops," the kids dancing on a paved driveway to music from a phonograph installed in a nearby garage. More than 60 youngsters showed up at one dance.

Now, said Williams, the city has appropriated money and will begin construction soon on a $30,000 community center behind West Jacksonville Elementary School.

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Part of their work will be to simply inform residents of the poverty neighborhoods that the neighborhood centers exist, and tell the residents what sort of service is available at the centers.

This task is based upon the idea that the people who need war-on-poverty help the most are often abysmally ignorant of the fact that the war on poverty exists. Poor people often don't read. Some can't.

But there are other aspects to these neighborhood centers and the neighborhood workers employed there.

In its application for federal funds to start the project GJEO stated that the neighborhood centers will seek "to provide a nucleus for the development of neighborhood organization, widespread residential involvement and true community action."

The application says the centers will "encourage and stimulate the development of indigenous neighborhood leadership, talent and resources . . . to provide the means whereby the poor themselves will be able to plan, direct, and to a large degree administer the community's attack on poverty."

The neighborhood workers, said GJEO, will be hired partly to:

● "Aggressively" recruit residents and "energize" them "for their assault upon the walls of social and economic deprivation."

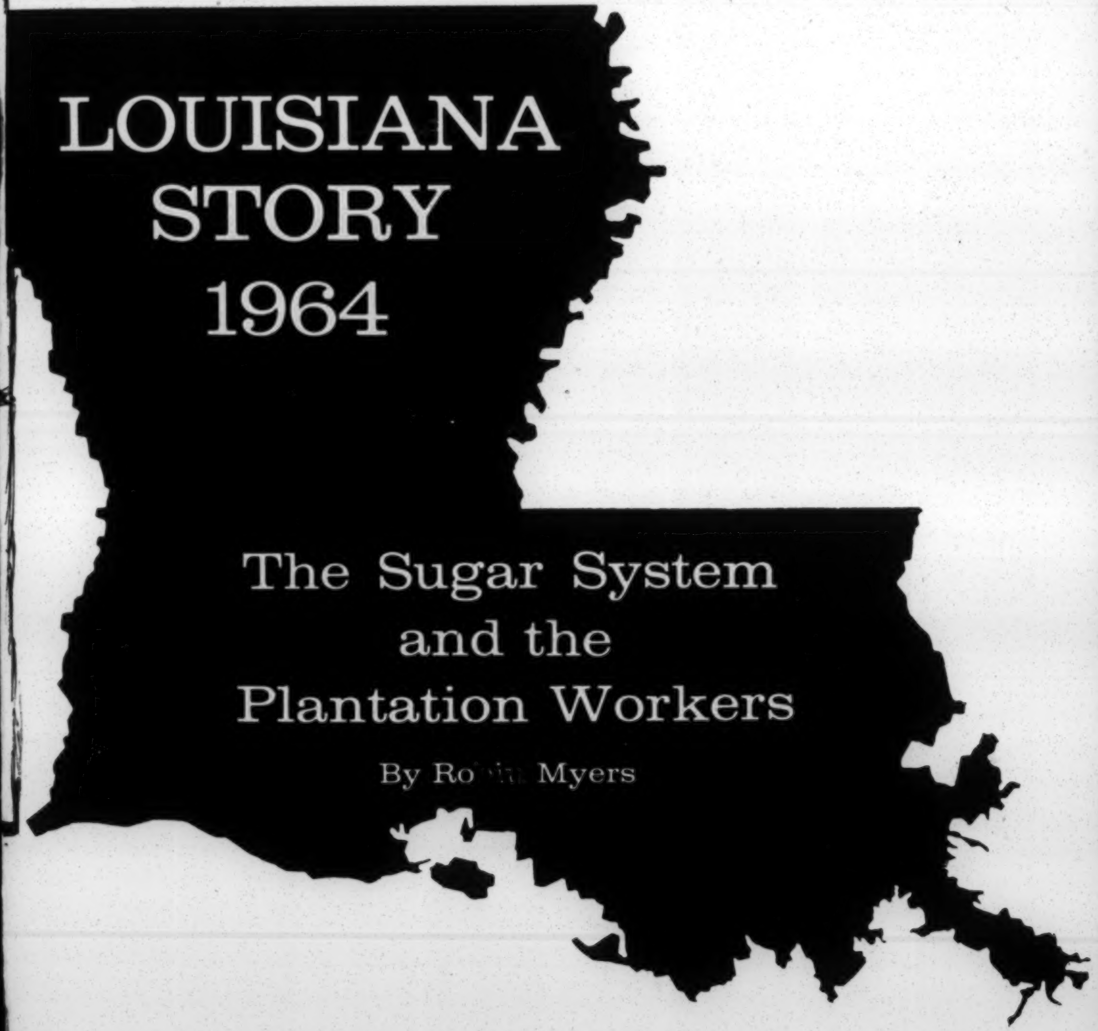
● Form "block clubs and neighborhood councils to enable the residents to look at their problems, form organizations and committees aimed at seeking solutions to these problems, and to utilize fully the resources of the community."

● "Marshal human and physical resources of the target. neighborhood."

● "Systematically meet, survey, and talk with each neighborhood resident."

Nobody knows at this stage of the game how successfully the power of the poor can be mobilized, or what its outcome will be.

The trained social worker isn't obsolete — there are jobs for them, too, at the neighborhood centers — so maybe the welfare department lady hasn't lived too long after all.



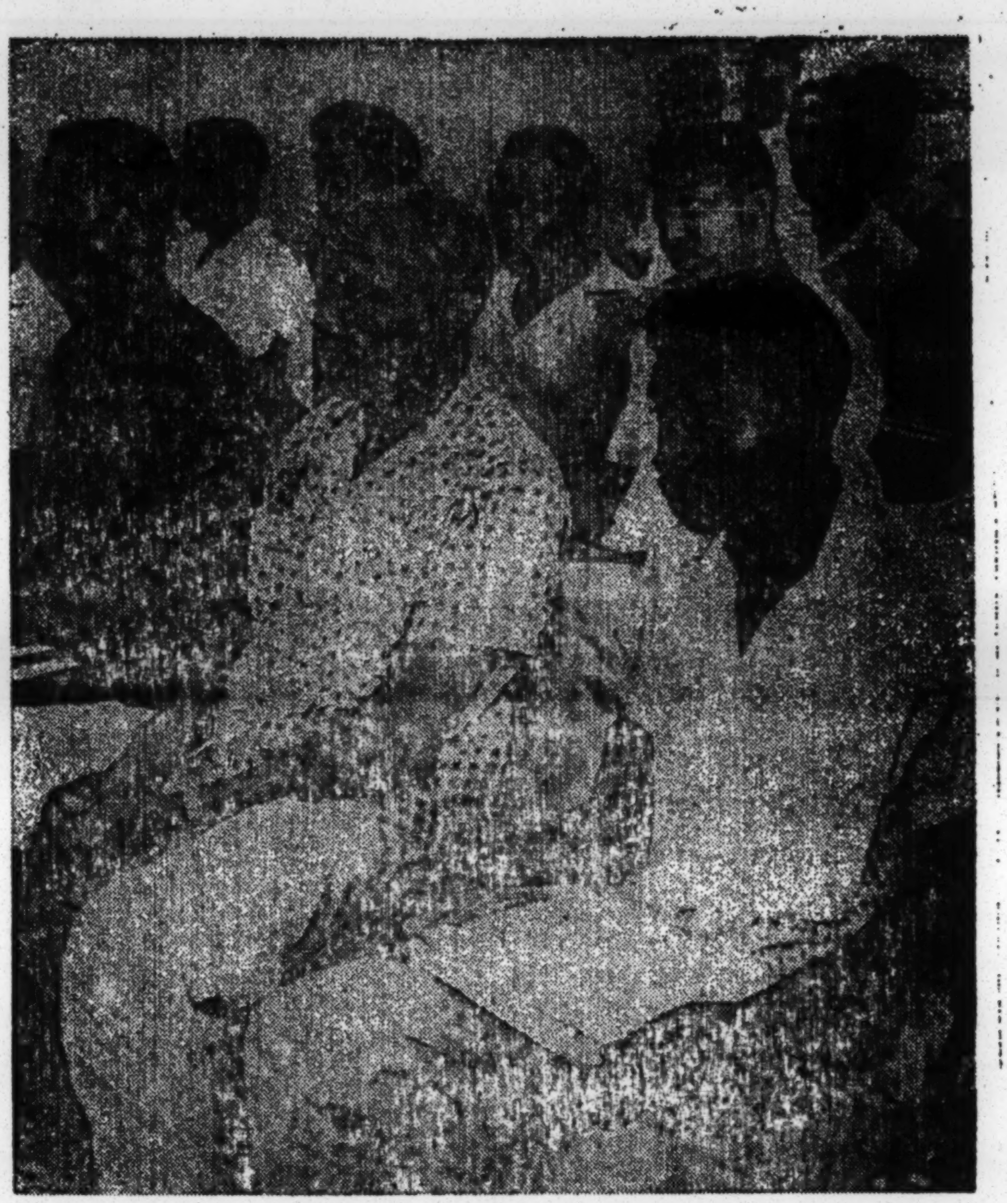
LOUISIANA STORY 1964

The Sugar System and the Plantation Workers

By Robin Myers

published by
NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York, 10003

A Sugar Economy Gone Sour



Retraining classes are held for sugar plantation workers in Reserve, La.—a Redevelopment Act project.

By John Beecher
Chronicle Correspondent

Reserve, Louisiana

Fields of sugar cane stretch mile after mile behind the Mississippi levees between Baton Rouge and New Orleans. These great fields have been the mainstay of the area's economy since the Civil War. And they still are, even if mechanization and automation daily engulf more jobs.

Where an army of Negroes once sang plaintive work-songs as the men hoed in unison, heavy tractors pull three-row cultivators. Huge cane-harvesters mow swaths of nine-foot stalks down the long rows.

RUM

No longer do the keen-whetted machetes of the Negro cane-cutters flash in the sun or in the smoky kerosene light of the taverns on Saturday nights.

Misery-drinking has not lessened, however, and rum remains the great consoler in a constantly deteriorating economic situation.

St. John the Baptist Parish in the center of this lush district was last year officially declared a distressed area by the Federal government. At that time Louisiana was the only State in the Union not permitting the Manpower Development and Training Act to function within its borders.

MONEY

A million dollars in Federal funds had been allotted to the State for retraining its displaced workers. Governor Jimmie Davis, hillbilly guitarist and author of the song "You Are My Sunshine," refused to sign enabling legislation. The Training Act carried a stringent provision against racial discrimination which the governor and his advisers found obnoxious. Louisiana's $1 million was distributed among less recalcitrant States.

To cope with the problems of St. John the Baptist Parish under these restrictive circumstances, provisions of the Area Redevelopment Act were made to serve.

One major project was the construction of a sugar mill. Cane grown in St. John the Baptist was being shipped down river for grinding to a mill in Judge Leander Perez' Plaquemines Parish. The raw sugar was then shipped back to the Godchauz refinery in Reserve, an economic absurdity.

RETRAINING

Another Redevelopment Act project was designed to retrain Negro sugar plantation workers. Planned and directed by Bernard J. Offerman of the Institute of Human Relations at Loyola University in New Orleans, this educational project has just graduated its first class of 13 men.

Loyola's president, The Rev. Andrew C. Smith, S.J., personally handed out the diplomas. Among the graduates were five illiterates, four of whom were graded straight A's.

The core of the retraining program was the operation, maintenance and repair of tractors, cane-loaders and harvesters. The all-Negro teaching staff included a high school instructor trained in sociology and political science at the University of Illinois, the owner of a local automobile repair garage, and a 77-year-old one-time Dixieland jazz musician turned plantation mechanic.

SUBJECTS

Among the subjects taught were the agronomy of sugar culture, agricultural chemistry, basic arithmetic, free-hand mechanical drawing, health, sanitation and orientation.

Under the latter topic, Frank G. Lapeyrolerie, Negro coordinator of the course, led discussions of "'The Civil Rights Act and Its Implementation," "Voter Registration" and "What Your Wife Needs to Know Besides Cooking and Sewing."

Half of the class was composed of older employed men from the plantations, the majority of whom were functionally illiterate. The other half were younger unemployed Negroes with a maximum education of second-year high school.

TIME

The trainees spent six hours a day, five days a week in class, the entire course requiring 16 weeks to complete. Every Friday they were asked: "What was the most important thing you learned this week?"

Typical was the answer of 53-year-old John Preston, written out for him, since he

The 'Big Mules' Call for Moderation

A New Voice Is Heard in Alabama

4-18-65

By Robert E. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

The "big mules" of Alabama have gathered for a massive effort to push segregationist Gov. George C. Wallace toward racial moderation.

The question is: Did the big mules—the top civic and business leaders of the State—wait too long?

The call for moderation in Alabama follows a pattern that has been familiar during the last decade in Southern states and communities in racial crises. These places turn the corner toward moderation only when the big mules start kicking.

News Analysis

And the big mules start kicking only when their pocketbooks are pinched.

Industrialists and businessmen generally have stood aloof from involvement in racial matters in Southern States. But they eventually have entered the field when a racial crisis threatens to hurt them economically.

Virginia's top industrial leaders played a role in defeating "massive resistance" to school desegregation, when schools were closed and the economic future clouded. They did it in a Virginia manner, however, not flamboyantly, but by laying down the law to then Gov. J. Lindsay Almond Jr. at a dinner meeting in Richmond's Commonwealth Club.

Threatened school closings in Georgia also spurred the reluctant mules into action. In Little Rock, the city had to undergo a serious financial setback before the top business and industrial men took action against the defiance of Gov. E. Faubus. The businessmen of Birmingham and Atlanta were instrumental in setting racial impasses and strife.

In pre-World War II years, the moneyed and business interests in the South supported the demagogue, giving him free run of the race issue in return for economic consessions and policies of opposition to organized labor.

But the South's economic base began shifting after World War II away from a preponderance of textile mills and agriculture with reliance on cheap, unskilled labor. In the new industrial South, it is no longer to the advantage of business to have a demagogue running politics because bad race relations today means bad business.

A few years ago, the business community of New Orleans went along with Gov.

See RIGHTS, A4, Col. 1

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RIGHTS—*From Page A1*

New Cry for Moderation Is Heard in Alabama

James H. Davis and his defiant segregationist manner in return for favorable taxes and other concessions. But they awakened to find the Governor leading Louisiana into a school desegregation crisis that was hurting them economically—and they banded together to push moderation.

Some Acted Before Crisis

In some areas, the industrialists and businessmen have acted before the crisis. Such was the case in Charlotte, N.C., where the city leaders and top businessmen each took a Negro to lunch downtown to show everybody that the public accommodations requirement of the Civil Rights Act was to be obeyed.

In hard-core Mississippi, the businessmen, bankers and industrialists finally came forth to call for racial moderation and only then did the State begin to move, slowly, away from utter defiance. It is significant that, in Alabama's recent crisis in Selma, neither Gov. Paul B. Johnson of Mississippi nor Gov. John J. McKeithen of Louisiana has lent any support to Wallace.

Last week, the "big mules" of Alabama started kicking. In full-page advertisements in 22 State newspapers and in influential newspapers in the North, they called for obedience to the Civil Rights Act and asked business leaders of the State to provide leadership in obeying the fair employment provisions that go into effect in July.

Law-and-Order Statement

They said the vast majority of Alabamans believe in law and order, fair treatment and in the basic human dignity of all people to all men. They obliquely suggested the formation of a statewide biracial committee. They condemned public demonstrations "which violate the law" and hoodlums who take the law into their own hands. And anybody should be able to vote, they said, if he can pass fairly administered tests.

The big mules did not come out in public by name. Instead, the advertisement was signed by the Chambers of Commerce in 17 cities from Birmingham to Sylacauga, and by the State Chamber of Commerce, the Associated Industries of Alabama, the Alabama Bankers Association and the Alabama Textile Manufacturers Association.

Though it was not signed by the Selma or Dallas County Chambers of Commerce, it was endorsed later in an 8-to-0 vote by the Selma City Council.

Of particular interest to Alabama industrialists and bankers was a story about the troubles of the Hammermill Paper Co., that appeared in the April 9 issue of the Wall Street Journal.

Hammermill's perfectly proper decision in May, 1964, to build a $30-million pulp plant in Selma eventually got the company involved in Selma's racial problems this year. The lesson for industry, said the newspaper, is to consider racial harmony along with economic factors before locating in the South.

It is significant, therefore, that the newspaper advertisement of the Alabama business groups was taken in the Wall Street Journal, among others, last week.

The stand for moderation by Alabama's businessmen and industrialists comes tardily. In the past, the successful candidate for Senate or governorship in Alabama depended, of course, upon getting more than 50 per cent of the mass voters—plus a sufficient portion of the business interests to put up the necessary money.

Two Years of Silence

But Alabama's business interests, many of which supported Wallace for governor, lapsed into silence for the past two years. They abdicated their traditional position of influence as Wallace set about building a mass white following which today, expert observers say, could still rack up 70 to 80 per cent of the votes in a statewide election.

And thus the industrialists of Alabama, in taking their stand and placing their advertisement, are attempting to reassert their influence.

They got favorable reaction from Wall Street and many Negro leaders. But the big question mark is still its effect upon Wallace. The politically shrewd Governor

Lanier Opposes Poverty Program

B'ham Post-Herald 4/28/65

Bessemer Mayor Says Federal Plan May Ultimately Burden Communities

BY TED BRYANT

Bessemer Mayor Jess Lanier yesterday indicated he would like to see the county anti-poverty program dropped due to the possible heavy cost to local governments in future years.

Mayor Lanier said the Federal government starts out paying 90 per cent of the program costs, but reduces the percentage to 50 after the first three years.

On a $1 million program, he said, this means local governments would have to finance $500,000 of the cost.

Lanier is chairman of a group of Jefferson County mayors who form the county anti-poverty committee, appointed by the County Commission to implement the Federal Economic Opportunities Act in the county.

Parallels BACDEO

The county committee parallels the Birminhgam Area Committee for Development of Economic Opportunity (BACDEO), which is working now as a no-profit corporation and already has its first $66,000 Federal grant.

Lanier said he will call a meeting of the other mayors shortly and "I expect they will have the same attitude I do."

Asked if he had any intention of merging the county and city committees into one group covering the entire area, Lanier said the possibility is "very remote."

The city's $66,000 Federal grant specified that the funds were to be used only within the City Limits of Birmingham. If the county program is dropped and there is no merger of the two committees, the remainder of Jefferson County could be left out of President Johnson's "war on poverty."

Hits 'Come-On Deal'

Lanier said the county has indigent persons who need aid, but the anti-poverty program appears to be a "come-on deal" where the Federal government begins the program "and suddenly walks out from under you."

He said the poverty program "has been exaggerated . . . it's a political football."

Under the program, the Federal government pays 90 per cent of the cost of projects designed to aid persons and

See LANIER, Page 2

Moviemeter

MELBA — "Peyton Place," 12:02, 2:59, 5:56, 8:53.

RITZ — "My Fair Lady," 2:00, 8:00.

EASTWOOD MALL — "John Goldfarb," 1:15, 3:30, 5:30, 7:30, 9:30.

CAPRI — "The Truth About Spring," 7:20, 9:25.

ALABAMA — "Cheyenne Autumn," 11, 1:30, 4, 6:36, 9:20.

AIRPORT DRIVE - IN — "How to Murder Your Wife" and "Elephant Gun."

COLLEGE — "Get Yourself A College Girl."

FAIRFIELD — "Get Yourself A College Girl."

ROBINWOOD DRIVE - IN — "How To Murder Your Wife" and "Good Neighbar Sam."

SHADES MTN. DRIVE-IN — "How To Murder Your Wife" and "Under The Yum Yum Tree."

FAIR PARK — "The Unsinkable Molly Brown" and "It Started With A Kiss."

STARLITE DRIVE - IN — "Your Cheatin' Heart" and "Kings of the Sun."

SKYVIEW DRIVE-IN — "The Unsinkable Molly Brown" and "It Started With A Kiss."

AUTO MOVIES NO. 1 — "Stage To Thunder Rock" and "Ring of Treason."

THE PLAYROOM — (Guest House) The Troubadours.

AERONAUT RESTAURANT — Dining, dancing.

ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805
J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

July 20, 1965

WELCH TO MOVE TO ATLANTA

Nat Welch, president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, has announced that he will move his office and family from Auburn to Atlanta in late August. Nat tendered his resignation to the executive committee, but he was asked to continue as president until the annual meeting in February and he agreed to do so.

Nat is Federal Representative to the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board, which has offices in Atlanta. (Much of his travel is between Atlanta and Washington, which is a major reason for his move.) He is also a member of the National Citizens Committee for Community Relations.

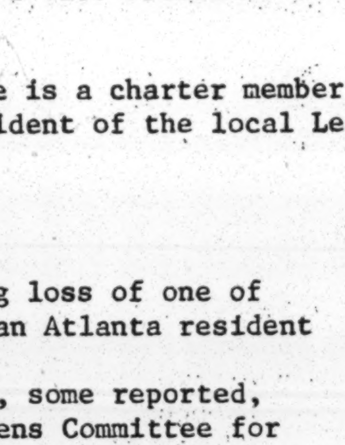
Nat's association precedes the formal organization of ACHR in 1955. In 1951, he served as a member of the Executive Committee, Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council, predecessor of ACHR. He has served on our Board of Directors since 1959. He was Treasurer from 1960 through 1963, and became a Vice President in 1964. It was only last January that he was elected President.

Mrs. Welch ("Gloria") is no mean citizen herself. She is a charter member of the Auburn League of Women Voters. She has served as president of the local League and is now on the board of the state organization.

On July 4, 1965, The Birmingham News editorialized:

> The Lee County Bulletin has reported an impending loss of one of Auburn's good citizens. Nat Welch . . . will become an Atlanta resident late in the summer . . . .
>
> Mr. Welch has been a useful citizen in many ways, some reported, some not. He . . . is a member of the National Citizens Committee for Community Relations; as such he has been a very useful contributor to federal understanding in Southern meeting of civil rights problems. He is also president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, which similarly has worked for better understanding of some very tough problems.
>
> Mr. Welch has also been a worker for better state-federal relations, a chore which he performed well and in tangible benefit to Alabama. He is the kind of citizen a state suffers from losing.

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR NAMED



We are happy to announce that Mr. Robert S. Valder has been employed as our Associate Director for a period of one year. He reports for duty August 1.

Bob comes to us as an "Eleanor Roosevelt Intern in Human Relations" under a program designed to develop professional leadership in the field. Financed by the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation, the program is administered by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO), which will pay half of Bob's salary.

Valder was born in South Dakota but considers himself an Iowan. For the past five years he has lived and worked in New Orleans. He is married to the former Janice Fox ("--as in clever," says Bob) and they have two children, Stephen, 2, and Patrick, 10 months.

(Continued on Page 2)

A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear friends:

This has been a great year for the Alabama Council . . . our greatest, I think. Two tangible yardsticks are our record membership and our all-time-high budget. We are fortunate in having an able Executive Director, Ed Stanfield. And now--for the first time--we have a second man on the staff. We welcome Robert Valder, an Eleanor Roosevelt human relations intern, as Ed's full time associate for a year.

Our organization has emerged as one we can all be proud of. In years past ACHR has been a small organization of kindred spirits who met together to console each other. My greatest exhiliration has been to see us this year break out of this small shell into a vibrant and dynamic group. This "break-out" has resulted in the involvement of many bright and dedicated people. We old-timers welcome you virile and able newcomers. No longer is ACHR an underground organization. We are an organization of public record, one which outstanding leaders like Governor Collins, Attorney General Flowers, and Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson are willing to speak to with reporters welcomed. This is a source of great satisfaction to each one of us, I am sure.

ACHR has become a working organization. Recently from our able staff have come these important projects . . . an intercollegiate conference in Birmingham, the Conference for Women in Tuskegee, effective mailings to hundreds of leaders in Alabama, and our "30 Days of Great Progress" appeal carried by the state press in April.

We have become "doers" at the local level . . . 200 kids in four Project Head Start schools in Lee County, the Tri-Cities chapter leading the way for hospital and school desegregation in their area, the desegregation and presentation of the first integrated program for the Tuscaloosa Social Service Club, and the Cultural Enrichment Program in the Macon County rural schools.

One of my tenets is this. When you get up and start leading on a moral issue where you are right . . . people will willingly and enthusiastically follow. You have shown such leadership. I congratulate you!

Sincerely,
Nat Welch

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR NAMED (Continued from Page 1)

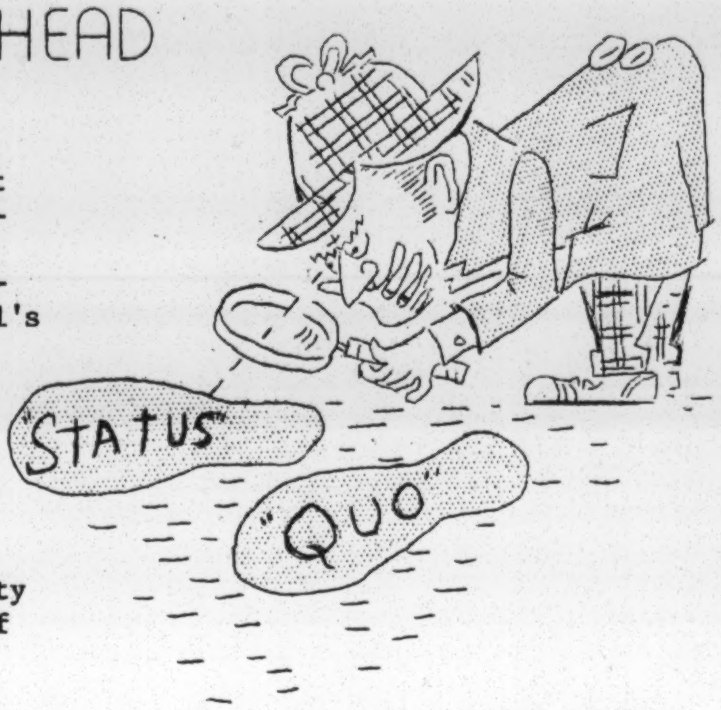
Bob arrives with an impressive record. He received his B. A. degree from Loras College, Dubuque, Iowa, in 1960. He has a major in American History and minors in English, Education and Philosophy. He has attended night school at Tulane University and Loyola University and summer school at the University of Minnesota. Altogether he has 14 post-graduate hours in law and 12 in sociology.

He taught for two years at Xavier University Preparatory School and three years at St. Augustine High School, both in New Orleans. His "summer job experience" includes laborer in a cheese factory, maintenance man in a high school, two summers as a carpenter, one as a cookware salesman, and two as a taxi driver.

Valder is experienced in the human relations field. In college he served as National Vice President of Social Action Affairs (National Federation of Catholic College Students). His duties included the writing of two booklets concerning the "Sit-ins" and "Social Action," and direction of the writing of five other booklets, all titled Discrimination Today in the U. S. A. As a senior he received the annual "Catholic Action Award" and was in Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities.

His activities in New Orleans included: Chairmanship of the Committee on Interracial Justice of the New Orleans Adult Sodality; work with the Coordinating Council on Human Relations on various projects, including voter registration; coordinator of the Home Visit Program for two years--by which whites and Negroes were brought together in homes for frank discussions; and chairmanship of the committee of the Community Relations Council of Greater New Orleans which worked for desegregation of hospitals and other institutions under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

DISCRIMINATION IN "HEAD START" INVESTIGATED



Results of a survey of 14 Head Start programs in Alabama show that racial discrimination in the government-sponsored anti-poverty effort is widespread. A 12-page report issued by the Alabama Council's executive director on July 13 indicated that racial considerations particularly affected the ways in which teachers and other staff members were selected and assigned to centers.

The inquiry was directed to 14 programs being operated by city and county school systems in Alabama. Only seven of the 14 have a biracial staff at any of their centers; only two of those seven have Negroes on the staff of a "white" center; and those two have a total of four Negro "aides" working in white centers. The other five of the seven programs which had any sort of biracial staff at any center accomplished this by assigning two or three white teachers and aides to Negro centers.

Project Head Start regulations clearly stated, "Both professional and non-professional staff must also be recruited, selected, and assigned without regard to race, color, creed or national origin."

All of the approximately 60 centers covered by the 14 programs were technically "open" to children of either race, but only six actually had Negro children enrolled with white children.

Huntsville, Madison County, Opelika, and Russellville have no Negro children enrolled with whites and no biracial staff at any center. Decatur, Muscle Shoals, and Russell County have some Negro children in white centers, but no biracial staff. Enterprise, Lauderdale County, Phenix City and Tuscaloosa have some integration of staff, but none among the children. (In Tuscaloosa and Enterprise centers were located in Negro schools only and ho whites enrolled.) Auburn, Florence and Colbert County have the least discrimination. Each of these systems has at least a few Negro children enrolled in white centers and at least one biracial staff.

The report points out that the school boards whose programs were canvassed may be considered "among the least recalcitrant in Alabama in the matter of school desegregation." All but three of them are among the 35 school boards in the state which have had desegregation plans approved by the U. S. Office of Education.

Attempts by school officials in Tuscaloosa and Huntsville to discredit this report by the Alabama Council on Human Relations were widely reported in the press. The only inaccuracy discovered so far, however, was a misunderstanding of the enrollment figures in Tuscaloosa.

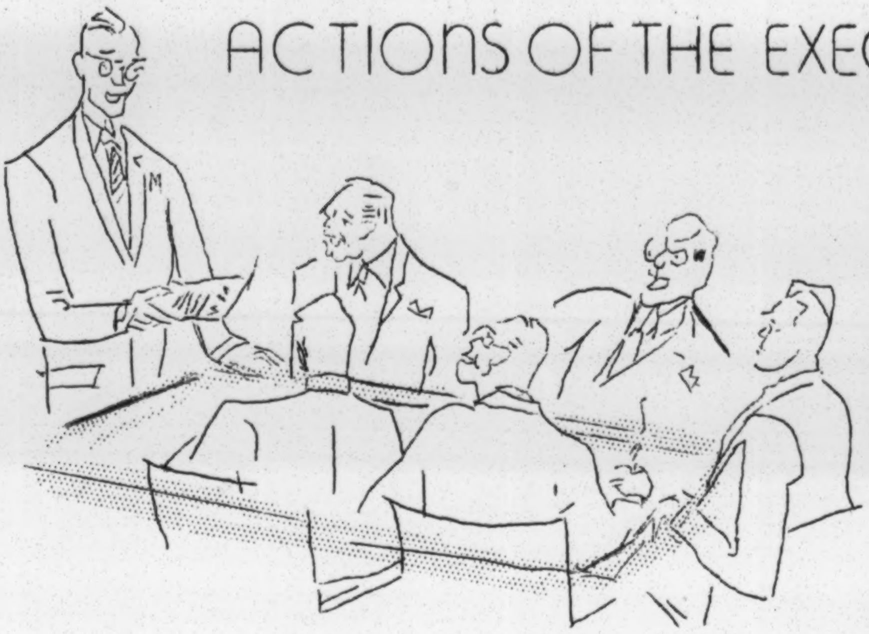
LOCAL COUNCIL NOTES

WORK ON EMPLOYMENT IN MOBILE

Mr. Wilfred Turner, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina and a Peace Corps veteran, donated his services for five weeks to help the Mobile Council begin a project on employment. Will left to return to school on July 13.

With the help of members of the Mobile Council, Will mimeographed a summary of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a list of Mobile companies which employ 100 persons or more (compiled from Industrial Alabama, Alabama Chamber of Commerce). A list of Negro substitute teachers was obtained, on the theory that this is a likely source of qualified applicants for jobs in categories just being opened to Negroes under Title VII. Will then visited the substitute teachers to discuss the possibility with them. The Mobile Council plans a follow-up and continuation of this project. (Which seems like a good one for other councils, too.)

ACTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



The executive committee of ACHR's Board of Directors met at the Bankhead Hotel in Birmingham on June 26. In addition to the actions already reported elsewhere in this issue of the bulletin, relative to Nat Welch's moving and the employment of Mr. Valder, the committee took the following actions:

(1) Adopted a quarterly report which told of ACHR's growth in membership (954 as of the end of June) and program activity (see Nat Welch's letter to the membership, page 2).

(2) Adopted the following policy concerning membership dues: "On and after June 1 of each year, new members (only) may join the Alabama Council on Human Relations for the remainder of the calendar year for one-half the annual membership dues. Refunds to local councils shall be reduced proportionately. On and after October 1 of each year, annual dues paid shall be good for the following calendar year."

(3) Urged local councils to try to organize carefully and immediately in their respective communities, in cooperation with other groups, to secure maximum utilization of the provisions of local school desegregation plans this fall. The committee also urged that local council members offer their assistance to Negro leaders in surrounding counties and towns and recommended use of a "School Desegregation Kit" (how-to-do-it) obtainable from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia or the ACHR office.

The executive committee also took several other actions of a somewhat confidential nature. There will be a meeting of the full Board of Directors on Saturday, September 25.

LOCAL COUNCIL NOTES (Continued)

TUSCALOOSA COUNCIL WORKING ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

There were about 50 members present for the June meeting of the Tuscaloosa Council on the 17th. Dr. Al Nelson, a sociologist who has been active in local civil rights work, gave a talk on "What to Do When the Demonstrations Are Over."

During the past month, the Tuscaloosa group's education committee has been working with the school board on plans for school desegregation this fall. The group also did some work on Project Head Start, attempting to find white children to enroll in the centers (both of which are located in Negro schools).

* * * *

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, S. W. HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA 35805

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00) ( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00) ( ) Check enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00) ( ) Cash enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($) ( ) Bill me ( )

NAME__________________________ ADDRESS__________________________

CITY__________________ ZIPCODE______________ COUNTY______________

OCUPATION ______________________________ DATE______________

NOTE: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible.

November 10, 1966

Mr. H. L. Mitchell
General Organizer
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of
North America / AFL-CIO
Box 9159
Metairie, Louisiana 70005

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Jac Wasserman and Mike Kenney suggested I write you regarding the credit union organization you discussed with Jac in a recent letter.

I am not sure I can be of any help to you regarding money to allow Frank to work more evenings per week. However, there is a possibility of this, if I could get some more details of your plans such as who Frank is. How much money? What amount of work? How many prospective members for the credit union?

Over the past year or so I have worked with several groups interested in beginning credit unions. What I've done is to work with from four to eight community people for about a week just sort of hammering away on what a credit union is, what they can and can't do, how you start one, where you can get help, how to charter --- the works. Then these six or so people do the feasibility study and act as the proselytizers. It sounds good - no outsider talking at big group meetings, no expert telling how you do it -- just community people getting together. Sometimes it works, even.

If you'd like and could suggest some dates that would be O.K. for all concerned I'd be glad to try.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU/km

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

Reply to
REGIONAL OFFICE
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Tel. 404/522-3697

national board
FRANK P. GRAHAM *chairman*
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH *vice-chairman*
ELIOT D. PRATT *secretary-treasurer*
ANGELA BAMBACE
BETH BIDERMAN
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
MAX DELSON
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FAY BENNETT *executive secretary*
LOUIS ARONICA *program secretary*
JAC WASSERMAN *field director*
HUBERT THOMAS *Georgia representative*
OCIE LEE SMITH *Louisiana-Arkansas representative*
JAMES N. MAYS *Mississippi representative*
EUGENE W. HAGANS *South Carolina representative*
ART EMERY *Tennessee representative*
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER *administrative assistants*

November 10, 1966

Mr. H. L. Mitchell
Box 9159
Metairie, Louisiana 70005

Dear Mitch:

Jac and I both read your letter about FHA, Frank, co-ops, and credit unions.

Jac left this morning right after the letter arrived for a week-long field trip, and I am leaving this weekend for about two and a half weeks. In order to give you the most effective and prompt follow-up possible Jac suggested that we show your letter to Al Ulmer of the SRC and that Al might be able to help.

I have contacted Al; he said he may be able to help; and that he will write you soon.

We are going to miss each other this trip (I will be in Louisiana while you are here) but maybe we'll have better luck next time.

Keep the faith,

Mike Kenney

MK:rlu
c.c. Al Ulmer

Amalgamated
MEAT CUTTERS and BUTCHER WORKMEN of NORTH AMERICA / AFL-CIO

14

THOMAS J. LLOYD
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
PATRICK E. GORMAN
INTERNATIONAL SECY.-TREAS.

H. L. MITCHELL
GENERAL ORGANIZER
BOX 9159
METAIRIE, LA. 70005

November 3, 1966

Mr. Jac Wasserman
National Sharecroppers Fund Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Jac.;

I am going to postpone my vacation until after November 15, because of the general election and some important meetings shortly thereafter. Then I plan to go to Atlanta for a day or two and to the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill and nearby points where I hope to see several old friends, as well as arrange for the remainder of the old union files to be turned over to the Southern Historical Collection at the University. Afterwards, I plan to go to Washington and New York, returning by the way of Chicago November 27, where I will attend an organizers' conference called by the International Union.

I hope I shall have a chance to see you and others soon.

Sincerely,

H.L. Mitchell

Dear Jac.;

I have your letter, and I will call you as soon as I am sure what day I can be in Atlanta, I think about 16th or 17th of November.

In the meantime to answer your questions. The FHA is assisting Frank in setting up a co-op association, meetings are being held with small groups of plantation workers. So far the credit union is only an idea, and before it is launched we want it to be fully understood. What we need is money ~~efirst~~ so Frank can work more than 3 nights aweek and not haveto run the movie full time. Then we need some one to undertake the credit union operation. Frank can probably do it if he has some guidance, from the CUNA man in the area All three including the Union should be carried on simultaneously, by the same individuals.

I too am bogged down with this red tape growing out of the Labor Board cases involving fishermen.

One can't just walk off and leave them as basically they are the same people. In fact many of them from this area are sugar plantation or ~~mill~~ seasonal sugar millworkers when they are not working at a fish factory.

I have problems with the international union, They want me to organize retail store employees, or food processing plants where they have connections with employers in other areas. They are of course glad to see me organize farm workers in my spare time.

I am getting reports from the west coast, Chavez and his operations are over extended, the Teamsters with their inside track with the really big employers are likely to come out on top in spite of a few victories, for FWOC. Once Hoffa is shot out of the saddle or Meany passes on they will be back in the AFL-CIO, and Chavez will be out in the cold, may be with piece of paper hanging on the wall of some shack certifying that his grooup is the official AFL-CIO Union for farm workers. These are the things they are talking about. This could/possibly be prevented if there was a grpup like NSF once was to mobilize public support for a real union drive in each of the major areas of the country. The west coast, the southwest, midsouth and Eastcoast. Somewhere someone could break through.

I would like to talk to that fellow Jim Pearce. Where is he located? I know old Nick Zonqrich, who is good guy but he still is organizing in the 1930's like so many of those in the labor movement who haven't sold out to affluence and comfort.

It will be good to see you.

Sincerely

Mitch

Amalgamated

MEAT CUTTERS and BUTCHER WORKMEN of NORTH AMERICA / AFL-CIO

14

THOMAS J. LLOYD
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

PATRICK E. GORMAN
INTERNATIONAL SECY.-TREAS.

H. L. MITCHELL
GENERAL ORGANIZER
BOX 9159
METAIRIE, LA. 70005

November 16, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern REgional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Al:

This is in reply to your letter of November 10th. I think I answered most of the questions raised in it when we met in Lafayette last Monday. It seems that Jac Wasserman just turned my letter over to you without much explanation though.

I stopped in to see Frank Lapeyrolerie Monday too. In addition to being Secretary-Treasurer of our Local Union for agricultural and allied workers, Frank is the real community leader among Negroes in St. John's Parish.

We first found him in 1953. He helped to organize the sugar plantation workers, 2,000 of them. They asked for Union recognition and were refused. They were out on strike for about 60 days. Since they were and still are excluded from Labor Relations laws, the local courts issued injunctions prohibiting the Union from carrying on a strike during the harvest season. The La. State Supreme Court upheld the injunctions. The U.S. Supreme Court set the injunctions aside two years after the strike was lost. Frank remained in the area, and started a voter registration campaign in 1954-56. 87% of the Negro plantation workers are voters now. Frank remained a member of the National Agricultural Workers Union, AFL-CIO, until we had to give up our AFL-CIO charter and join the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and has continued as a member of the Amalgamated. In 1961 I came to Louisiana and was assigned to organizing workers in the processing part of agriculture, rice mills, dairy plants and finally, pogy fishermen, whom I term sharecroppers of the sea. In 1962 and part of 1963, I got some money, $300 a month, which was used to to make a survey of families on the sugar cane plantations. Frank and some of his helpers interviewed 900 such families. The results were published in the back of a little book called "The Louisiana Story - 1964." I am sending a copy to you.

Out of this survey came proof of the need for training tractor drivers, many of whom could not read even an oil gauge on $20,000 cane cutting machines. We got Loyola University's Human Relations Department interested in carrying on the first manpower training program in Louisiana. Some 20 odd people, selected by Frank, were taught to read and write, operate and maintain farm machinery during a 16 week period in 1964. Frank taught a class in "citizenship" which a newspaper man said - was what your wife should know besides cooking and sewing (copy attached). Then Frank directed an OEO seasonal farm worker training program for 120 people in 1965 and for a time, worked on a larger program now being conducted under an OMAT grant by Loyola. Walt Sharp also worked on these last two projects and encouraged Frank to set up a Community Action Program. By that time, Frank was a threat to the power structure all over the sugar cane area. Before the OEO-CA program could be funded, they succeeded in splitting the Negro community. This is all tied up in the courts now. In the meantime, we proposed another kind of project, housing for rural families. A co-op self help housing project is now ready. 64 or more families have been approved for loans by Farmers Home Administration. About 30 of them have managed to raise $100 to pay down on their home. The first 10 housing units are to be built near Edgard, La. as soon as the loans are approved by Farmers Home Administration in Washington. The name used is "Farm Workers Association" Group 1. Assisting Frank at Reserve is Paul Richard, a building construction man who knows the ins and outs of housing developments. Paul is qualified for and deserves the job of training the men and supervising the construction. He appears also to be interested in people as well and as far as I can tell, has no racial prejudices. When one finds a white man like that, it means he has come a long way. I know because I came up the same way in Tenn., Ark., etc. 30 years ago.

The next project we want to undertake is to set up a credit union that can be extended throughout the sugar cane area and serve between 2,000 and 5,000 tractor drivers and sugar mill workers. Frank can do such a job as this, with some initial help from a man like you. The other problem is making it possible for Frank to earn a living while he works full time. He is now getting about $100 a month for keeping the union books and records. In addition to this, he operates a motion picture machine four nights and two afternoons a week, leaving him three nights free to do other things. If we can find a way whereby Frank is assured of about $400 a month more, he can find someone else to do the movie business. All sorts of things can be done among the sugar plantation workers, including organizing them into a union. I am going to try to find some individual or some organization that can be interested in spending a little money where it will do some real good. If you can help, it will be most appreciated. As you may know, organized labor is not too much concerned about those who don't pay dues.

First of all, come to Louisiana about December 5, as we discussed. Frank will have some people in to meet with you or take you out to small group meetings on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. His telephone number is 536-2563, area code 504. His address is Box 43, Reserve, La. 70084. He will give you directions for getting out to his place, or meet you at the airport if you come in by plane.

I expect to be here about the same time, but may have to go to most any place on the Gulf Coast. My home phone is 833-0275, area code 504. I certainly do want to see you while you are in the area.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Mitch

H.L. Mitchell

cc: Mr. Frank Lapeyrolerie
Mr. Mike Kenny

November 29, 1966

Mr. H. L. Mitchell
General Organizer
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher
  Workmen of North America / AFL-CIO
Box 9159
Metairie, Louisiana 70005

Dear Mitch:

I plan to arrive in Louisiana on December 5 and will stay through the week, probably leaving Friday sometime.

Hope to see you while I am in the area.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU/km

November 29, 1966

Mr. Frank Lapeyrolerie
Box 43
Reserve, Louisiana 70084

Dear Mr. Lapeyrolerie:

As I guess Mitch mentioned to you, I will be in Louisiana December 5th through the 9th. If it is O.K. with you, I will come to your house as soon as I get to Reserve. I'll be driving so as to be able to bring more materials about credit unions.

I'm looking forward to meeting you and for the opportunity to work awhile with you and Mitch.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU/km

American People's Movements:
THE SOUTHERN TENANT FARMER'S UNION

EDITED FROM TAPE RECORDINGS MADE BY H.L. MITCHELL, CO FOUNDER OF THE STFU

I started to work on a farm at the age of 8 working in cottonfields, chopping and picking mainly. We also produced some strawberries and tomatoes. There was a lot of work involved in all. I have worked for as little as 50¢ a day for ten hours' work. . . That sort of experience was pretty typical. . .During the fall months I picked cotton. I always stayed out of school until the cotton picking season was over. . .after Christmas.

We lived in Ruleville, Mississippi, in the Delta country, for a time and I got my first experience there in making a sharecrop of my own. I was about fifteen years old and there was some land around the house. I arranged to make a sharecrop with (the landlord). . . I made a crop on these several acres of land, raised some cotton. That was in 1920. I recall I wasn't too successful. We had expected a good price. . .but it went down so low that we got less than ten cents a pound. All I got out of my year's work was a suit of clothes, and I didn't have anything else to go with it after I paid what I owed.

I got married. . .in 1926. My wife and I made a sharecrop. We worked all year and made $385 for all that year's work. . .Then we moved to Arkansas in 1927. to the town of Tyronza. . .It is thirty-five miles west of Memphis. . .The land was much richer over there, but when I got there I didn't like the conditions. . .People lived and worked on very large plantations, and the conditions were much different from what they were in Tennessee on smaller farms. I decided not to make a sharecrop on an Arkansas plantation. . .so I went into the cleaning business . . .Most of my customers were people who lived on nearby plantations. I travelled around through the plantation country, getting business. . .

1000 Members in Tyronza, Arkansas

. . .In 1932, during the political campaign, we heard Norman Thomas. . .It was the first time we'd ever really heard anybody speak on Socialism. . .We decided that if we were going to do anything, we should organize. . .We probably had as many members in our Tyronza local as the entire Socialist Party has in the whole country now. The vast majority were sharecroppers. We must have had a thousand members down in that area of Arkansas alone. . .

Thomas said that he would raise some money to make a survey of conditions among sharecroppers in Arkansas and nearby states. A college professor at the medical college of the University of Tennessee in Memphis was selected to direct this survey. . .We found that the average family income was less than $250 a year. . .This gave us a basis for organization of the union. We had facts about the conditions of the people, and we could talk with knowledge about what we were trying to do.

Blacks and Whites

The first (Union) meeting. . .was held on. . .the Fairview plantation some two or three miles south of Tyronza. . .That was the place where the seven Negroes and eleven whites met to form the organization. We didn't know what to call it at this time. We just called it "the union.". . .Probably because of some of the educational work the Socialists did preliminary to forming a union, the sharecroppers were willing to forget their race prejudices or set them aside, and to unite and form one union. There was discussion as to whether there should be a union for Negroes and a union for whites. I remember one old white man who got up and said that he'd once been a member of the Ku Klux Klan. . . but that everybody was in the same boat in this fight here. Negroes were on the plantations and John lived next door to him, and the union should include both white and colored and fight for the rights of everyone.

Just Wanted Federal Benefits

. . .On July 13, 1934, the name Southern Tenant Farmers Union was selected. . .There was no intention at this time of. . .spreading the union any further than just Arkansas. We thought in terms of eastern Arkansas, where the large plantations existed, and that we'd help these fellows get their share of the government benefits. That was just about the extent of our thinking. . .There were social economic and race problems that needed solution, but none of us were capable of thinking them through at that time. . .

We realized that one of our chief problems in organizing was that most of the people didn't know how to read or write. . .(We) set up education classes in connection with the union and taught members of the union to read and write and also to "figure", as they called arithmetic. We were all doing the organizing work. . .We'd send word out that we were going to be there at a certain time and the sharecroppers would gather at the nearest church or school, or whatever might be convenient. They came voluntarily. Nobody even had to persuade them. You'd just announce that there was going to be a meeting there, and they'd all be there. We'd have meetings with five hundred or a thousand in attendance. Practically all of them would join the union. Our membership dues were a dollar a year, and if they had the money, they were asked to pay, but if they didn't, they'd just promise to pay and they would still be counted as members.

KKK Attacks

(In 1935) we had the first really violent outbreak against the union, its members and leaders, by organized groups of night riders. A newspaper reporter asked a plantation owner if this violence against the union was not a revival of the Ku Klux Klan and the planter said no, the Ku Klux Klan had a bad reputation, so they just called it the Nightriders. The home of E.B. McKinney was shot into late one night. Two of his boys were in the house at the time. . .A similar attack occurred when a group of the Nightriders appeared at the home of A.B. Brookins and his daughter was struck by a bullet. Brookins . . .was a cotton patch preacher who had the ability to get people to sing, and they would sing songs like. . ."We Shall Not Be Moved." The union members sang that song particularly in connection with the eviction notices. At some places we had eviction demonstrations. When the officers moved people's possessions out from the house, we put them back in after the officers had left. There were a lot of other union songs that were developed during the first 3 or 4 years.

For the first two years of the union's existence, I did not get any pay, other than the expenses I got for my gas and oil. Now and then someone would send $5 or $10 and say, "This is for your own use.". . .It wasn't until 1937 that the union convention passed a resolution that I should be paid a salary of $25 a week. Most of the time, though, we didn't have that so I wasn't paid.

First Picket in Washington

(In 1935) we made up a delegation to go to Washington. . .There were 9 men. We went to Washington, had some signs printed and we picketed the Secretary of Agriculture's office, Mr. Henry Wallace's office. This was the first time such a thing had happened in Washington.

Then, in the fall of 1935, we decided something must be done about the wages of cotton pickers. We called a meeting before the cotton picking season started and each union local sent a delegate to the meeting. . .We decided that the union would raise a demand for $1 per 100 pounds. . .At that time cotton had just begun to open and wages were 40 and 50¢ per 100 pounds. . .The average picker would pick about 150 pounds in day's time. . .It was my idea that. . .nobody would go to work after the meeting. The committee decided differently and they represented all of our locals -- we must have had 25 or 30. They decided that the thing to do was for everybody to go to the fields and pick cotton for the first two or three weeks and save money until they had enough to buy groceries, and then call the strike. That plan prevailed. . .

Strike Successful - But No Negotiations

Our system, used for the first time, was to have handbills printed and the delegates would take back several hundred copies of this handbill and then on a specified night, these handbills were distributed all over the plantations at the same time. The handbills were put on fence posts and telephone poles, barn doors, everywhere -- saying that a strike was on and to stay out of the fields. It was the most effective demonstration that could be imagined. In three counties where we had just a few members, practically all work stopped. . .The results of the strike was that the planters raised wages to 75¢ per 100 pounds, and in some places to $1. There weren't any negotiations. There never have been.

Our membership leaped skyward. . .I think our 1935 report showed that we had 30,000 members enrolled. We held what we called a wage conference early in the spring of 1936 and decided that we would set wages for the planting and cultivating of cotton. We. . . decided that unless by May 18th the wages were raised, we would strike again. No one offered to pay the wage and we again called a strike. All sorts of things began happening . . .The plantation owners had by that time formed informal organizations in each area to fight the union. The local law enforcement officers were alerted and were prepared to arrest union members. Near the town of Earle, Arkansas, a group of workers started what was equivalent to a picket line and this picketing was forcibly broken up by a deputy sheriff named Paul Peacher. The men picketing were arrested, most of them were Negroes, and were sentenced to work on a privately owned plantation owned by Paul Peacher. . .

Nonviolent Marches

. . .A group of people who lived on the edge of the delta plantation area. . .took the lead in the strike. They organized a demonstration which they called the "Marches." They lined people up, with each man about 6 or 8 feet apart, forming a long thin picket line and they marched down the roads from one plantation to the other. . .This sharecropper kind of picketing was very effective. Our members told about how they began with possibly a hundred men, to start the day's march of 25 or 30 miles through the plantations. And when they came to a plantation where people were out in the cotton fields, the marchers would call out to the people at work, saying, "Come and join us." . . . The marches were quite effective. There was no violence -- just people lined up, walking down the roads singing and calling on others to join them.

In the beginning, we never received any actual support from organized labor . . . The local labor people, for instance in Memphis, said the union could only lead to uprisings among the Negroes and that no one could organize a union of people as poor as the sharecroppers. . .It depends upon what one's own approach to the labor movement is. If labor is just a business operation, then the attitude of the trade union leaders toward sharecroppers and agricultural workers is correct because it will take a lot of money to organize and establish a strong union, and returns on the investment made will be slow in coming. I know that agricultural workers can be organized but actually it has never been tried in the U.S.A. Even today the attitude of the typical labor leader is that these people are too low on the economic scale to be organized. They can't be counted on to pay dues. . .immediately, so why should the labor movement invest its money. . .

The Disinherited

If the leadership really wanted to organize the unorganized. . .it could be done. It would also help if we managed to bring agricultural workers within the scope of the N.L.R.B.* However, I don't expect that will be done, nor will there be a minimum wage in agriculture, until there is an effective organization of workers. That has been the history of most of our social legislation. Until there is organization of the workers on the farms, we cannot affect the processes of government to any great extent.

One of the old Southern Tenant Farmers Union slogans we used 25 years ago was, "To the disinherited belongs the future." Perhaps it does. The past years have been rewarding. While I might do many things differently if they were to be done again, I would not trade my experiences for all the millions in the treasuries of all the big unions in America.

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* National Labor Relations Board: 30 years later this has still not been done(ED.)

Photo by March of Time

H. L. Mitchell, Executive Secretary
STFU in 1936

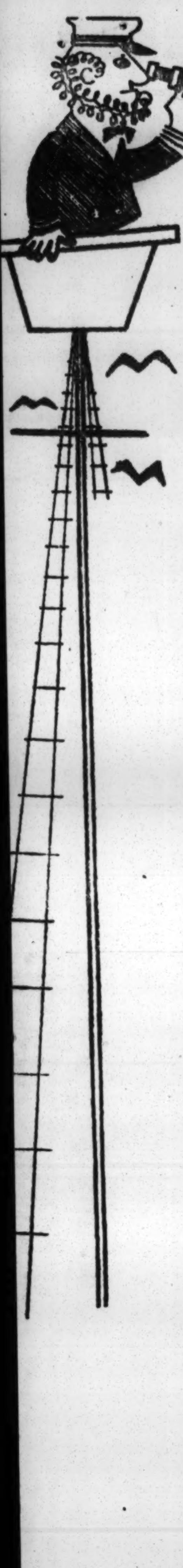
FROM . . .

H. L. MITCHELL

· 1966 ·

Box 9159 - Metairie, La. 70005

Al Ulmer



See p. 3

The Lookout

AGRICULTURAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION NO. 300

FROM: H.L. Mitchell
Box 9159
Metairie, La. 70005

NEW YEAR'S DAY 1967

THE LOUISIANA STORY

For the third time in 100 years, the sugar cane plantation workers of Louisiana are organizing a union. Over 500 tractor drivers have made applications for membership and some have paid $1 on their joining fee.

The first effort to organize occurred in 1879, when the former slaves marched through the sugar cane plantations calling on all to strike for higher wages. The Governor of Louisiana called out the militia and the strike leaders were sent to prison on charges of trespass. A year later they were pardoned, after a petition was filed by Mr. Demas, a Negro member of the Legislature from St. James Parish. (Appleton's Cyclopaedia 1880, Page 482)

The second union was broken in 1953, by local court injunctions based on a specious theory advanced by Richard Nixon that - since farm workers were excluded from protection by the labor laws, they had no right to organize or strike during the harvest season. Our National Agricultural Workers Union appealed the injunctions on a pauper's oath, after both A.F. of L. and C.I.O. refused to pay the costs of an appeal. Dan Pollitt wrote the brief, my wife, Dorothy, cut the stencils and I mimeographed the petition to the U.S. Supreme Court which set aside the injunction, but two years too late to save the sugar workers' union.

UNION REPRESENTATION
SELF HELP HOUSING, A CREDIT UNION
SUGAR PLANTATION WORKERS

This time the sugar workers' organization is based on a three point program as follows:

1. An organization is being formed, mainly by skilled farm machine operators, to secure increased wages and better conditions. It is proposed to open negotiations with the employers once the Union represents the majority on all plantations. (There is a labor shortage and skilled farm machine operators cannot be replaced)

2. A credit union organization is being formed to free the plantation workers from debt to loan sharks and others. The Southern Regional Council and others are assisting in the preliminary educational work.

3. A program to re-house rural families in the sugar cane country is under way. The Farmers Home Administration has given approval to a self-help project to construct the first 10 units of individual homes located on a tract of land near Edgard, La. (104 applications for loans to such families were on hand in FHA offices on Nov. 25th.(Letter from John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture) An announcement will be made as soon as construction gets under way.

As usual, I have tried to be the man behind the scene to help carry out the good ideas such as the above. In the sugar plantation country we are fortunate in that we have Frank Lapeyrolerie, an outstanding Negro leader, described as "The Man Who Gets Things Done." Frank was a leader in the 1953 strike and was, as he is today, Secretary-Treasurer of the Local Union.

FARM WORKERS IN CALIFORNIA

Early last year I was sent out to California by the International Union to make a survey and report on organization of farm workers. I went to Delano, took a turn on the picket line, and for the first time met Cesar Chavez, the colorful and able Mexican-American organizer of farm workers. I learned that Chavez, as a young man just out of the armed service, was among the 40,000 cotton pickers in the Central Valley who went on strike in 1949 against a wage cut, and won. The strike was led by our union organizers Hank Hasiwar and Ernesto Galarza. Soon after my visit the March to Sacramento occurred and Chavez's union, then the National Farm Workers Association, (independent) won a contract for farm workers in the Schenley grape vinyards. In 1950, our Union also organized Schenley workers and lost. When we threatened to boycott their products, the Schenley Labor Relations man laughed. He said he had more influence with the AFL than our Union did - and he was right.

There are those who express the fear that now "Hoffa has been shot out of the saddle" the Teamsters will soon return to the AFL-CIO and under new leadership will use their power and connections with corporate agriculture to organize the nation's farm workers, leaving Chavez and the United Farm Workers' Organizing Committee with only a piece of paper hanging on the wall of some shack in a farm worker town. We hope this will not happen!

I MET OLD FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES

While on my way out to California, I stopped over in Arizona for a visit in Tucson with Clay East, the first president and the man most responsible for the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. I also visited with J.R. Butler, the long time president of the STFU, now retired and living in a small home among citrus trees in Phoenix. Clay East and I had dinner with Dr. Dave Minter, a refugee from Mississippi. Dave is still practicing medicine and is also helping to run a migrant clinic near Tucson.

I had a brief visit with Ernesto Galarza in Los Angeles and lunched with Alexander H. Schullman, the attorney who represented our Union in the long strike against Di Giorgio in 1947-48. Later, I spent an afternoon with Ann and Hal Draper at Berkeley, and then met Bill Becker in Sacramento. Bill was on Governor Brown's staff. He organized the Schenley workers in 1950, and led the first strike. I also had a short visit with Don Grubbs who wrote his Ph. D dissertation on "The STFU and The New Deal." It has never been published because Don can't find time to cut it down to the right size.

SHARECROPPERS OF THE SEA NOW HAVE A UNION

During the year I continued to work with menhaden fishermen. About 400 of these pogy boat men worked under union contract in 1965 and 1966. The Union had bargaining rights for an equal number but because of the weakness of the National Labor Relations Act and its poor administration in New Orleans, influenced by a firm of legal bandits, it has been impossible to get a decent contract for about half the men. Now that there is a real labor shortage up and down the Gulf Coast, these men stand a good chance of a better deal in the New Year. The Union also has new contracts covering dairy workers in Bogalusa and Lake Charles.

A BUSMAN'S HOLIDAY

After travelling almost constantly during the year, in late November I had a busman's holiday - travelling to Atlanta, Chapel Hill, Washington, New York and Philadelphia, then to Chicago and Memphis.

STFU RECORDS AT UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY, CHAPEL HILL

While in Chapel Hill I had an opportunity to see the way the old union records are kept. There are about 80 boxes of correspondence, documents, etc., all arranged under subject matter and date. The director of the Southern Historical Collection seems to think that these files containing letters from sharecroppers of the 1930's about their problems was a great find. Important people save their papers, but the records of the poor are seldom preserved. Through the years I had tried to keep every piece of paper that came our way. As a result, the historians have something to use and to quarrel about. At least, no serious historian can write about the South in those years without describing the role of the STFU and those who had a part in it.

HISTORY BEING WRITTEN

Historian George Tindall at the University of N.C. is writing a book on the history of the South in the 1930"s. I read the chapter on the New Deal agricultural program. To me, his presentation of the role of the STFU seemed to be fair and objective. His book is one of a series on the South from colonial days onward. Most of the series have already been published. Howard Kester's "Revolt Among the Sharecroppers" has become the authority on the early days of the Union,

"LABOR & LIBERTY" BY J.S. AUERBACH

There is a recent book which covers the STFU role in the origin of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee. It is by Jerold S. Auerbach, history professor at Brandeis. The title is "Labor and Liberty", published by Bobbs Merrill at $6.50. It is quite good but it seems to subscribe to the devil theory of history. To him, the STFU was merely an expression of the Socialist Party in opposition to the New Deal, rather than a people's movement.

A NEW PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE RURAL SOUTH

As I travelled around last November and talked to old friends and new ones, I found a universal need being expressed. I want to do something about it.

Everyone agrees that there is a need for a southwide organization to unite those organizations and people native to the South who want to bring about economic change among rural people.

Now that the civil rights and expanded social welfare laws are on the books, the time for demonstrations has passed. The time has now come for building organizations which can change the lives of the rural poor. The country is aware of the needs of Negroes and to a lesser extent, the Mexican-Americans, because of those demonstrations. We need to reach the poor whites in the rural areas of the South for they too, are the victims of economic insecurity who find expression in bigotry, prejudice and hatred. They are being exploited by political demagogues like George Wallace of Alabama. The Populists of the 1890's, the IWW in the decade prior to World War I, and our own STFU in the 1930's found a way to unite people in the rural South, regardless of race. While it will not be easy, I know it can be done again.

Then there are numbers of young men and women, many of whom were in the civil rights movement who could again be mobilized to help form a poor peoples' movement to bring about economic change. I am sure there are dozens who would be willing to go into the rural areas all over the South and work for a period of two years in building organizations of, by and for the people. But they would have to have a part in the organizations and in developing its program. Young people are too sophisticated these days to want to give even a part of their lives to build just another credit union, just another co-o0, or just another trade union that is merely an extension of the present power structure. They want an independent organization of, by and for the rural poor. Early in the New Year we hope to get a few people together to do some preliminary talking and later on, perhaps have a south-wide meeting.

All good wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

H.L. Mitchell

The impetus [illegible] nessmen's move was not the boycott of Alabama products and industry called by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. This was simply an added factor.

The basic impetus was the fear that Alabama might start losing out on Federal Government contracts upon which the State's economy depends heavily. Instrumental in getting support for the statement were the industries and businesses around the space center of Huntsville, for example.

Behind it, too, were big businessmen like Winton Blount, who is president of the State Chamber of Commerce and a financial backer of Alabama Republicans but, more importantly, a contractor who depends on huge Federal installations.

These men felt that Gov. Wallace's defiance on racial matters was isolating Alabama and they feared that the Federal Government in the future might throw contracts and projects elsewhere.

Also striking deep concern into the Alabama indus-

[illegible] mary race for the [illegible] year against incumbent Sen. John J. Sparkman, who praised the businessmen's stand—in the light of such factors as massive white voter support, a prospect of greatly increased Negro voter registration and the businessmen's push for moderation.

Wallace Bends Slightly

Wallace has shown a wee indication of moderation. After the recent Selma-Montgomery march was over, the Governor did meet with a Negro delegation that presented grievances. Last week, he chatted with Negro educators of the State. And there have been reports that he might appoint, not a biracial State commission, but a Negro advisory committee.

The Governor will sit back and determine his next best move from a political standpoint. He will consider the stand of the "big mules," but not with the consideration they would have had if they had not been silent through the racial turmoil of the past two years.

MEMORANDUM

TO:

FROM:

A grant of $6,000 a year for a period of two years is requested to pay for the services of a full time Field Co-ordinator to work on co-operative projects among sugar cane plantation and other rural workers in Louisiana.

A co-operative self help housing project has been organized and 104 applications have been approved by the area and state Farmers Home Administration for loans to rural families under the National Housing Act. (see letter from John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture).

Application has been made by Farm Workers Association Group I to build the first 10 individual prefabricated houses at Edgard, La. It is planned to construct these and a minimum of 100 other houses on a self help basis under the supervision of a construction man to be employed by the Farmers Home Administration. Each home, including the lot, will cost approximately $6,000, and each of the purchasers will have an equity of $1,400 as a result of his contribution of labor in building the homes and his down payment of $100 on the lot. The application has been approved by the Farmers Home Administration and Parish (County) Committee and the State Director of FHA. It has been sent to Washington for final approval.

A credit union is in the process of being organized among tractor drivers and other rural workers who are members of the Agricultural & Allied Workers Union Local 300, AFL-CIO (an affiliate of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of N.A.).

Since 1964, several farm machine operator training projects have been conducted in this area. They were sponsored by local organizations and the Human Relations Institute of Loyola University in nearby New Orleans. The person for whom we need funds to employ is Mr. Frank Lapeyrolerie, a leader of the Negro community who has been the person responsible for carrying out the projects

c

mentioned above. For a good description of this man and his work, we quote from the following:

Reserve, Louisiand
Title III-B (EOA) Program
For Seasonal Farm Workers

I. THE SPONSOR

This Title III-B (EOA) program is to be sponsored by St. John the Baptist Parish (Louisiana) Farm Bureau, Inc., which is affiliated with the Louisiana Association of Farm Bureaus. The parish farm organization has 119 members and was organized and incorporated in 1925. Its membership consists of both large and small farm owners. In the fall of 1964, St. John the Baptist Farm Bureau supported an Area Redevelopment Act Pilot program at Reserve, Louisiana, to upgrade the skills of farm laborers in the area, and its members will encourage seasonal farm laborers to participate in this program.

CONTACT PERSON. Mr. A.T. Becnel will serve as initial contact person for the program. He is President of St. John the Baptist Farm Bureau and also Superintendent of Schools for the parish. His mailing address is: Superintendent of Schools, St. John the Baptist Parish, Reserve, Louisiana

An Advisory Committee, which represents farm workers as well as other groups in the community, has been selected to help structure the program and to lend support once the project is operational. The attached CAP Form 3 contains specific identification of the Advisory Committee.

PROJECT DIRECTOR. Mr. Frank Lapeyrolerie has been chosen to serve as Project Director. He is a lifetime resident of the parish and his reputation is that of a person who effectively works with others and "gets things done." Mr. Lapeyrolerie is presently Secretary-Treasurer of the Agricultural and Allied Workers Union, AFL-CIO, Local No. 300, Box 43, Reserve, Louisiana, and he is also Grand Knight for the local unit of the Knights of Peter Claver. In the ARA pilot program at Reserve, Mr. Lapeyrolerie was in charge of recruitment and also taught classes in basic education and citizenship training. He is currently active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and St. John the Baptist Parish Civil Defense Unit. Mr. Lapeyrolerie also served as President of the Fifth Ward High School PTA (Reserve, Louisiana). (end of auote)

Mr. Lapeyrolerie has worked on a part time basis in most of these projects. Sometimes it has been possible for him to be compensated for his services but more often, he served without pay. At the present time he is earning his living by operating a motion picture machine at the local movie theatre in Reserve, La., working five nights a week and on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. He also earns $110 a month for his services as Secretary-Treasurer of the Local Union which has about 300 dues paying members.

Mr. Lapeyrolerie is 50 years old and has the equivalent of a high school education. He is not a technician or specialist but is a real leader among the Negroes and a "man who gets things done." and who must continue his present work.

A grant of $6,000 for a period of 2 years will enable Lapeyrolerie to devote his full time to the various projects, programs and organizations in which he has been interested and most effective in building. Within the two year period, it is contemplated that one or more of the co-operative projects, the credit union or the sugar plantation workers' organization will be in a position to assume responsibility for paying Lapeyrolerie's salary and expenses.

May 24, 1966

Miss Bobbie Isaac
Dennis High School
Bishopville, South Carolina 29010

Dear Miss Isaac:

Enclosed is a discription of the paperback book distribution project which I mentioned to you last week.

If an interested group from Bishopville should want to have a proposal considered, please have them write:

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization Project

AU:rh
Encl.

Office o conomic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 5. COMMUNITY INFORMATION

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY Williamsburg - Lee Counties Economic Opportunity Council, Inc.

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

5.1 COMMUNITY TO BE SERVED *Describe community boundaries in terms of city(ies), county(ies), state(s), Indian reservation(s), etc., which are included. Attach a map showing the boundaries of the community.*

Williamsburg - Lee Counties

5.2 COMMUNITY SUBDIVISIONS *Have you divided the community into an area or areas with heavy concentration of poverty? If so, indicate such areas as "A", "B", "C", "D", etc. on the above specified map and state below the basis for deciding on the boundaries of such areas. For example, are the areas Census tracts, enumeration districts, school attendance districts, planning areas, etc.?*

5.3 INCIDENCE OF POVERTY *Provide the latest readily available information on the community with respect to as many of the following categories as feasible. If you have subdivided the community into areas, as described above, also provide the information for each area. Substitute or add other categories and related statistics as necessary to demonstrate the incidence of poverty.*

Attach a statement describing the sources and time period of the information. Information obtained from the 1960 U. S. Census of Population and Housing may be noted by placing an asterisk (*) to the right of the ITEM name below. See the CAP GUIDE for suggested sources of information.

Williamsburg Lee

	ITEM	COMMUNITY TOTAL	AREA "A"	AREA "B"	AREA "C"
5.3.1 POP.	TOTAL POPULATION	40,932	21,832		
	PERCENT OF POPULATION LIVING IN RURAL AREAS	90.5 %	83 %	%	%
5.3.2 FAMILY INCOME	TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES	7,954	4,316		
	TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME LESS THAN $3,000	5,433	2,959		
	PERCENT OF ALL FAMILIES WITH INCOME LESS THAN $3,000	68.3 %	68+ %	%	%
	FAMILIES WITH INCOME LESS THAN $1,000	2,996	1,566		
	FAMILIES WITH INCOME FROM $1,000 - $1,999	1,554	870		
	FAMILIES WITH INCOME FROM $2,000 - $2,999	883	523		
5.3.3 UNEMPLOYMENT	MALES 14 AND OVER IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE	8,457	4,473		
	PERCENT OF SUCH MALES WHO ARE UNEMPLOYED	3 %	1.9 %	1960 %	%
	FEMALES 14 AND OVER IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE	4,122	1,915		
	PERCENT OF SUCH FEMALES WHO ARE UNEMPLOYED	5.2 %	3.2 %	%	%
5.3.4 WELFARE	PERSONS UNDER 21	22,837	11,992		
	PERCENT OF PERSONS UNDER 21 RECEIVING A.F.D.C. PAYMENTS	2.33 %	3.4 %	%	%
	PERSONS AGED 65 AND OVER	2,252	1,406		
	PERCENT OF PERSONS 65 AND OVER RECEIVING OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE	20.33 %	20+ %	%	%

(Continued on Page 2 of this form.)

CAP 5. COMMUNITY INFORMATION *(Continued)*

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*
Williamsburg-Lee Counties Economic Opportunity Council, Inc. Williamsburg-Lee	

	ITEM	COMMUNITY TOTAL	AREA "A"	AREA "B"	AREA "C"
5.3.5 EDUCATION	PERCENT OF PERSONS ENROLLED IN SCHOOL *(14 and 15 years old)*	85.4 %	83.7 %	%	%
	PERCENT OF PERSONS ENROLLED IN SCHOOL *(16 and 17 years old)*	73.0 %	61.2 %	%	%
	TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER	16,352	8,959		
	PERSONS 25 AND OVER WITH LESS THAN 8 YEARS OF EDUCATION	7,677	5,081		
	PERCENT OF PERSONS 25 AND OVER WITH LESS THAN 8 YEARS OF EDUCATION	47.0 %	56+ %	%	%
5.3.6 SELECTIVE SERVICE	PERSONS AGED 18 TO 25 WHO WERE EXAMINED BY SELECTIVE SERVICE	321	288		
	PERSONS REJECTED BY SELECTIVE SERVICE *(4F and 1Y)*	252	202		
	PERCENT OF PERSONS EXAMINED WHO WERE REJECTED BY SELECTIVE SERVICE *(4F and 1Y)*	78.5 %	70+ %	%	%
5.3.7 HEALTH	BIRTHS PER YEAR	989	372		
	DEATHS PER YEAR OF INFANTS UNDER 12 MONTHS	35	33		
	INFANT DEATHS AS A PERCENT OF BIRTHS PER YEAR	3.54 %	8.32 %	%	%
5.3.8 HOUSING	ALL HOUSING UNITS	9,958	5,286		
	NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS WHICH ARE SUBSTANDARD	6,756	3,589		
	PERCENT OF ALL HOUSING UNITS WHICH ARE SUBSTANDARD	68.0 %	67.9 %	%	%
5.3.9 MINORITY GROUPS	*(Specify group and number of persons in each.)*				
	White 34.17%	13,716	7,459		
	Non-White 65.83%	27,171	14,373		
	Foreign Mixed	45			
5.3.10 OTHER	*(Specify category and number of persons in each.)*				

SPECIMEN

BY-LAWS OF

THE ______________________ COUNTY RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

ARTICLE I: DUTIES OF OFFICERS

Section 1. The President shall be the chief executive officer of this association. He shall preside over meetings of both the General Committee and the Executive Committee. He shall propose lines of action for the consideration of the General Committee and the Executive Committee. He shall direct other members of both Committees in the execution of actions which they approve. He shall sign all legal papers of the association.

Section 2. The Vice-President shall, in the absence or disability of the President, preside and perform the duties of the President and shall perform such other duties as the Executive Committee shall prescribe.

Section 3. The Secretary shall: keep minutes of meetings of the General Committee and Executive Committee; submit to the annual meeting of the General Committee a report of the current year's business; send notices of meetings to members; have custody of all records of the association; and perform such other duties as may be required of him by the Executive Committee or Officers of this association. The Executive Committee may delegate some of the duties of the Secretary to an employee or employees of the association.

Section 4. The Treasurer shall: receive and disburse all funds of the association; receive and process all correspondence pertaining to financial matters of the association; prepare a treasurer's report for the annual meeting of the General Committee; and supply the Executive Committee with all information pertaining to financial matters needed to carry out the business of the association. The Executive Committee may delegate some of the duties of the Treasurer to an employee or employees of the association.

Section 5. The Executive Committee may, at their discretion, appoint or hire an Executive Secretary and/or other personnel to assist in the business of the association. The duties and remuneration of such personnel shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE II: EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Section 1. A quorum of all meetings of the Executive Committee shall be a majority of the entire Committee.

Section 2. Absenteeism. The Executive Committee shall declare a member's seat vacant after he has been absent from three successive regular meetings of the Committee without proper cause as determined by the Committee.

Section 3. Impeachment. The Executive Committee may at any of its meetings cause impeachment proceedings on any officer or other member of the Executive Committee for cause and, after a hearing and upon finding of facts, declare the post vacant.

ARTICLE III: SUB-COMMITTEES

It shall be a regular procedure and requirement that all standing and special committees shall report to the Executive Committee. Any decisions which may be required concerning the work done by a Sub-Committee shall be made by the Executive Committee unless the decision making was specifically delegated to the Sub-Committee.

ARTICLE IV: AMENDMENTS

These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds majority vote of a quorum of the General Committee, provided that such action has been duly announced in the notice of meeting at least ten days in advance and that a complete text of the proposed amendment has been given in the notice.

These By-Laws were adopted by the incorporators and original members of the ____________________ County Resoufces Development Association on the __________ day of ________________________, 196_.

________________________ President

________________________ Vice-President

________________________ Secretary

________________________ Treasurer

SPECIMEN

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION
# of the
________________ COUNTY RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

We the undersigned residents of the State of ____________, for the purpose of forming a non-profit corporation under the provisions of ____________ Statutes, Chapter ____, known as the ________________ Act, do hereby associate ourselves together as a body corporate and adopt the following articles of incorporation:

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of this association shall be the ________________ County Resources Development Association.

ARTICLE II: PURPOSE

Section 1. The purpose of this association shall be to develop and effectively coordinate the human, natural and economic resources of ____________________ County. This association shall endeavor to improve agricultural income, develop industry - particularly that which is related to agriculture, expand facilities for general education and technical training and provide citizens of this county with better health and recreational facilities.

Section 2. To accomplish its purposes, this non-profit association shall have the power and authority to own, operate, manage and control and sell or assign or dispose of such facilities as may be required. It shall also have the power and authority to borrow or otherwise raise funds and to do and perform every act and thing necessary and proper to carry out the purpose set forth herein, as permitted by the non-profit act under which this association is incorporated.

Section 3. The activities of this association shall be nonpartisan and nonsectarian. It shall take no part in, nor lend its support to the election or appointment of any candidate for public office. However, in furthering the purposes of this association, members will freely cooperate with and seek the support of agencies of Federal, State and County Governments.

ARTICLE III: PERIOD OF INCORPORATION

The corporate period of this association shall be perpetual, unless dissolved by at least three-fourths vote of its General Committee or by operation of law.

ARTICLE IV: GENERAL COMMITTEE

Section 1. The General Committee of this association shall be composed of members who are reasonably representative of the several townships and several occupational groups of this County. There shall be no limit to the number of members the General Committee shall have. The government of this association is vested in the General Committee.

Section 2. The charter members of the General Committee shall be elected at a public meeting called for this purpose. Half of these charter members shall be elected for a one-year term and half for a two-year term. At each subsequent election, members shall be elected for a two-year term. Any member of this committee may be re-elected for additional two-year terms. The election of members shall take place at the annual meeting of the General Committee. The Executive Committee shall appoint a Nominating Committee at least ten days prior to the annual meeting.

ARTICLE V: OFFICERS

The officers of this association shall consist of the President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer. The General Committee shall at its annual meeting elect officers from their number. Officers shall serve two-year terms. Officers may be re-elected for additional two-year terms. At least ten days prior to the annual meeting of the General Committee, the Executive Committee shall appoint a Nominating Committee to prepare a slate of officers. Election of officers shall be by ballot.

ARTICLE VI: EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall consist of the Officers described in Article V and five other members to be elected by the General Committee at their annual meeting. This election shall be by ballot. Members of the Executive Committee shall serve for a two-year term; they may be re-elected for additional two year terms.

Section 2. During the period between meetings of the General Committee, the Executive Committee shall have authority to make rules and regulations to assist in the proper and efficient operation of the affairs of the association, provided that such rules and regulations are not inconsistent with the express decisions of the General Committee or with the Articles of Incorporation and By-Laws of this association.

Section 3. Vacancies on the Executive Committee shall be filled by appointment by the Committee. Such an appointee shall serve until the next annual meeting of the association. At the next annual meeting following such appointment, a Committee member shall be elected to fill the unexpired term.

ARTICLE VII: SUB-COMMITTEES

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall appoint the following standing committees: Agriculture, Industrial Development, Education, Retail Trade, Recreation, Civic Improvements, Finance and Publicity. The Executive Committee shall stipulate the duties and limitations of these standing committees.

Section 2. The Executive Committee may appoint such other special committees as they consider necessary and desirable.

Section 3. At least one member of the Executive Committee shall serve on each of the standing and special committees which are appointed.

ARTICLE VIII: BUSINESS, VOTING AND QUORUM

Section 1. The principal place of business of this association shall be____________________.

Section 2. The fiscal year of this association shall begin on the first day of January and close on the last day of December of each year.

Section 3. An Annual meeting of the General Committee shall be held at the principal place of business of the association or at any other place in the county as may be determined by the Executive Committee. The date and hour shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Members of the General Committee shall have only one vote in the affairs of this association.

Section 5. At the meetings of the General Committee, a quorum necessary for the transaction of business shall be twenty-five per cent of the total membership of the Committee. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of a majority of the members of that Committee.

Section 6. For any items not specifically covered in the Articles of Incorporation and By-Laws, Roberts Rule of Order shall govern parlimentary procedure in all meetings of the General Committee, the Executive Committee and the Sub-Committees.

ARTICLE IX: FINANCING

In order to further the purposes of this association, funds shall be derived from: Donations, Loans and Fund Raising Projects.

ARTICLE X: LIABILITIES

The private property of members, officers and managers of this corporation shall in no case be liable for the corporate debts but shall be exempt therefrom.

ARTICLE XI: STATUS

This association shall not afford pecuniary gain incidentally or otherwise, to its members. Only the Executive Secretary and other hired personnel may be paid a salary. Members of the Executive Committee may be reimbursed for expenses they incur in pursuing the business of this association. If upon dissolution, the assets of the association are in excess of the liabilities, each excess shall accrue to the County of ________________________ for use by the board of County Supervisors.

ARTICLE XII: AMENDMENTS

These Articles of Incorporation may be amended by a two-thirds majority vote of a quorum of the General Committee, provided that such action has been duly announced in the notice of meeting at least ten days in advance and that a complete text of the proposed amendment has been given in the notice.

In testimony whereof, we the incorporators have hereunto subscribed our names this _________________ day of _____________, 19____.

Witnesses	Incorporators
______________________________	______________________________
______________________________	______________________________
	______________________________

WHITE AND NON-WHITE FARM OPERATORS IN LOUISIANA BY PARISHES: 1959 & 1964 AND PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE OR DECLINE SINCE 1959

parish	white owners		percent increase, decline	white tenants		percent increase, decline	non-white owners		percent increase, decline	non-white tenants		percent increase, decline
	1964	1959		1964	1959		1964	1959		1964	1959	
Allen	652	623	+4.7	64	79	-18.9	47	50	-6.0	13	9	+44.4
Acadia	1,354	1,491	-9.2	474	758	-37.5	36	42	-14.3	121	173	-30.1
Ascension	725	745	-2.7	59	56	+5.4	75	77	-2.6	15	7	+114.3
Assumption	185	207	-10.6	66	78	-15.4	8	7	+14.3	3	4	-25.0
Avoyelles	2,057	2,272	-9.5	197	361	-45.4	152	202	-24.8	115	258	-55.4
Beauregard	822	958	-14.2	58	72	-19.4	10	9	+11.1	3	5	-40.0
Bienville	576	605	-4.8	43	49	-12.2	225	258	-12.8	44	63	-30.2
Bossier	447	584	-23.5	60	84	-28.6	242	489	-50.5	49	121	-59.5
Caddo	589	658	-10.5	140	133	+5.3	267	259	+3.1	328	464	-29.3
Calcasieu	630	616	+2.3	158	125	+26.4	19	15	+26.7	5	7	-28.6
Caldwell	501	493	+1.6	28	44	-36.4	87	106	-17.9	10	17	-41.2
Cameron	387	423	-8.5	72	49	+46.9	1	2	-50.0	-	1	-100.0
Catahoula	677	683	-.9	83	105	-20.9	66	73	-9.6	81	134	-39.6
Claiborne	436	615	-29.1	43	74	-41.9	231	274	-15.7	98	227	-56.8
Concordia	383	369	+3.8	43	47	-8.5	78	88	-11.4	39	193	-79.8
DeSoto	768	810	-5.2	94	55	+70.9	479	547	-12.4	130	248	-47.6
East Baton Rouge	802	819	-2.1	75	56	+33.9	182	199	-8.5	23	24	-4.2
East Carroll	316	377	-16.2	81	91	-10.9	100	144	-30.6	49	136	-63.9
East Feliciana	398	407	-2.2	47	29	+62.1	272	298	-8.7	113	159	-28.9
Evangeline	1,392	1,461	-4.7	376	557	-32.5	67	85	-21.2	475	597	-20.4
Franklin	1,307	1,330	-1.7	323	480	-32.7	139	183	-24.0	316	647	-51.2
Grant	613	699	-12.3	28	25	+12.0	49	72	-31.9	3	57	-94.7
Iberia	395	522	-24.3	110	138	-20.3	59	81	-27.2	32	52	-38.5
Iberville	201	247	-18.6	102	107	-4.7	30	36	-16.7	25	22	+13.6
Jackson	360	400	-10.0	11	13	-15.4	75	95	-21.1	8	10	-20.0
Jefferson	54	100	-46.0	22	17	+29.4	-	1	-100.0	2	1	-100.0
Jefferson Davis	594	762	-22.0	202	257	-21.4	11	16	-31.3	1	10	-90.0
Lafayette	1,041	1,254	-16.9	318	413	-23.0	105	117	-10.3	358	475	-24.9
Lafourche	416	551	-24.5	181	188	-3.7	4	4	0.0	2	4	-50.0

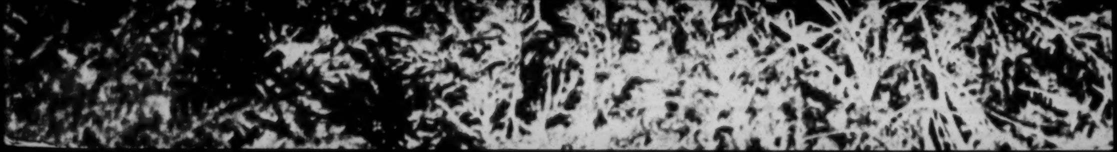
parish	white owners 1964	white owners 1959	percent increase, decline	white tenants 1964	white tenants 1959	percent increase, decline	non-white owners 1964	non-white owners 1959	percent increase decline	non-white tenants 1964	non-white tenants 1959	percent increase, decline
La Salle	485	587	-17.4	41	65	-36.9	5	9	-44.4	3	5	-40.0
Lincoln	537	626	-14.2	32	39	-17.9	106	125	-15.2	13	39	-66.7
Livingston	1,434	1,374	+4.4	90	60	+50.0	56	75	-25.3	5	11	-54.5
Madison	281	340	-17.4	73	87	-16.1	106	144	-26.4	45	150	-70.0
Morehouse	527	576	-8.5	83	136	-38.9	242	298	-18.8	146	442	-66.9
Natchitoches	1,026	1,043	-1.6	77	159	-51.6	252	297	-14.6	89	256	-65.2
Orleans	22	41	-46.3	16	18	-11.1	1	3	-66.7	4	6	-33.3
Ouachita	593	667	-11.1	65	90	-27.8	75	115	-34.8	41	89	-53.9
Plaquemines	210	333	-36.9	20	19	+5.3	32	52	-38.5	10	11	-9.1
Pointe Coupee	568	607	-6.4	175	218	-19.7	114	134	-14.9	179	334	-46.4
Rapides	1,558	1,847	-15.6	166	246	-32.5	73	110	-33.6	54	123	-56.1
Red River	439	444	-1.1	22	38	-42.1	60	92	-34.8	29	143	-79.7
Richland	893	968	-7.7	164	314	-47.8	135	158	-14.6	222	438	-49.3
Sabine	1,029	1,127	-8.7	53	111	-52.3	63	82	-23.2	2	15	-86.7
St. Bernard	26	47	-44.7	5	5	0.0	1	1	0.0	1	-	+100.0
St. Charles	71	83	-14.5	28	18	+55.6	1	5	-80.0	-	2	-200.0
St. Helena	527	539	-2.2	31	45	-31.1	355	351	+1.1	68	106	-35.8
St. Landry	1,752	1,897	-7.6	644	1,002	-35.7	595	642	-7.3	969	1,470	-34.1
St. Martin	685	756	-9.4	195	258	-24.4	120	134	-10.4	206	281	-26.7
St. Mary	89	117	-23.9	72	71	+1.4	38	42	-9.5	16	19	-15.8
St. James	116	139	-16.5	58	32	+81.3	16	22	-27.3	16	10	+60.0
St. John the Baptist	60	45	+33.3	26	4	+550.0	13	19	-31.6	15	9	+66.7
St. Tammany	670	628	+6.7	22	19	+15.8	43	53	-18.9	-	2	-200.0
Tangipahoa	2,047	2,300	-11.0	173	218	-20.6	284	367	-22.6	56	83	-32.5
Tensas	217	246	-11.8	72	81	-11.1	107	150	-28.7	92	263	-65.0
Terrebonne	303	334	-9.3	63	60	+5.0	16	16	0.0	8	4	+100.0
Union	779	932	-16.4	40	64	-37.5	157	174	-9.8	20	51	-60.8
Vermilion	1,650	1,704	-3.2	380	467	-18.6	40	52	-23.1	46	57	-19.3
Vernon	1,225	1,310	-6.5	50	70	-28.6	6	13	-53.8	3	4	-25.0
Washington	1,431	1,634	-12.4	70	117	-40.2	385	397	-2.9	97	110	11.8
Webster	792	809	-2.1	58	52	+11.5	182	226	-19.5	58	108	-46.3
West Baton Rouge	101	121	-16.5	36	54	-33.3	34	45	-24.4	16	41	-60.9
West Carroll	1,011	1,134	-2.0	166	277	-40.1	66	82	-19.5	49	117	-58.1
West Feliciana	130	138	-5.8	19	15	+26.7	54	60	-10.0	201	275	-26.9
Winn	651	617	+5.5	62	24	+158.3	85	98	-13.3	6	10	-40.0

	HIRED FARM LABOR						FARM OPERATORS	
parish	farms 1964	farms 1959	workers 1964	workers 1959	# increase, decrease farms	# increase, decrease workers	# increase, decrease whites	# increase decrease non-whites
Allen	79	72	136	177	+7	-41	+14	+1
Acadia	307	249	509	441	+58	+68	-321	-58
Ascension	38	77	368	594	-39	-226	-17	+6
Assumption	132	88	947	991	+44	-44	-34	same
Avoyelles	148	100	393	205	+48	+188	-379	-193
Beauregard	51	49	108	81	+2	+27	-150	-1
Bienville	37	34	72	65	+3	+7	-35	-52
Bossier	101	123	437	462	-22	-25	-161	-319
Caddo	216	164	802	846	+52	-44	-62	-128
Calcasieu	165	135	349	314	+30	+35	+47	+2
Caldwell	49	16	108	48	+33	+60	-8	-26
Cameron	30	32	57	52	-2	+5	-13	-2
Catahoula	61	41	136	117	+20	+19	-28	-60
Claiborne	58	59	102	120	-1	-18	-210	-172
Concordia	82	47	273	186	+35	+87	+10	-164
DeSoto	138	118	244	212	+20	+32	-3	-186
East Baton Rouge	87	103	208	371	-16	-163	+2	-18
East Carroll	140	112	611	371	+28	+240	-71	-131
East Feliciana	89	71	264	137	+18	+127	+9	-72
Evangeline	127	80	203	115	+47	+88	-250	-140
Franklin	165	98	394	204	+67	+190	-180	-375
Grant	34	39	103	89	-5	+14	-83	-77
Iberia	174	170	920	765	+4	+155	-155	-42
Iberville	89	77	795	615	+12	+180	-51	-3
Jackson	3	11	15	16	-8	-1	-42	-22
Jefferson	11	13	36	46	-2	-10	-41	-2
Jefferson Davis	322	264	529	395	+58	+134	-223	-14
Lafayette	163	114	351	348	+49	+3	-308	-129
Lafourche	144	114	849	866	+30	-17	-142	-2

	HIRED FARM LABOR						FARM OPERATORS	
	farms		workers		# increase, decrease	# increase, decrease	# increase, decrease	# increase, decrease
parish	1964	1959	1964	1959	farms	workers	whites	non-whites
La Salle	-	10	-	10	-10	-10	-126	-6
Lincoln	35	30	123	77	+5	+46	-96	-45
Livingston	27	35	55	65	-8	-10	+90	-25
Madison	130	117	426	354	+13	+72	-73	-143
Morehouse	135	135	410	413	same	-3	-102	-352
Natchitoches	101	125	386	442	-24	-56	-99	-212
Orleans	17	12	26	50	+5	-24	-21	-4
Ouachita	100	55	297	170	+45	+127	-99	-88
Plaquemines	32	26	53	47	+6	+6	-122	-21
Pointe Coupee	133	84	482	370	+49	+122	-82	-175
Rapides	183	235	517	584	-52	-67	-369	-106
Red River	66	84	215	324	-18	-109	-21	-146
Richland	171	80	441	249	+91	+198	-225	-239
Sabine	29	15	43	21	+14	+22	-156	-32
St. Bernard	1	1	15	12	same	+3	-21	+1
St. Charles	10	8	139	126	+2	+13	-2	-6
St. Helena	43	68	57	94	-25	-37	-26	-34
St. Landry	134	118	392	210	+16	+182	-503	-548
St. Martin	126	61	406	264	+65	+142	-134	-89
St. Mary	109	70	1,119	681	+39	+438	-27	-7
St. James	86	45	825	357	+41	+468	+3	same
St. John the Baptist	33	16	354	198	+17	+156	+37	same
St. Tammany	80	41	253	216	+39	+37	+55	-12
Tangipahoa	251	228	467	424	+23	+43	-298	-110
Tensas	112	88	425	434	+24	-9	-38	-214
Terrebonne	39	45	474	508	-6	-34	-28	+4
Union	36	30	54	41	+6	-34	-177	-48
Vermilion	309	167	471	309	+142	+162	-141	-23
Vernon	41	18	77	37	+23	+40	-105	-8
Washington	117	139	170	181	-22	-11	-250	-25
Webster	58	60	93	86	-2	+7	-11	-94
West Baton Rouge	23	21	673	511	+2	+162	-38	-36
West Carroll	76	49	152	150	+27	+2	-234	-84
West Feliciana	25	49	163	136	-24	+27	-4	-80
Winn	9	8	11	9	+1	+2	+76	-17

AGRIBUSINESS and its Workers

National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor
112 East 19th Street • New York 3, New York



A BETTER LIFE *for* FARM FAMILIES

a report on a southern rural conference sponsored by

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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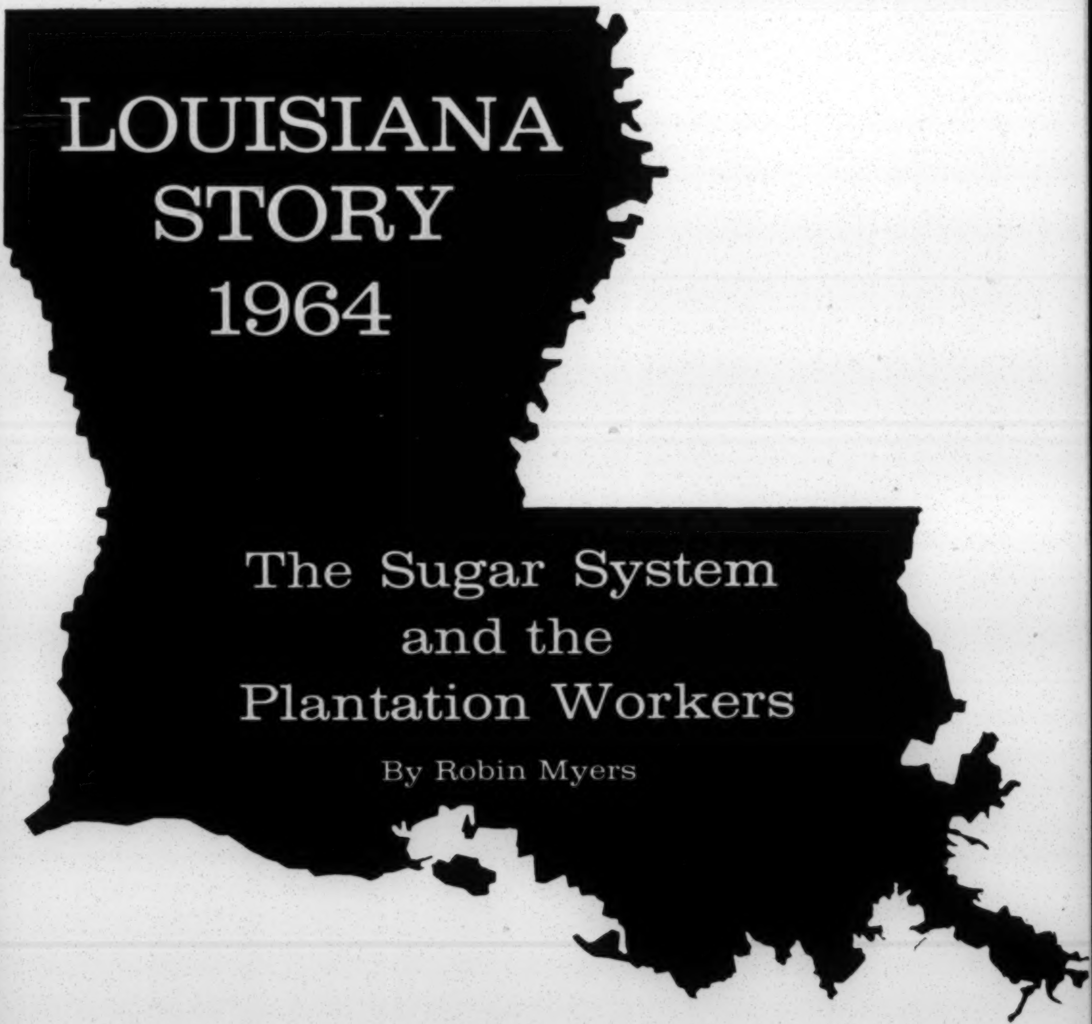


LOUISIANA STORY 1964

The Sugar System and the Plantation Workers

By Robin Myers

published by
NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York, 10003

THE CASE FOR THE DOMESTIC FARM WORKER

FLORIDA'S MIGRANT VEGETABLE WORKERS

'We Got Nothin' To Show For A Life Of Work'

Letters to The Tribune

Decades of Labor Exploitation?

TAMPA—For several weeks stories have been appearing in this paper about the difficulty of citrus growers in obtaining adequate labor under the minimum wage ruling of the De

of Labor. These stories appear

tell the laborers' side very inad

and it is this imbalance which I would

like

growers. The Florida

Agricultural

depending on the weather and the speed

have preferred welf

End of Cheap Farm Labor

Wirtz sharply reflected the ex

Congress when he told importu

farmers that they could never again

expect Government author

import

crops.

substantial increase in the wages

that have for so many years made migratory farm

laborers the country's most exploited workers. Their

average earnings have never come to much more than

third of the level President Johnson

Labor Undersecretary Backs Boss on Citrus Harvesters

By EARL WELLS

Tribune Staff Writer

LAKELAND (By Staff Writer) —Undersecretary of Labor John F. Henning said yesterday Florida's citrus losses are not due to lack of off-shore picking labor and refused to lend encouragement to the industry's current harvest plight.

Immediately, Florida

Mutual Executive Vi

dent Robert W.

back at the

Labor Se

He refused to comment on the future of 13,800 foreign workers currently in the state on

tract that ex

that nu

emp

largest crop since the big freeze in 1962. They

Fruit Picking Is Certainly No Picnic

BROOKSVILLE—I want to show you that a fraudulently perpetrated editorial your paper published on picking oranges in Florida.

I was a fruit-picker, and this is the way the fruit-packers work. You have to be on the job at 8 in the morning, and they will not tell you where you are going. You wind up about 85 miles from your starting

there are no

stores, no w

ing your

own).

When you

may have to

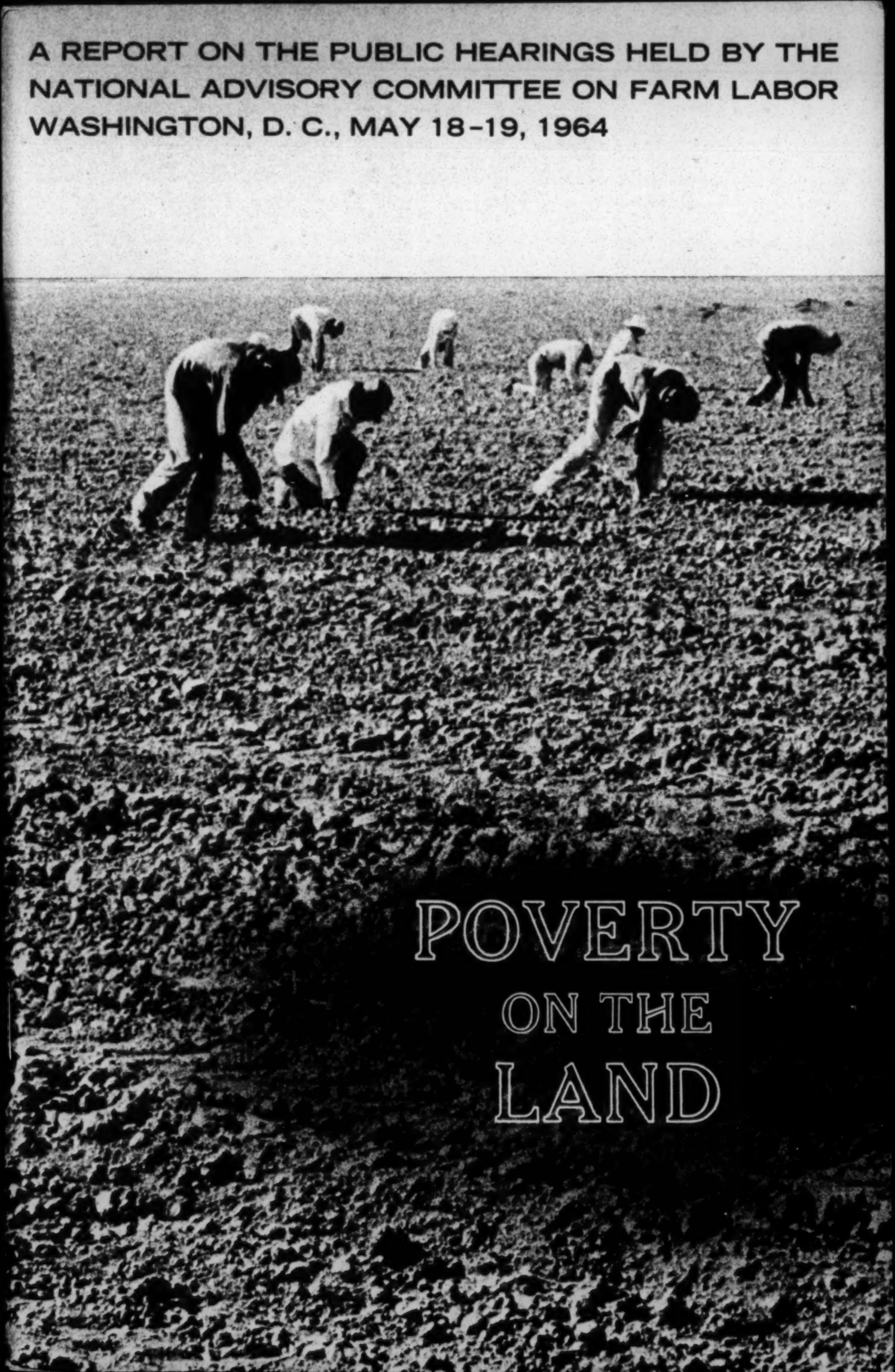
half

National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor
112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

--Arthur Dubinsky

For the children of the migrant worker, a life of insecurity.

A REPORT ON THE PUBLIC HEARINGS HELD BY THE
NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 18-19, 1964



POVERTY ON THE LAND

Agriculture

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

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May, 1965

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L. S. JAMES *South Carolina representative*
ART EMERY *Tennessee representative*
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER *administrative assistants*

Dear Friend:

The enclosed copy of our annual report, "The Condition of Farm Workers in 1964," tells of life well below the poverty level. Both hired farm workers and migrants earned less than $1,000 from farm work in 1963, the last year for which figures are available. Nearly half of the nation's poor live in rural areas.

The Economic Opportunity Act and the Civil Rights Act offer great hope for the rural poor. Yet the rural areas' lack of resources, institutions, and trained people is so great that they do not even know how to apply for the help that Congress intended them to have. Consequently rural areas have thus far obtained only 5 per cent of the antipoverty funds allocated for community action projects.

Similarly, in February the U.S. Civil Rights Commission reported that programs of the Department of Agriculture have not reached hundreds of thousands of Negro farmers because of policies of discrimination. While white farmers have been given assistance to diversify their crops, expand their acreage, and raise their incomes, 92 per cent of Negro commercial farmers still earn half their meager income from the traditional row crops--cotton, tobacco, and peanuts.

Further, farm workers still lack the protections of minimum wage and collective bargaining legislation that covers other workers. Increasingly displaced by mechanization, they lack the skills necessary to secure nonfarm work.

We hope that the information in the enclosed report will help to provide understanding of why the war on poverty must be pushed beyond the city slums to their breeding place--rural poverty. Please let us know if you can use additional copies of this report, or other information.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Graham

Frank P. Graham
Chairman

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THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS IN 1964

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
by Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary

"Only a fool would be happy in Mississippi down here chopping cotton for 30 cents an hour, just think, ten long hours only $3 a day."

Bolivar County resident in a letter to the
New York Times 8/9/64

". . .There is truly a world inside our society in which the American dream is dying, where when it rains at night everyone gets up to move beds away from the leaks. Where there is no electricity but discarded refrigerators are valued to keep food safe from rats. Where regularly in the last week of the month families live on things like berries and bread. Where children in winter sleep on floors in burlap bags and their lung X-rays at age twelve look like old men's. Where students drift hungry and apathetic through school and their parents die ten or twenty years earlier than their countrymen."

Ben H. Bagdikian, In the Midst of Plenty

"If we can overcome poverty in the rural areas of the nation, we will eliminate once and for all the major source and fount of the problem throughout the nation. For the urban poor who are today overwhelming our cities are the rural poor of yesterday. . . .And the rural poor of today, and their children, are the urban poor of tomorrow."

Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture
Testimony on Economic Opportunity Act, 3/20/64

This report is prepared in the aura of hope that the stated national policy of a "war on poverty" will go beyond the city slums to their breeding place — rural poverty. The record up to now of effective governmental concern is miserable. Here is a part of the record and here is a part of the hope.

Rural Poverty and the National Welfare

Nearly half of the poverty in the United States is in rural America. One out of every three rural families has a cash income less than $3,000 a year, the accepted poverty level. The families of hired farm workers, migratory farm workers, and sharecroppers, are chronically poor, with incomes often less than $1,000 a year. Rural people have worse housing, poorer schools, fewer public utilities, less access to medical care and social and cultural facilities. They are poor in community as well as in person.

Disadvantaged groups are disproportionately represented in the rural population. There are more of the old and of the young, not economically viable groups; more Negroes, more Indians, more Mexican-Americans who have been locked out by discrimination as well as by poverty.

The whole economy suffers from the poverty of the countryside. The poor need everything: food, clothes, schools, houses, roads, hospitals, sewers and water systems. An estimated one-fifth of the national production gap* ($590 billion in 1963 dollars) during the 12-year period 1953-1964 was due to deficient farm income. It is also esimated that between a third and a half of present unemployment is due to reduction of the farm population since 1953. Raising the standard of living of the rural poor would stimulate the whole economy tremendously.

Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs?

About two million Negroes who live on farms, mostly in the South, are held back by discrimination in application of the federal programs which were intended to benefit all. NSF protests about this injustice through the years have been substantiated in depth by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights appraisal of services rendered by agencies of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

The Commission found that State extension services in the South, more than 40 per cent financed by federal funds, are administered through separate structures on a discriminatory basis. Negro agents have inferior office facilities, do not meet with white staff, service Negroes exclusively, have unduly high caseloads, and are denied access to training given to white workers. 4-H Club programs sponsored by the Department of Agriculture for rural youth are denied to thousands of Negro youth. Rural Negro homemakers receive less help than white homemakers, and in counties without Negro staff, no service at all. Thousands of Negro farmers are denied programs and services that would help them improve their farm operations.

In Farmers Home Administration (FHA) programs, Negroes receive consistently smaller loans (in parallel situations) and less technical assistance. The few Negro employees are confined to work with Negroes. Negroes are not appointed as full members of county committees in cases where they are allowed to serve at all. Similarly in the Soil Conservation Service (SCS), Negroes receive less service; Negro professionals are restricted; no Negro has ever been elected to a Board of Supervisors for SCS in the South.

Until 1964, with rare exceptions, Negroes did not participate in nominations and elections for Agricultural Conservation and Stabilization Service (ASCS) county committeemen who determine the allotments of acres that may be planted in controlled crops (wheat, cotton, peanuts, tobacco, rice, etc.) and administer locally other federal programs. Of 37,000 community committee members in the South, only 75 Negroes were elected. There were none among the 5,000 county committeemen in eleven Southern states. Negroes are not employed in permanent federal or county ASCS positions, nor in important temporary positions filled by county committees each year. No Negro had ever been appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture to a state ASCS committee in the South at the end of 1964.

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*"National production gap" is the difference between what the economists think we ought to produce each year and what we actually produce. The "gap" manifests itself in poorer food, poorer housing, poorer health services, and no community improvement programs.

Such discrimination goes far to explain the disproportionate poverty of Negroes in contrast even to the rest of the rural poor. More than half the income of 92 per cent of Negro commercial farms still comes from cotton, tobacco, and peanuts. With technical and financial assistance, Southern white farmers have diversified their crops, improved income and housing, enlarged their farms, and secured better education. Most Negro farmers live at a subsistence level; 62 per cent of Negro rural families had less than $2,000 income in 1959 compared with 26 per cent of the whites; their families are one-third larger and thus per capita income is even lower. Because they have less resources, and more of them are dependent economically — croppers, tenants, and farm workers — they have suffered more displacement from mechanization and its consequences.

Hired Farm Workers

Between 1947 and 1960, the number of hired farm workers increased by 9 per cent but the number of man-days they worked declined by 11 per cent. In 1963, the last year for which figures are available, there were 1,862,000 hired farm workers who were employed 25 days or more; they averaged 138 days of work and earned $883 at farm work. The 278,000 migrants* who worked at least 25 days averaged 110 days of work and their average farm earnings were $657.

Child Labor. Children of any age may work in the fields at any occupation and for any number of hours, provided school is not in session in the school district where they work. Even so, during fiscal 1963, 6,926 children were found working during school hours in violation of the Fair Labor Standards Act. More than half of them were 10 to 13 years old and 20 per cent were under 9; 51 per cent were retarded in school grade. Employment of pre-school age children is not a federal violation at all.

A Hazardous Industry. Accident Facts, 1964, issued by the National Safety Council, again reports agriculture as the third most hazardous industry, following only mining and construction in death rate. It has the highest total number of deaths, 3,300 out of the total 14,200 accidental deaths in all kinds of work.

Foreign Workers. The total number of foreign workers contracted or admitted to the United States as temporary farm laborers in 1964 was 200,022. Of these, 177,736 were Mexican; 14,361 were British West Indian; 7,900 were Canadian; and 25, Japanese. The figures do not include foreign workers who entered in previous years and were still working in the United States.

Congress allowed Public Law 78, the Mexican importation program, to terminate at the end of 1964 both because of the large amount of unemployment and because of the bad effect the availability of surplus cheap foreign labor has had on wages and working conditions of domestic farm workers. A massive domestic recruitment program was undertaken to supply growers with needed workers. However, growers' reluctance to accept the end of the foreign labor supply has been stubborn particularly in California and Florida. Domestic workers have actually been turned away while threats are made that crops will spoil in the fields. Great pressure is being exerted on Congress to force the Secretary of Labor to authorize continued importation of foreign labor, including Mexican braceros and British West Indian workers, under Public Law 414 (the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952). The Secretary has so far resisted this pressure, asserting that adequate wages and decent living conditions would attract sufficient numbers of qualified domestic workers.

Legislation. Federal registration of crew leaders was finally enacted into law during the last session of Congress. Aid for the construction of low-cost farm-worker housing was included in the Housing Act of 1964 but no appropriation was made. Measures to regulate child labor outside of school hours and to establish a National Advisory Council on migrant labor were passed by the Senate in previous years but now must be reintroduced. In addition, bills were introduced to authorize development and maintenance of a voluntary farm employment service; to permit rapid tax amortization on farm-labor housing; to bring agricultural workers within the minimum-wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act; and to amend the National Labor Relations Act to extend collective bargaining rights to agricultural employees. The Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor is studying the question of residence restrictions as they limit voting rights and prevent welfare assistance to migrant workers.

Farm Workers and Farmers under the Antipoverty Act. The Economic Opportunity Act can offer programs to assist rural people and farm families as well as seasonal farm workers including migrants. Community Action programs can concentrate on needs of migrant workers and the rural poor such as literacy, manpower training, recreation, social services, and counseling. III-B programs provide for housing, sanitation facilities, education and day-care projects for seasonal farm workers and their families. The housing and sanitation facilities must meet special needs or circumstances: i. e. rest camps en route; facilities for peak season influxes; experimental facilities. Education is for both children and adults, summer school or regular sessions, basic literacy or special needs (citizenship, health training). Day-care centers can include health and recreation programs, lunches, educational activities. Either public or private nonprofit, or a combination of both, agencies may apply. VISTA Volunteers work with migrants.

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*This figure, taken from a United States Department of Agriculture report, does not include the many migrants who travel on their own. There are no complete figures available on the number of agricultural migrants and their children.

Under the Economic Opportunity Act, FHA can make loans to low-income farm and nonfarm rural families who need small amounts of capital to improve their incomes but are unable to obtain credit elsewhere at reasonable rates. Such loans may not exceed $2,500. Loans up to $25,000 are available to cooperatives that serve primarily low-income families. Many other aspects of the antipoverty program, such as all the youth programs, apply in rural areas just as they do in urban.

All this is possible under the Economic Opportunity Act but it does not come to pass without local knowledge and local action. NSF's field staff work to bring this knowledge and to stimulate local leadership.

Union Activity. Because farm workers are not included in coverage under the National Labor Relations Act, their organization into unions continues to present great difficulties. In California, the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, supported by the AFL-CIO and the California Labor Federation, has 138 contracts with farm-labor contractors and is currently striking in asparagus and onion fields. Other unions have been engaged in organizing agricultural and particularly processing workers. In Louisiana, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union No. 300, a division of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, is a continuation of the National Agricultural Workers Union and has organized fishermen and dairy workers. This union also has organized other processing workers. The United Packinghouse Workers has locals of agricultural processing workers which in some cases, such as lettuce, overlap with field workers since the packing shed has moved into the field.

Monopoly Growth and Farm Disappearance

Small Farms and Large Farms. Small farms that disappear under economic pressure often, but not always, are swallowed up by big farms. (They may also be taken over by the sprawling suburbs of the large cities, or for recreation or other non-farm purposes.) From 1959 to 1965 the number of farms decreased 18 per cent but the actual land in farms dropped only 2 per cent. The average farm operator today has a farm unit averaging 341 acres, nearly a fifth larger than six years ago. But the average does not give the full picture: the larger a farm is, the more apt it is to increase in size; the smaller it is, the more apt to disappear. This concentration of farm ownership has now gone so far that the nation's 100,000 largest farms control about one-fourth of all our farmland resources.

Sharecroppers. Between 1954 and 1959, the sharecropping system of farming in Mississippi steadily declined as plantation owners of the Delta mechanized production and reduced cotton acreage. The number of tenant farmers dropped from 83,000 to 33,000 while the number of regular (not seasonal) farm workers rose from 24,000 to 39,000. The total number of sharecroppers in the 16 Southern states dropped by a little more than half during the same period, to 121,000 sharecropper farms. Tenants and croppers farming tobacco have declined least in number, but they will be next to go. Tobacco harvesting machinery and new methods of bulk curing are reducing the need for hand labor, and at the same time increasing the need for both capital and more land. As productivity rises, more acreage is moving into the soil bank.

Subsidies. The last obtainable figures for federal farm subsidies are for 1961. In that year the 70 per cent of all cotton farms whose allotment was 10 acres or less received an average subsidy of about $60 a year. At the same time, the average subsidy of 322 farmers with allotments of 1,000 acres or more amounted to $113,657 each. Two great corporations received more than $2,000,000 each. Small farmers cannot afford to cut their acreage; large farmers profit exorbitantly by doing so. The Department of Agriculture states that there were no direct cotton subsidies in 1964. But there were domestic allotment payments of 3.5 cents a pound which would result in the same inequities.

These corporate farmers have also benefitted, until this year, by having a government-guaranteed labor supply which meant that they did not have to make wages and working conditions attractive enough to compete with other employers for domestic workers. Now they are protesting Congressional and administrative efforts to end this influx of foreign-contract workers, whom only about 2 per cent of all farm employers use. Small farmers compete in the market with the giants, and their incomes are forced down toward the level of depressed farm wages.

Declining Farm Income. The market basket of representative groceries that cost the housewife $10 in 1947 had risen in price to $11.88 by 1964, up 18.3 per cent, while the same groceries returned $4.33 to the farmer, down 15.6 per cent. The farmer's share of the food dollar fell to a 30-year low of 37 cents in 1963.

This is one visible reflection of a post World War II revolution in marketing featured by a tremendous growth in the chain-store system. Today more than two-thirds of all retail sales of foods are handled by 10 per cent of the stores. One of every two consumer dollars is spent in less than 100 corporate chains.

As competitive farm markets are lost or become dominated by only a few buyers on a mass procurement basis for hundreds and thousands of retail outlets, the competitive structure of livestock, produce, and other farm markets is destroyed. Simply by not buying for a week, a chain or processor can destroy farmers who no longer have alternative marketing possibilities. The tenant, small or family commercial farmer is squeezed out because he doesn't have the reserves to stand a temporary — sometimes a prolonged — loss. This is an important reason for a 27 per cent increase in the number of foreclosures of farm mortgages this year compared to a year ago; one reason we have a third less farmers than a decade ago.

A Program for Small Farmers

Implementation of the Civil Rights Act to secure equal opportunities for all under existing government programs is only the beginning of a policy to aid small farmers. An expanded antipoverty program should include provisions for grants to aid farmers too poor to secure loans and for family farm development corporations which could buy land for sale to present and prospective small farm owners. Increased funds should be authorized to enable FHA to extend credit to more farmers who cannot secure loans elsewhere, with reduction of the interest rate to a carrying-charge level. Such an investment in helping small farmers to continue and to increase their incomes would be far cheaper in the long run than allowing them to be driven from the land into unemployment and onto welfare or relief rolls. Commodity programs should be reorganized so that a ceiling based on income and volume of production can be placed on eligibility of farmers to receive government subsidies or other direct payments. Anti-trust legislation should be enforced against chain stores or middleman processor-distributors who monopolize marketing channels in a given area.

Federal Programs

A Rural Development Committee, recently enlarged into the Rural Community Development Service, has been established by the Department of Agriculture to coordinate the efforts of the various departments and agencies concerned with rural development and to provide policy guidance. The Department is moving increasingly in the direction of responsibility for the whole rural area and not only for agricultural enterprises.

The new Rural Community Development Service will absorb the functions of the Office of Rural Areas Development. Through the Area Redevelopment Act program, loans and grants can be made to furnish needed public services and attract new industries to rural communities and finance training programs to equip workers for the new job opportunities which are created.

The Food Stamp program was made permanent in 1964. The previous pilot program in 43 areas reached 350,000 people. The expansion now envisaged should raise the number of people served to four million.

At the end of fiscal 1963, Farmers Home Administration was servicing accounts of 230,000 borrowers whose outstanding indebtedness was $2.1 billion.

More than 55 million acres of land have been withdrawn from production through the Soil Bank and Acreage Diversion programs.

National Sharecroppers Fund

* has its own program to stimulate and develop training projects for the hard-core rural poor under contract with the Department of Labor under the Manpower Development and Training Act. The contract, which finances NSF's Southern Rural Training Project, is expected to be renewed for an additional year.

* has field representatives working in Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee to bring knowledge of federal programs to poverty-stricken rural people. Now they are organizing people to take advantage of the Economic Opportunity Act.

* works to end the exclusion of agricultural workers from the protections and benefits of social legislation that other workers enjoy.

* supports the efforts of farm workers to organize unions and of low-income farmers to organize cooperatives.

* supports the efforts of the Secretary of Labor to give domestic workers preference over foreign contract labor in farm jobs and to raise standards sufficiently to attract domestic workers.

* confers constantly with government officials and agencies to protect farm workers and to aid low-income farmers, particularly in implementation of the Civil Rights Act and in the war against poverty.

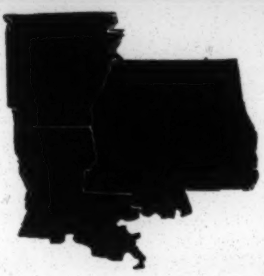
* distributes fact sheets on federal programs, pamphlets, reports and releases to press and public on the facts of rural poverty and the needs of the rural poor.

* * *

The Economic Opportunity Act and the Civil Rights Act have provided important new tools with which to work in improving the lot of the small farmers, the sharecroppers, the migrant and other impoverished farm workers. NSF is increasingly devoting its efforts to assisting rural Americans to use these tools effectively. Success in this work will bring an end to the last vestiges of existing feudal patterns in the rural South.

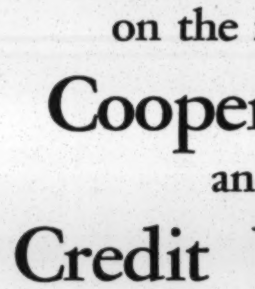
252 NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND — 112 East 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

Alabama
Arkansas
Louisiana
Mississippi



Conference on the role of Cooperatives and Credit Unions in the War on Poverty

at the Dana Student Center
Loyola University, New Orleans



July 27-28
1965

PROGRAM

TUESDAY, JULY 27 MORNING SESSION

CHAIRMAN: Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary, National Sharecroppers Fund, New York City

9:00 A.M. **THE CHIEF PROVISIONS OF THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT** by Dudley Morris, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C.

10:00 A.M. **RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS** by Robert G. Lewis, Administrator, Rural Community Development Service, USDA, Washington, D. C.

11:00 A.M. **A PLAN FOR ENLISTING COOPERATIVES AND CREDIT UNIONS IN THE WAR ON POVERTY** by Jerry Voorheis, Executive Director, Cooperative League—USA

LUNCH 12:15 to 1:30 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION

CHAIRMAN: Alfred L. Edwards, Deputy Assistant Secretary, USDA, Washington, D.C.

1:45 P.M. **LOANS TO COOPERATIVES UNDER TITLE III OF THE E.O.A.**

PANEL: Leader—Howard Bertsch, Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, Washington, D. C.; Panelists will be the state FHA directors of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi.

3:00 P.M. **EXTENSION SERVICES' CONTRIBUTION TO COOPERATIVES**

PANEL: Leader—Lloyd H. Davis, Administrator, Federal Extension Service; Panelists will be the state directors of Extension Service of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi.

EVENING SESSION

CHAIRMAN: L. A. Potts, Assistant to the Secretary, USDA, Washington, D. C.

7:30 P.M. **PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZING FARMERS' COOPERATIVES** by W. C. Verlander, Jr., Vice-President, Bank of Cooperatives, New Orleans, La.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 28 MORNING SESSION

CHAIRMAN: Bernard J. Offerman, Associate Director, Institute of Human Relations, New Orleans, La.

9:00 A.M. **HOW COOPERATIVES CAN HELP COMMUNITIES** by Irwin W. Rust, Farmer Cooperative Service, USDA, Washington, D. C.

10:00 A.M. **SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE SERVES LOW INCOME PEOPLE** by Rev. A. J. McKnight, President, Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Lafayette, La.

11:00 A.M. **ADAPTING CREDIT UNIONS TO NEEDS OF LOW INCOME PEOPLE** by Robert M. Dolan, Credit Union National Association, Inc., Madison, Wis.

LUNCH 12:15 to 1:30 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION

1:45 P.M. **GROUP MEETINGS BY STATES** for grass roots people, state officials and private agencies

3:00 P.M. **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**
CHAIRMAN: Ewell P. Roy, Secretary, Louisiana Council of Farmer Cooperatives, Baton Rouge, La.
PANEL: Representatives of the sponsoring agencies and organizations.

ADJOURNMENT 4:30 P.M.

AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS SPONSORING THIS CONFERENCE

Arkansas Credit Union League

Arkansas State Electric Cooperative, Inc.

Cooperative League — USA

Councils of Farmer Cooperatives of Louisiana & Mississippi

Extension Service of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana & Mississippi

Farmers Home Administration of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana & Mississippi

Institute of Human Relations, Loyola University, New Orleans

Louisiana State University & Southern Univ.

National Catholic Rural Life Conference

National Sharecroppers Fund

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

REGISTRATION AND ACCOMMODATIONS

A limited number of rooms are available on the Loyola University campus on a first come, first serve basis. Late registrants will be housed in nearby hotels and motels. Meals will be available on campus. A $2.00 registration fee will be charged. For information and registration, write: Conference on Cooperatives and Credit Unions, Institute of Human Relations, Loyola University, New Orleans, La., 70118.

1965 REPORT on the work of NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR

NSF

SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

> ". . . Some people work for $2 per day. . . . It hurts to think about some of our children out of school because they don't have the clothes or are sick and there is no money for medicine . . . ."
>
> —Letter to NSF

1965 In the second year of the nation's war against poverty, the National Sharecroppers Fund again greatly expanded its work in the rural South. There is an increasing urgency — and increasing opportunity — for NSF's program. Racial discrimination and changing patterns in agriculture must not continue to force the rural poor from the land and into city slums where, untrained, they face a life of deepening poverty and growing despair. It is encouraging that the opportunities to build a better and stable family life in rural communities are increasing through governmental, cooperative, and self-help programs. Bringing the knowledge, training, and technical assistance necessary to seize these opportunities is the core of NSF's Southern work. This work must be accelerated.

THE CHALLENGE

Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs

For years, NSF has charged discrimination in services to Negro farmers by various agencies of the Department of Agriculture and other governmental departments. Upon presentation of surveys of specific areas and documented individual cases, some improvement in practices was obtained and many individual injustices were corrected. But progress was painfully slow and very spotty. With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1965, all federal, state, and local agencies must end discriminatory practices as a condition to receiving federal funds. Compliance in some areas has been good, but in others delaying and evading tactics are being employed. Much work is yet to be done, and government agencies must quicken the pace of their enforcement procedures.

Equal Opportunity under Anti-Poverty Programs

Discrimination against the rural poor — Negro and white — is not the only factor that prevents them from taking advantage of the newer programs to end the shame of poverty in the United States. The stated requirement of most of these laws, including the Economic Opportunity Act, is that the program must be initiated at the local level. But when the local "power structure" is opposed to change, and when knowledge of these programs and how to apply for them is not available to the rural poor, the new "opportunities" do not come. That is why NSF's trained field workers are an essential bridge between government programs and the people who need them. NSF helps people learn how to help themselves through education and self-organization.

MEETING THE CHALLENGE

NSF has sought to meet this challenge in the field by continuing its Southern Rural Training Project; developing an emergency Farm Labor Counseling Program; and intensifying the program of its regular Southern field staff.

Southern Rural Training Project

The Southern Rural Training Project, established under a contract with the U.S. Department of Labor in mid-1964, has been extended to July, 1966. SRTP is designed to demonstrate that local leadership in poorer areas of the rural South, in cooperation with local institutions and organizations, can assist in developing effective training programs for the rural unemployed and underemployed.

The SRTP staff has helped set up sixteen projects in six states, in addition to giving technical assistance to other development groups. For a sampling, in **Louisiana,** one of the projects will make possible self-help housing and one will train farm workers. Another will serve recently released prisoners. In **South Carolina,** one project includes self-help housing for migrants, and another will provide adult basic education in an area where an NSF survey showed that 82% of the adults have less than an 8th grade education. In **Florida,** two projects will upgrade the professional skills of teachers and former teachers, most of whom are Negro and whose original teacher-training does not enable them to meet current standards. In **Georgia,** there are two On-the-Job Training projects being developed, one for child-care workers and another for trainees at the sub-professional level in a state hospital. Other projects are in **Alabama** and **Tennessee.**

Sponsoring groups for these projects vary widely and include a local school district, several predominantly Negro civic improvement associations, a State Department of Education, a local union, a local farm bureau, a state teachers' association, and several colleges.

A number of the projects provide training for seasonal and migrant farm workers during the off-season, and the people served range from jobless youth to middle-aged farmers in need of basic education and training. All trainees receive living allowances and supportive services designed to help them stay with the program to completion, often a difficult thing to do, especially for heads of families. Other projects being explored include one to spur cultural and economic development of two Indian tribes, and one to train professionals and sub-professionals for work with migrant farm families along the Eastern Seaboard.

Farm Labor Counseling Program

NSF has long opposed the importation of foreign contract farm workers, whose extreme poverty makes them willing to work for low wages, and whose presence has undermined the already substandard wages of America's farm workers. NSF therefore felt a responsibility to offer help to the Secretary of Labor in the first season after termination of the Mexican labor importation program. The Farm Labor Counseling Program was set up by NSF to advise unemployed rural workers about the availability of "criteria" farm jobs, that is, work under guaranteed fair labor standards. NSF representatives reached 13,000 potential workers in eight states, and approximately 1,100 were recruited for out-of-state farm work. These workers were also given information about other services the government employment bureaus offer. Many expressed strong interest in job training programs. More young people applied for Job Corps and other youth training opportunities than there were places available. This NSF program has given a "push" to the state employment services, which all too often discriminate against rural workers in the South, especially Negroes, whose daily farm earnings are in the neighborhood of $3 for a ten-hour day.

Intensified Field Work

The Southern Rural Training Project and the Farm Labor Counseling Program have been specialized extensions of NSF's work of bringing the knowledge and technical assistance needed by the rural poor to help themselves achieve a life of dignity through economic independence.

NSF's programs, carried on through workshops, conferences, individual guidance, distribution of fact sheets on government programs, and local meetings, have continued to expand. In addition to its field work in Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee, work has been initiated in Alabama and Florida. In four of these states, the field work is sponsored jointly by NSF, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Council on Human Relations. Some of the highlights of 1965 follow.

Cooperatives: Rural cooperatives have long contributed to successful farm operation, but the poor have rarely had an opportunity to participate in them. NSF's field staff has helped to organize local co-ops and aided several of them to secure federal loans to expand their services. The Panola County, **Mississippi,** Farmers Co-Op received a Farmers Home Administration loan of $113,000 to expand from its small okra marketing program into the much-needed supplying of fertilizers, insecticides, and farm equipment to its members. In **Tennessee,** a $49,000 Economic Opportunity loan was obtained for the Mid-South Consumers Oil Cooperative, whose impetus came when supplies were cut off from Negro farmers who registered to vote. Rural and low-income families in 13 counties of **South Carolina** have organized co-ops to obtain cotton pickers, combines, tractors, plows, sprayers, and other farm equipment.

Farmers Home Administration and Economic Opportunity Act Loans: If cooperatives have contributed to successful farming, supervised credit at reasonable rates has been the foundation of farm survival. Making such loans is the responsibility of the Farmers Home Administration through the expanded financing and more liberalized programs of the Economic Opportunity Act. Too often loans have been discriminatorily denied. NSF field workers have helped to prepare the applications and to appeal unjust denials. Following key cases in which NSF secured reversal of local loan rejections in **South Carolina,** 441 families (many of them Negro) have received EOA loans. NSF assisted 30 farmers in **Louisiana** to secure EOA loans for the first time. In **Tennessee,** over fifty FHA loans were obtained, including twenty farm purchase loans for former sharecroppers and tenant farmers.

Other Field Activities: Bi-monthly leadership training meetings are held in 44 out of 46 rural counties in **South Carolina.** A series of four multi-county workshops were held in Southwest **Georgia** to learn about government programs and how to organize Community Action Projects to fight poverty. Groundwork, through NSF's Farm Labor Counseling Program, has been laid for full-time work in **Florida,** to start early in 1966. Mass evictions of sharecroppers in Lowndes and Wilcox Counties, **Alabama,** show the need for an emergency housing program, and NSF is working on this. In cooperation with the Alabama Rural Areas Council, NSF called a statewide conference where the rural poor could confront representatives of the government agencies who are supposed to aid them. (Held at Montgomery, January 21-22, 1966, the conference produced a lively exchange of information and ideas, and plans for action.)

As a result of wide distribution of NSF Fact Sheets in **Mississippi** on the right of all farmers and sharecroppers to take part in Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee elections, Negro committeemen were elected for the first time — 27 in all. These local farmer committees determine acreage allotments and administer other federal agricultural programs; hence their decisions are of enormous importance to the survival of the small farmer. Numerous emergency loan commitments were obtained in **Louisiana** to repair Hurricane Betsy damage. Since most of them have remained unmet, NSF continues to press on this issue. In **Tennessee,** five farmers saved their land from auction by obtaining previously denied FHA loans.

LEGISLATION

For the first time in history, a minimum wage bill (H.R. 10518) including coverage for farm workers was reported favorably out of the House Committee on Education and Labor. The bill, covering some 1.3 million farm workers at $1.15 an hour, is ex-

pected to come up for a vote during the second session of the 89th Congress.

Other bills to protect farm workers, including workmen's compensation and coverage under collective bargaining laws, are expected to come before the Congress in 1966.

PUBLIC EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

NSF serves as an important source of public information on issues related to rural poverty. NSF officers and staff speak frequently at public and private conferences, such as a meeting of VISTA volunteer trainees, high school and college seminars, summer camp groups, and on TV programs. They also appear before legislative committees and at administrative hearings. A number of significant books which appeared in the last year drew upon resources provided by NSF. Material for articles and radio and TV programs is frequently supplied. NSF reports and releases are sent regularly to newspapers, magazines, libraries, government and private agency officials, legislators, labor and church leaders, and other concerned citizens. An approximate total of 18,000 pieces of literature was sent out in answer to 500 requests in 1965. Labor, church, and other groups ordered quantities of materials to distribute through their own channels.

NSF SERVES ON A WIDE FRONT

Frank P. Graham, NSF's Chairman, served on a three-member advisory committee to the U.S. Department of Agriculture on policies to provide equal opportunity to all through USDA's Federal-State Extension Services. NSF Vice-Chairman A. Philip Randolph has been named honorary chairman of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." Its Executive Secretary, Fay Bennett, has been reappointed to the Secretary of Agriculture's Rural Areas Advisory Committee. NSF is in close touch with national developments and has access to appropriate officials as needed to report developments in the field, to suggest policy, and to follow up on complaints concerning local administration of federal programs.

NSF participates in the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty; it co-sponsored a four-state conference on Cooperatives and Credit Unions, held in Louisiana; and it provided valuable assistance to other groups working with the rural poor.

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

New members added to the National Sharecroppers Fund Board during the past year are Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Associate Director, Commission on Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches; Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, Coordinator of Special Events, Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches, and author of **The Trumpet Sounds;** Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, President of Clark College; and Dr. Pauli Murray, attorney and author of **Proud Shoes.** NSF lost through death Board member Gardner Jackson, whose entire adult life had been devoted to the cause of justice for America's dispossessed.

NSF continues to grow as the opportunities for expansion of work in the South open under the impact of the civil rights revolution and the war on poverty. The number of contributors showed a net gain in 1965 of about 14 per cent, and total contributions increased by 18 per cent.

NSF grants were again made to the pension fund for aged members of the former Southern Tenant Farmers Union, and to the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, of which NSF is a member.

To carry on NSF's expanded program, about 350,000 pieces of educational and promotional material were mailed to prospective new donors. The following finance report is summarized from the certified audit which is available at our national office for inspection by NSF contributors.

INCOME: Contributions		$129,832.73
EXPENDITURES:		
Program and Education		
Grants to Other Organizations	$ 4,100.00	
National Office Personnel (includes payroll taxes and employee benefits)	24,761.11	
Southern Field Work, Conferences, Travel	17,730.58	
Educational and Program Materials (printing, mailing, postage)	24,161.12	
Rent, Telephone, Office Expense, Miscellaneous	6,093.60	
Total Program and Education Expenditures		$ 76,846.41
Promotion		25,846.11
Administration		19,014.25
Total Expenditures		$121,706.77
Excess of Income over Expenditures		8,125.96

Note: Additional funds not shown in this report were available for NSF's field work through the Rural Advancement Project, jointly sponsored by NSF, the Southern Regional Council, and the Georgia and South Carolina Councils on Human Relations.

Suggested Form of Bequest

"I give and bequeath to National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, the sum of $.."

Mr. J.P.'s 32-acre farm in Tipton County, Tennessee, was to be sold at auction to pay off a local bank. The county FHA had refused to refinance the loan. Sale of the farm would have left the family and an aged, invalid mother with no home and no place to go. NSF stepped in; negotiations reopened. When reversal of the FHA decision came, not only was the bank paid off, but a new four-room home and a tractor were financed. Increased income from the tractor is making possible regular loan payments, and the J.P. family expects to be able to add inside running water by fall of 1966.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

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"THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS"

NSF supporters, students, librarians, editors, and others who rely on our annual reports for an accurate highlighting of developments from year to year, will be glad to know that "The Condition of Farm Workers in 1965" will be ready by spring. NSF's own greatly expanded activities demanded this separate report to our contributors.

April 1, 1966

TO: Dr. Curtis C. Aller, Director
Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20210

FROM: Dr. Sam F. Parigi, Project Director

SUBJECT: Progress Report No. 6, Southern Rural Training Project: National Sharecroppers Fund -- OMPER Demonstration Project No. 83-31-07 in Developing Job Training Programs among the Hard Core Unemployed and Underemployed in Southern Rural Areas.

Report for February, March, 1966

New project development and service to expedite the funding of proposals already submitted characterized SRTP's operations during the past two months. However, equally significant has been the funding of two additional EOA Title III-B projects (200 trainees total) and the approval for funding in April of a project (180 trainees) by the U. S. Office of Education. Therefore, six SRTP projects have been funded in the past four-month period and we anticipate funding of three other programs by the end of May.

Four proposals have been submitted during the report period: two to the Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research (U. S. Department of Labor), one to the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (Experimental and Demonstration program), and one to the Migrant Division (Office of Economic Opportunity). In addition, SRTP has participated in program construction on two other projects that have been submitted and considerable developmental work has already taken place on six EOA Title III-B programs and four OMPER E & D projects. It is a continuing challenge for SRTP to develop and to service through funding all projects with which we are associated.

I. EOA TITLE III-B PROGRAMS FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONAL FARM WORKERS

1. Programs Funded

MACTAD (Mobile, Alabama). Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, announced on March 30, 1966, a grant of $52,131 to the Mobile Area Committee for Training and Development, Inc. The funds will finance an educational and prevocational training program for 100 low-income, seasonally employed agricultural workers. Prevocational training follows the cluster pattern and is designed to raise the skills of the trainees who remain in agricultural work, and also to provide introductory training for occupations outside agriculture. MACTAD, Inc., has also applied for an OMPER E & D, and it is anticipated that some of the EOA III-B graduates will have their educational and skill levels raised sufficiently so that they may be eligible to participate in the MDTA project when it is funded. (See also Summary and Evaluation.)

Ferriday, Louisiana. The announcement of this program's funding was made on March 28, 1966. Basic education, prevocational training and supportive services will be offered to 100 low-income seasonally employed farm workers from Concordia Parish in the upper Louisiana Delta area. This program's approval marks the second funding of

SRTP-developed EOA III-B's for seasonal farm workers in Louisiana, the only such programs approved to date in that State. (See also Summary and Evaluation.)

2. Proposal Submitted

Fayette County, Tennessee. Fayette County is ranked the third lowest county in the United States by annual family income ($1,363), and the fourth lowest in per capita income ($470). The need for manpower development projects is obvious, and SRTP, through the sponsorship of the Fayette County Economic Development Commission (Leander J. Palmer, Director) and with the cooperation of numerous county officials, quickly developed this program which will offer basic education, prevocational training, and supportive services for a three-month period to 180 unemployed or seasonally employed persons. Among the criteria for entry into this program are: an annual family income of less than $1,000 a year and an educational level of less than sixth grade.

Prevocational training will be given in three clusters: (1) Agriculture, including instruction in small farm management, new and improved farming techniques, crop rotation, fertilizer preparation and application, machinery operation and minor repair; (2) building trades, such as carpentry, electrical work, brick masonry, and plumbing; and (3) homemaking education, with instruction on child guidance, home care of the sick, family hygiene, home management, sewing and clothing care.

This program should be especially meaningful because of the participation of volunteer professionals. As an example, Art Emory of the National Sharecroppers Fund will offer the trainees suggestions on credit unions and cooperatives. J. M. Nunnerly of the Farmers Home Administration will explain the availability of $1,000 signature loans to owners of homes and will assist persons who so desire to apply for the loans.

The development of this project is reflective of our recent SRTP efforts in the field of EOA III-B's. An area was chosen because of its low income level and lack of MDTA and OEO projects. Most persons, initially contacted, stated that the area did not have an off-farm season in the summer. Albert Newall, SRTP Tennessee Field Representative, consulted with a number of helpful persons in the State Agriculture Department, but evidence seemed to show a period too brief for a project. Further contact with local agricultural experts revealed that recent changes in the county's agricultural situation now easily allowed a three-month program in the summer (lay-by period). Local farm authorities estimated that there was now a 75 percent surplus of farm labor due to cotton acreage cuts and farm mechanization. Walton Sharp, SRTP's Louisiana Representative who developed the III-B's in that State, then was assigned to the project. He and Newall received an enthusiastic response to the prospects of a III-B program from the local CAP, farm workers, educators and various agency personnel. With the two Field Representatives operating in "high gear" and the Knoxville office giving priority to the proposal, a program was rapidly structured. A broadly representative Advisory Committee (including one-third representation of farm workers) was selected by the local group. At an early stage in project development, the Migrant Division of OEO was notified of our activity in Fayette County and Mr. Ken Vallis of that organization responded quickly by visiting in Somerville on March 22 to discuss the project with its sponsor. On the night of March 22, two weeks after Newall's initial inquiry, the EOA III-B Advisory Committee met and, after a thorough explanation and discussion of the proposed project by Mr. Vallis, Dr. Sam F. Parigi (SRTP Director), Mr. Sharp, Mr. Newall, and Mr. Palmer, the necessary OEO forms were signed. The proposal had been developed with haste, but not waste. The sponsor helped SRTP representatives "touch base" with local workers, educators, and governmental officials and SRTP also informed related state agencies of the program (Example: State OEO, State Department of Employment Security, which normally has a representative in Somerville one day a week, and State Vocational Education). The Fayette County project bids to be the first EOA Title III-B in Tennessee.

3. Projects In Advanced State Of Development

Dorchester, South Carolina. This project is to be sponsored by the Colleton-Dorchester Counties Development Corporation, the CAP agency for Colleton and Dorchester Counties. L. S. James, SRTP's South Carolina Field Representative, and Walton Sharp are developing the program which is designed to serve 120 low-income, adult, seasonally employed farm workers. Income statistics show that 49.6 percent of the family units in Dorchester County have annual incomes of less than $3,000. The program, as presently envisioned, will be a year-round one, with full-time education and prevocational classes during the off-farm season and education classes two nights a week during the farm season. Farm workers, educators, and representatives of related agencies have offered their cooperation and Ken Vallis of the Migrant Division met with the program's sponsor on March 17. Drafting work has begun on the proposal which will be submitted in April.

Tennessee Elk River Development Association (TERDA). On March 23, 1966, Albert Newall and Dr. Parigi of SRTP met with Mr. Cuyler Dunbar, Director of the COMET E & D; Mr. Ralph Mitchell, Executive Director, Elk River Development Association; Mr. Mark Whitaker, Director of TERDA; Mr. James Lemons, TERDA Program Analyst; Mr. Robert Marshall, COMET Elk River Director; and Mr. B. H. Cummings, a COMET OJT Supervisor, to discuss a successor program to the COMET Project which will soon terminate in the area. Various alternatives were explored in a full-day meeting and it was finally resolved that attention should focus on developing a rather distinctive EOA Title III-B for 320 "rockbottom" rural farm workers. A subsequent meeting to discuss the project has been scheduled for Knoxville in early April. TERDA is the CAP agency for a nine-county area of South-central Tennessee and will sponsor the program.

The genesis of SRTP's involvement in this project is interesting. Cuyler Dunbar had originally suggested that the Elk River group contact SRTP for assistance in project development. Thereupon, Mr. Ralph Mitchell met with Mr. Peter Pesoli, SRTP Field Coordinator, in Knoxville to discuss the Elk River's competency to sponsor and their desire for a manpower project. Subsequently a delegation from Elk River went to Washington to contact Congressmen and federal agency personnel about possible programs in their area. On this occasion, two Washington officials recommended to the Elk River delegation that they seek assistance from SRTP for their program development.

Thibodaux, Louisiana. Because of his developmental work in Louisiana, SRTP's Walton Sharp was invited to attend the quarterly Louisiana State OEO Conference in Baton Rouge. At this meeting Sharp was introduced and mention made of his development of the Reserve, Louisiana, EOA III-B. Subsequently a number of persons contacted him at the conference, including Lucien Caillouet, Director, LaFourche Parish CAP, who asked assistance in developing a III-B program. The project's development began shortly afterward, including the formation of an Advisory Committee on March 3, 1966, and a visit from Ken Vallis of the Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers Division on March 23, 1966. It is projected that the program will reach 180 low-income, undereducated farm workers.

Thomasville, Georgia. Early SRTP explorations in Georgia revealed a need for manpower programs in the Southwestern area of that State. Alfred Morris, SRTP Field Representative, is developing this project which will have as its sponsor the Southwest Georgia Community Action Council, Inc., a CAP group representing thirteen counties. There is some question at present on the number of counties which will be served by the project, and consequently the number of trainees. Indications are that this EOA III-B will serve approximately 200 trainees, 100 in each session. To date, there are no funded EOA III-B's in Georgia.

4. Other EOA III-B Projects Being Developed

Alexandria, Louisiana. A CAP agency, which was to sponsor the project, has had some internal difficulties, so SRTP has arrested its program development until the dispute is resolved. It now appears that the different groups are reaching a compromise and perhaps a needed program can be developed soon to utilize the services of many capable volunteers who wish to help less fortunate persons in their area.

Elloree, South Carolina. Considerable "leg-work" has been done on this tentative project which will project SRTP into the self-help housing field. Complex problems concerning construction, legal titles, and work-sharing agreements will necessitate a delay in further project development until May. SRTP's staff is small and a decision had to be made to delay this time-consuming project so that other equally desirable projects could be submitted in April and early may.

Shiloh (Tennessee). A multi-county CAP agency (with several EDA counties included) has indicated a desire to sponsor an EOA III-B for approximately 400-800 persons. Extensive contacts with farm workers, county officials, and school representatives reflect keen interest in the program, especially in view of the fact that the sponsor was becoming disappointed because of the previous rejection of several proposals which it had submitted.

Dillon, South Carolina. Initial contacts have shown widespread interest in a year-round program for this rural area of South Carolina. Many of the farm workers contacted by SRTP Field Representative L. S. James confided that they had never been to school and they cannot read nor write. Sponsor: Dillon County Community Action Council, Inc.

State Of Florida EOA III-B. Alfred Morris has acted as a consultant to the State Office of Economic Opportunity in its development of a program to serve 2,500 trainees in nine counties of Florida. The proposal should be completed by the end of March and will be submitted to Tom Karter, Chief, Migrant Division, OEO in Washington. This program again demonstrates the cooperative relationship that SRTP has developed with state agencies.

5. Previously funded Projects

Reserve, Louisiana. One hundred and twenty trainees are actively participating in this project. Of the 133 persons receiving physical examinations, tuberculine time tests showed 42 positive, and follow-up examinations revealed that a few of these required medical attention. One unanticipated problem developed when the sponsor had difficulty in obtaining bonding because the project was only scheduled for a three-month period. SRTP's Field Representative learned of the problem and was able to arrange the bonding service.

II. COOPERATIVE RESEARCH DIVISION, OFFICE OF EDUCATION, H.E.W.

Approved For Funding

Project TEST. Project TEST has been approved for funding having cleared all review barriers. As related in Progress Report No. 5, the funding of the program was progressing much more slowly than anticipated. On March 1, we learned that the program had been transferred from the Division of Adult and Vocational Research to the Division of Elementary and Secondary Research. Subsequently it appeared, because of complications created by its having been transferred to another division, that the program would not be funded in the current fiscal year. (Our experience is that programs which linger from year to year tend not to be funded.) Mr. Peter Pesoli, SRTP Field Coordinator, then made a special trip to Washington on March 10 to expedite the program which is designed to upgrade the skills of 180 teachers in Florida who, despite having failed to achieve the minimum 500 score on the National Teachers Examination as required by Florida law, still have the potential and desire to remain in teaching. After conferences with Mr. Walter Mylecraine, Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner of Education, Dr. Lewis Bright, Associate Commissioner of Education and Director of Cooperative Research Division, and J. Ned Bryan, Officer in Charge of Curriculum Branch, in which Pesoli explained the urgency of the program and the funding technicalities which had been encountered, the SRTP Field Coordinator was told that the program was an excellent one and that it would be funded by the U. S. Office of Education. That same day the program's sponsor, the Florida State Department of Education, was notified by Mr. Mylecraine that the program had been approved. Upon the request of Dr. Joseph W. Crenshaw, Director of Instructional Services, Florida Department of Education, Pesoli went to Tallahassee, Florida, to assist in making modifications to the program schedule so that classes may begin on May 16.

Since the program's sponsor and SRTP have been informed that the project is ready for the formal signing, funding may reasonably be expected to occur in early April.

III. MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT EXPERIMENTAL AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

1. Proposals Submitted In Reporting Period

Training Indigenous Persons For Sub-Professional Occupations (Jackson State College, Jackson, Mississippi). SRTP was requested by OMPER to contact Dr. Jane E. McAllister, Jackson State College, and assist in the development of an E & D program. Dr. Parigi met with Dr. McAllister and other interested staff members of the college on February 10. At this conference an earlier proposal draft by the college was discussed as were methods for expanding the program. After a full interchange of information and ideas, SRTP was given permission to draft a proposal for submission to OMPER. O. H. Simmons of the Mississippi Employment Security Commission was informed of the project and he, in turn, gave needed information to estimate training allowances. The proposal was quickly developed and hand-carried to Washington by the Project Director on February 24. A conference was held that day with OMPER officials: Mr. Seymour Brandwein, Director, Office of Special Manpower Programs, Mr. Charles Gilmore, Chief, Special Programs, Dr. Arenia Mallory, and Mr. Richard McAllister. At this conference tentative approval was given to the proposal and SRTP subsequently presented the final proposal to OMPER on February 24. The project will train 115 underpriviledged persons as "counseling interns" to fill the demand of governmental and private employers for social service personnel.

Since the proposal was submitted to OMPER, SRTP has discussed the proposal with State Employment Service and Vocational Education, and also Regional Employment Service and H.E.W. representatives. A target date for funding of May 1 has been set.

Mobile Area Committee For Training And Development (MACTAD, Mobile, Alabama-OMPER. Expectations for the funding of this program soared as a result of a conference at OMPER offices in Washington on February 24 between Mr. Gilmore, Dr. Mallory, Dr. Robert Gilliard (MACTAD), Father A. S. Foley (MACTAD), Mr. Jim Hendricks (MACTAD), Mr. Jim Blackburn (Employment Service), Mr. Pesoli, and Dr. Parigi. The checkered life of this project has been recited in earlier reports, but a positive turn occurred at the meeting when OMPER agreed to consider funding the entire "package" of remedial education, institutional training, and supportive services for 280 trainees. A target date for funding of May 1 was set at the conference. Because of the time that had transpired and the changed conditions, it was necessary to completely redraft the proposal. Before doing so, however, Newall and Parigi of SRTP met in Montgomery with Mr. Copeland J. Pace, Coordinator of Manpower Training, Alabama State Employment Service and Mr. C. S. Bilbro, Assistant MDTA Director, Alabama Vocational Education Department, on March 3 in order to coordinate the project revision with their agencies. On March 10 SRTP's Director met in Mobile to review the proposal revision with the sponsor, and the new proposal was submitted to OMPER by mail on March 16. Since that time SRTP has had introductory discussions on the project with Regional ES and H.E.W. personnel.

Bureau Of Apprenticeship and Training - MACTAD E & D. To complement and expand the MACTAD-OMPER E & D, a separate BAT-MACTAD E & D has been developed and submitted by SRTP. After a series of duscussions with various agency personnel at national, regional, and state level, SRTP concluded that the OJT component could be processed more easily if it were submitted as separate, but tied to the OMPER E & D. The design of this proposal is to seek funding of 100 OJT slots by BAT, but to have the entire administrative cost of the OJT development included in the OMPER-MACTAD E & D. The funding of the BAT-MACTAD E & D is, therefore, contingent upon the funding of the OMPER contract and the two contracts are scheduled to conclude on the same date.

Comment On Project Development And Servicing. These two MACTAD E & D projects have required a significant amount of SRTP staff time, but without that involvement the proposals would not be progressing. A rough summary of SRTP-MACTAD E & D activities during the past two months will perhaps illustrate what SRTP means by the term "servicing a project." Conferences have been attended specifically to discuss MACTAD E & D projects in Washington, Atlanta, Montgomery, and Mobile. Sixteen telephone conversations were initiated by SRTP on behalf of these projects, and at least eight telephone calls were received. In addition, fourteen letters were written to expedite the project. It is now hoped that the project is "on the way" and that correspondingly less SRTP time be required.

2. Projects In Advanced Stage Of Development.

Mississippi Forestry Project. This project marks another example of SRTP's "outreach service" to OMPER. On March 1, Mr. Gilmore of OMPER requested SRTP to undertake the development of a Mississippi E & D project which had the interest of the State Employment Service and the U. S. Forest Service. Consequently Albert Newall and Dr. Parigi met with Dr. Henry Taylor, Rural Community Development Service (U.S.D.A., Washington); Mr. C. M. Evenson, Regional Job Corps Coordinator; Mr. Dale Eaves, BES (Atlanta Region); Mr. Harvey Jackson and Mr. Fred Ungerer of the Mississippi Employment Security Commission; and Mr. Tom Forister, National Forests in Mississippi, on March 4 in Jackson, Mississippi. This meeting was an exploratory one, but in a second meeting, which was held in Jackson on March 14, a number of decisions concerning the structuring on the project were made, and agreement was reached on sending information to Knoxville so that a draft proposal could be written. Among the participants at this meeting were Mr. O. H. Simmons, Mississippi E.S.; Mr. A. P. Fatherree, Mississippi Director of Vocational Education; Mr. H. T. Huddleston, President of Summit Junior College; and Mr. Del W. Thorsen, Deputy Forest Supervisor, National Forests in Mississippi; and SRTP representatives. Upon the receipt of information from conference participants, SRTP drafted a proposal which was mailed to the concerned agencies on March 4. The proposal will be reviewed by these agencies and then a final draft will be submitted to OMPER. This is the first time that SRTP has participated with RCDS in project development, but it appears that such an association may be mutually beneficial.

Orleans Parish Prison. Program development has continued on this project and proposal drafting has begun. Some problems are being encountered on reaching agreement as to proper structuring of the program so that it will have the needed flexibility essential for a social and training center for released prisoners. One distinctive feature of the planned program is the extensive use of highly qualified professional volunteers. Representatives of the Louisiana Employment Service and Vocational Education Department have been kept abreast of developments.

3. Proposal Previously Submitted

Ability Development For Demand (ADD), Tampa, Florida. It has been decided that the University of South Florida will act as program sponsor rather than Tampa's Office of the Mayor. Reportedly, this decision was reached at a Washington conference of March 8, 1966. OMPER did not notify SRTP of the sponsor change, and our effectiveness in servicing the project has been impaired. Nevertheless, we are continuing our efforts in the program's behalf and it is our understanding that the MT-1's will soon be completed.

4. Other New Developments

Triana (Triana, Alabama). A meeting was held at the Pulaski-Cavalry Hill Rehabilitation Center on February 10, between SRTP's Peter Pesoli and Albert Newall, Charles T. Brandon, Chairman, Pulaski-Cavalry Hill Recreation Committee, Leon Frazier, President of Technical Assistance Committee, and Clyde Foster, Mayor of Triana. The purpose of this meeting was to explore ideas for making Triana a component part of the present Pulaski-Cavalry Hill E & D, which would strengthen the program of both groups. Additional information has been gathered which will speed the proposal development and Mr. Pesoli contacted the Huntsville E.S. Office to notify them of the contemplated activity.

Training School For Boys (Milledgeville, Georgia). The proposed sponsor for the project has had to decline further active participation because of recent changes at the institution. However, the contact person has agreed to cooperate if another sponsor wishes to conduct the program and it appears that a Georgia university will seek the project. If so, the program to provide training for child care workers will be altered to reflect the ideas of the new sponsor.

Test II Project (State of Florida). SRTP has delayed development of TEST II because of the frustrating problems of implementing TEST I. TEST II, which seeks to upgrade the skills of displaced teachers in related but non-academic fields, is designed as a companion proposal to TEST I and program development will now be renewed.

5. Previously Funded Projects

Austin Peay State College Project (COMET). COMET continues to function in a highly creditable manner, and good communications exist between Mr. Cuyler Dunbar, COMET Director, and the SRTP staff. Upon the request of Mr. Dunbar, Newall and Morris of the SRTP staff undertook OJT development for COMET on three days during the bitter cold wave of early February. Mr. Dunbar has also introduced SRTP staff to persons in the Elk River and Beech River areas of Tennessee who are seeking manpower programs to continue the work begun by COMET.

Loyola University Project (SEESAW), New Orleans, Louisiana. Active recruiting of trainees for the secretarial phase of the project to be held in Reserve, Louisiana, commenced in the latter part of February and the formal training began on March 21. Some difficulties are being encountered in finding adequate training facilities in Slidell, but the sponsor is optimistic that the program will start there, as planned, on May 1.

St. Mary's Dominican College Project (New Orleans, Louisiana). Classes for secretarial training and dialectic speech remediation began in early January. Mrs. Geoffray, Project Director, has related that trainees were keeping pace with the course outline, and that the majority, through individual efforts outside class, were ahead of schedule. The presence of counselors at the training site is credited with diminishing trainee problems. SRTP's Field Representative spoke to several trainees who were grateful for the opportunity of getting the training and enthusiastic concerning the program.

IV. ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT (Other than Title III-B)

1. Section 206 and Section 207

National Sharecroppers Fund Proposal. SRTP's parent has originated the idea of a project which would not only provide technical assistance in project development, but also train rural persons to: (1) acquire sufficient technical knowledge to assess their community and individual needs, (2) develop programs (under EOA, Vocational Education Act of 1963, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Manpower Development and Training Act, etc.) to meet those needs, and (3) carry out such programs successfully. SRTP assisted in drafting the proposal which was submitted to OEO in March. NSF has arranged a meeting with Sargent Shriver on April 6 to discuss the proposal and rural conditions. Several key board members of NSF, Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of NSF, Pesoli and Parigi are scheduled to attend the meeting.

2. Title II-B

Holly Hill, South Carolina. Our last Progress Report showed 375 trainees receiving adult education training, but the program has now expanded to 500 enrolees. State officials have told our South Carolina Representative that the program is especially successful because of the active support of local organizations.

V. OJT DEVELOPMENT

SRTP's OJT work has primarily occurred in Georgia, South Carolina, and recently in Tennessee. Our system of referring signed OJT-1's from area redevelopment areas to local BAT representatives met with varied results. In some instances the employer has been quickly contacted and the application processed. In other instances, several months have elapsed and BAT representatives have not established contact with OJT-1 signers. As a result of BAT-SRTP combined efforts, training slots have been approved for 62 persons under OJT provisions. SRTP's next Progress Report will contain a more comprehensive treatment of OJT activity.

See also BAT-MACTAD E & D under Section III.

VI. OTHER ACTIVITIES

1. Florida Migrant Center

Mr. Julian Morse, Coordinator of Migrant Education, Florida State Department of Education, invited SRTP's Field Coordinator to a meeting attended by a number of persons working with migrants on February 17 in Florida in order to discuss the possibility of establishing a center to train sub-professionals (and some professionals) working with migrants. As a consequence of this meeting, and subsequent discussions, it was decided to change the proposal site of this training from Florida Atlantic University to the University of South Florida.

SRTP has been asked by Mr. Morse to assist in the development of this program and a tentative meeting date has been set with officials of the University of South Florida. Some work has already been done by SRTP on a component of this program with Mrs. Minnie Fields of the Florida Migrant Education Office.

2. An article by the Project Director entitled, "The Tennessee Pilot Farm Management Projects" was published in the January, 1966, issue of the Employment Service Review.

3. Walton Sharp was instrumental in bringing together 20-40 students of the Louisiana State University Catholic Center with Mr. John Goodman, Director of the Medicare Alert Program. The students were thus able to render help where it was needed and, at the same time, became introduced to "Poverty Programs" in which they have an interest.

VII. SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

SRTP is extending itself to develop projects in all corners of the Southeast. During this reporting period projects have been funded in Louisiana and Alabama. One proposal has been approved for funding in Florida and additional workers were placed on OJT's in Georgia. One proposal has been submitted from Mississippi and another from that State is being reviewed by cooperating agencies before formal submission. In Tennessee, one project was submitted and projects in South Carolina and Georgia are in advanced stages of preparation.

The acceptance of our project by agency personnel seems to improve each month, and oftentimes SRTP has been asked or is recommended to participate in development of new programs. "Success breeds success" is an old adage, and with each additional funding, new requests are being made to SRTP by local sponsors for assistance in project development. Unfortunately our small staff of six is limited in the number of projects it can handle at one time. It is the staff's feeling that this healthy response to SRTP's activities is reflective of the need to more directly carry manpower projects to rural areas and to provide the "total service-package" indicated in this report.

The sponsors, SRTP (and marginal farm workers) were gratified by the funding of the two EOA III-B projects. However, the projects were funded later than expected which has resulted in considerable pressure being placed on the sponsor by applicants and potential staff interested in participating. The funding delays have also created problems of recruitment since few instructors can long afford unemployment and some trainees, who are temporarily employed during a short farm season, will miss the program which they heartily sought during the off-farm season. These funding delays were not encountered on the previously funded Reserve III-B which was submitted to the Migrant Division on December 3, 1965, and approved by OEO on January 24, 1966. Apparently a joint announcement is now needed from both OEO and the U. S. Department of Labor, and the ramifications of that joint announcement appear to have delayed the fundings of these latter projects.

SRTP's contract is due to expire on July 9. Given the fast pace of present project development, the new opportunities opening to us, and our desire to provide the maximum service possible, we are faced with the problem of maintaining the momentum of the Project, while at the same time providing for an orderly termination of our operation. The problem is compounded by the fact that SRTP does not wish to leave a number of potential sponsors dangling with half-completed developmental work.

NOTE: SRTP was given permission by Mr. Charles Gilmore to submit this report late because of the priority of project development in which it was engaged during the usual time allocated for drafting the Progress Report.

Al Ulmer - for your information

May 17, 1966

DRAFT

TO: Fay Bennett

FROM: Jac Wasserman

SUBJECT: Notes on USDA policies and practices

PURPOSE: To determine the extent to which USDA direct services and federally assisted programs are in compliance with Title VI and other Departmental regulations, as well as to indicate problem areas and needs which require additional legislation or administrative action by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Department-Wide Actions: In his report to the President dated June 17th, 1965, Secretary Freeman stated that the Office of the Inspector General was then in the field conducting a threephase civil rights audit to determine "the extent of Department progress in correcting and preventing recurrences of the adverse conditions cited in the Civil Rights Commission report." He further stated that he stood ready to act to remedy those deficiencies brought to his attention in the Inspector General's reports.

The reports of the Inspector General have not been made public so that we have no way of evaluating what they consider "the extent of compliance by USDA agencies." Nor do we know what action, if any, the Secretary took to correct and prevent the recurrence of the adverse operating conditions reported on.

I believe that the reports of the Inspector General should be made public along with a statement by the Secretary indicating what action he took or is taking to eliminate whatever abuses were reported. This will enable NSF and other concerned organizations to call the attention of the Department to other situations which require investigation and corrective action.

The Secretary's report also states that the OIG " is giving priority to all complaints alleging discrimination." Our own experience has been that many of the complaints that we have filed have taken weeks and sometimes months to investigate and that in a great many instances the complainants have not been informed of the findings resulting from the investigation for as long as six months. We know of some complaints that were investigated more than six months ago where the complainants are still waiting to be notified of what action, if any, the Department is planning to take regarding their complaint.

The Secretary has appointed a Citizens Advisory Committee on Civil Rights (for USDA). Very few people know of the existence of this committee, who the members are or their functions. The Secretary's report refers to only one of the Committee's recommendations which asked the Director of Personnel "to explore the feasibility of apprenticeship programs as an alternative to competitive examinations for Department employment." The report also stated that "other recommendations are being implemented," though the recommendations were not made public. To the best of our knowledge and that of other people in the Department with whom we consulted, no such apprenticeship programs have been initiated by USDA since the Secretary's report was issued on June 17th, 1965.

The Report also refers to "a Department-wide review of Negro professional staff recruitment, assignment, training, and promotional opportunities" which the Secretary said would be in his hands by June 25th, 1965. This report has not been released and nothing is known of their findings or recommendations.

A (USDA) Committee on Program Review and Evaluation examined the program appraisal systems and were to recommend changes where those systems were found to be inadequate to measure the extent of service to minority groups. This report has also not been made available to us and we have no way of knowing what changes, if any, were recommended, or to what extent the evaluation delt honestly and realistically with the problem of services to minority groups.

ASCS: The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights report on "Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs' found that: "Until 1964, Negroes had not, with rare exceptions participated in nominations and elections under the supervision and jurisdiction of the Department for ASCS County Committees in the South." ASCS did not assume responsibility for the elimination of discrimination in these elections prior to the Winter of 1964. "In that year, of 37,000 community committee members in the South, only 75 were elected. There were no Negroes among the 5,000 committeemen in 11 Southern States."

Regulations for the 1965 elections called for the nomination of Negro candidates in the same proportion as they are to the total farm population (owners, tenants, and sharecroppers) in the county. The County ASCS Committee had the responsibility to see that the Community Committees carried out their regulation.

Despite these liberalized regulations, only 85 regular Negro community committeemen were elected in 1965, and only 5 were elected to County Committees as second alternates. The ASCS State and County Committees did a poor job informing Negro farmers of their right to participate in the elections. This task was assumed by NSF and civil rights groups but we were only able to reach a very small number of the eligible farmers. The Negroes nominated as candidates were those whose names were placed on the ballot by the County Committees and were in most instances "Toms" who did not have the confidence or respect of the Negro community. This also tended to discourage Negro farmers from participating in the elections. In areas where NSF or civil rights groups encouraged the nomination of Negro candidates by petition (six eligible farmers could nominate a candidate of their choice), ~~but~~ many of these petitions were challenged by the county ASCS and the petitions voided. In one Alabama county the ASCS Committee nominated 68 Negroes. This was their way of showing their contempt for the ASCS regulations. There is no doubt that many Negro farmers were confused by the number of Negro candidates on the ballot (some nominated by the Community Committee and others by petition) and they were also not informed that they could vote for up to 5 candidates. Thinking that they had to vote for five candidates they split their vote among the white and Negro candidates, which added to the white vote and resulted in the election of white nominees.

Only three Negroes have been appointed to State ASCS Committees as a result of the Civil Rights Commission Report (none heretofore). They are now serving in Arkansas, Maryland and Mississippi. No additional Negroes have been appointed to the State ASCS Committees in over a year.

The Administrator of ASCS appointed 39 Negroes to ASCS State Advisory Committees in 9 Southern states who are supposed to assist in assuring (1) equal employment opportunities in farm program administration at the state and county level, (2) equal access to information on ASCS program benefits and equal opportunity to participate in them, and (3) full participation in ASCS community and county elections, both as voters and as candidates. In addition, the Negroes appointed to the State Committees are people who have had very little or no knowledge of agriculture. There has been no communication (to my knowledge) between these State Committees and farmers and farmer groups in the Southern

states. Our field representatives are also in the dark regarding these State Committees. Some did not even know of the existance of these committees and those who heard about them knew nothing about any work that they did in their
about
states.

The Civil Rights Commission also pointed out that: "No evaluation is conducted ...to measure the impact of ASCS programs on white and Negro farms or the extent to which farmers of both races participate in these programs." ASCS said they have established a system of record keeping so that evaluations can be made of the extent to which Negroes participate in and benefit from ASCS programs as compared to whites. This information has also not been made public and we have been unable to elicit this information from the Department.

There have also been flagrant violations of the rights of tenants in the diversion payments to which they are entitled by ASCS regulations. Several complaints have been filed with ASCS in Washington which were investigated over a month ago, but no report of their findings or of any action taken with regard to these complaints have been made. (see reports re: Minter Plantation which are fairly typical of the situation of tenants throughout the South)

Attached are a number of recommendations made to the Administrator of ASCS by NSF and farm groups with whom we are working in the Southern states.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE 1966 ASCS ELECTION

1. The certifying signature on the outside envelope which contains the ballot should be omitted. Having one's name on the outside of the envelope gives pause to many persons because of real or imagined fears of intimidation and reprisals.

2. The burden of proof of eligibility to vote in the ASCS election should be placed on the county officials, not upon the persons claiming to be eligible. This could be done by allowing any person who claims to be eligible to obtain a ballot (see number 4 below) cast that ballot by mail and then the county officials could challenge it if they so desired. The county officials would then have to prove that the person is not eligible under ASCS regulations. The challenged voter would have the option of appealing the decision of eligibility directly to Washington. And the election returns would not be certified until all challenges and appeals had been settled.

3. Officials from the state ASC office or from Washington would oversee in the county ASC offices both the decision of whether or not a person is eligible and the actual mailing of ballots to all those declared eligible. These officials would make sure that every person declared eligible would have a ballot mailed to him.

4. Any person who believes he is eligible to vote and who has not received a ballot should be able to obtain a ballot for his community election by mail or in person from the state ASC office. Many eligible Negroes, particularly those of low economic status, are scared to death, and rightly so in most cases, to go to or get in touch with the county courthouse or other local public buildings which house USDA offices. This could demand a longer period between the time when the ballots are first mailed out and the time when they are due back because it would require extra time to obtain a ballot after a person discovered he did not receive a ballot.

5. The envelope sent to the voter which contains the ballot would also contain a stamped, self-addressed envelope as is customary now. However, the address on that envelope would not be that of the county ASC office, but rather that of the state ASC office. In other words, all marked ballots would be returned to the state ASC office.

6. A Federal official, from outside the state, would be assigned to the state ASC office during the entire time when the marked ballots are returned by mail. His sole responsibility would be to receive ~~those letters~~ the envelopes containing marked ballots (see number 5 above). He would separate them by county. At the time when the ballots are to be counted, ASC officials (one official for each county) would personally take the ballots to each county office for counting and that same official would remain there to observe the counting and to record any incidents which might occur as well as to record the results ofthe election. The purpose of numbers 5 and 6 is to eliminate any possibilities of fraud or chicanery on the part of local officials in the interim between receiving the marked ballots and counting them.

7. The names of the wives of farmers who are eligible to vote should also be included as eligible voters.

8. Voting instructions should clearly state that voters can vote for up to five candidates. Many voters were under the impression that they had to vote for five candidates.

9. The deadline for placing candidates on the ballot by petition should be announced at least one month in advance.

10. No names should be placed in nomination by an out-going committee unless the proposed candidate is willing to run if nominated. Many candidates were nominated at meetings where they were absent in previous elections and then declined when informed that they were nominated.

11. All petitions nominating candidates for ASC committees should include a signed statement by the proposed candidate that he accepts the nomination.

12. The county committee should be instructed to nominate Negroes for ASC committees only in those cases where the number of Negroes already nominated by petition falls short of ASCS requirements. This would mean that a period would first be announced and set aside for nomination by petition, and only at the end of that period could the county committee nominate additional candidates.

Notes on USDA Policies and Practices - Continued

FHA: The Commission reported that: "The assistance rendered to Negroes by FHA in the form of loans and technical assistance is consistently different from that furnished to whites in the same economic class. Negro borrowers receive smaller loans, both absolutely and in relation to their net worth, than white farmers similarly situated. While carefully supervised white borrowers receive most of their funds for capital investments, including farm improvement or enlargement, Negroes in the same economic class with drastically unequal supervision, receive loans primarily for living expenses and annual operating costs."

NSF has had occasion to call these and other inequities to the attention of Secretary Freeman and FHA on numerous occasions prior to the Commission's report, but always met with their denials of any discriminatory treatment of Negro farmers. They did not, however, take exception to the findings of the Commission and in a report on FHA loans to Negroes in the South, during the period from the last six months of 1964 to the first six months of 1965 (latest figures available to us) ~~there was~~ an increase of 14% in operating loans to Negro farmers (from 11 % to 25 %); a 6 % increase in farm operating loans (from 8 to 14%); and a 4 % increase in housing loans (from 11% to 15%).

~~(from [illegible] to [illegible])~~. The small number of loans to Negro farmers for housing and land accounts in large part for the decline in the number of Negro farm operators in the South. Southern white farmers were operating 3 million more acres in 1959 than in 1935, while Negro acreage had dropped by 22 million acres.

In a study made by the commission of 13 counties with a heavy Negro concentration in Agriculture, for the period from July 1963 through May 1964. it was found that 33% of the FHA borrowers were white and received 66% of the funds, while Negroes, who constitute 67% of the borrowers, received 34% of the funds. It was also found that in each economic class, average loan size to whites was substantially greater than for Negroes. This pretty much corresponds ~~to~~ with what we have found in our work with Negro farmers throughout the South. In general, our experience tends to confirm the Commission's statement "that the type of loans made and the technical assistance given to Negroes is limited by preconceptions held by county personnel of the FHA that Negroes cannot successfully change the pattern of their farming operations."

We have not noticed any appreciable change in FHA attitudes, policies and practices since the Commission report was issued. As a matter of fact, it is our impression (which we expect to substantiate by statistics from the preliminary agricultural census for 1964, that the gap between white and Negro farmers has continued to widen between 1959 and 1964.

The Commission also reported that: " A segregated service is maintained for those few Negroes employed by FHA in the South, confining them to work with Negroes, limiting their promotional opportunities, and housing them in offices separate from their white coworkers." The only appreciable improvement that we have been able to observe is in the area of housing. Separate staff housing has now largely been eliminated, though there are still some Negro FHA assistants and associates who are housed separately, while most Negro FHA personnel are now in the same office building with the white supervisor, they generally are given separate offices. In all other respects there has been little or no improvement. Negro FHA personnel still service only Negro farmers and only a few token promotions have been made. It was only in the past few months that two Negroes were promoted to the job as county supervisors (the first Negro county supervisors to hold that post in the South.)

FHA issued directives almost two years ago that a Negro should be appointed to the three man County Committee in all counties where they constitute 20% or more of the farm operators. We have been unable to obtain figures from FHA on the number of counties in that category who have appointed Negroes to serve on their committees. Our field representatives, however, report that less than half of the counties in their states with 20% or more Negro farm operators have appointed Negroes to the FHA County Committees that pass on all loan applications.

While courtesy titles are now generally used by FHA in correspondence with Negro farmers, they are rarely used by white FHA personnel in personal conversation with Negro farmers. Negro farmers calling on the FHA county supervisor are always addressed by their first or last names. We have also been informed that in many offices Negro farmers waiting their turn to be interviewed are passed over in favor of white farmers who came in later. Also, that in at least one county office (Dallas County, Ala.), Negro farmers must wait their turn outside the building in which the FHA office is housed, while white farmers are seated in the office.

We have had numerous cases referred to us of alleged collusion between the FHA county supervisor and white landowners which resulted in a denial of FHA loans to Negro farmers so that they were again forced to continue their dependence for loans ~~from~~ on the white landowners at excessive interest rates, and in many instances granted excessive loans which they were unable to repay, with the consequence that they eventually lost their farms. We have been unable to prove these charges even though the number of such complaints would indicate that there must be some basis for this opinion.

Notes on USDA Policies and Practices - Continued

State Extension Services: The Commission found that: "The Federally-Assisted State Extension Services of the South are administered through a separate structure and generally on a discriminatory basis, often with seperate and inferior offices for Negro staff. Further: "That with rare exception, at the county level, seperate plans of work are usually made for services to Negroes in those counties where Negroes are employed as Extension Service personnel, and Negro and white staff do not plan Extension programs or meet together." Also, that: "Responsibility for work with Negro rural residents, in counties where Negro staff are employed, is assigned almost without exception to the Negro staff and the caseloads of Negro workers are so high as not to permit adequate service."

While seperate lines of administrative supervision and staff communication have been formally eliminated, Negro agents have still not been fully "integrated" into the structure of the State Extension Services. Many Negro Extension agents are still working out of their old "seperate and inferior" offices, and their services are still confined to working with Negro farmers exclusively. Most Negro agents have been given the special assignment of working with "low-income" farmers, which in this case means Negro farmers. Many Negro

Extension agents also complain that their white supervisors (the county agent) do not even have a "plan of work" for them, but leave them free to do as they please in planning their work and arranging their itineraries. They also complain that while Negro and white agents are supposed to plan Extension programs and meet together, the white agents generally meet together first and make all decisions which are later conveyed as policy at an "integrated" staff meeting. White and Negro staff members when travelling to attend the same meeting generally leave in cars which are segregated by race. Staff meetings in most counties of the South still have seperate planning meetings for white and Negro clientele. The Federal Extension Service in it's report to the Secretary of Agriculture stated that: "All States report that all county staff members assist in overall program evaluation." The Negro staff members that we have consulted all deny that this is true.

One of the greatest difficulties we encounter in our relations with Negro Extension personnel is that they refuse to be quoted as they are State employees and are afraid of losing their jobs. Since the Extension Service is a federally supported agency, I believe that all Extension Service personnel should now be covered by Executive Order #11246.

The Commission found that: "Many thousands of Negro youth are not served by Extension Services in counties where white youth are served, denied access to national programs of the Extension Services through 4-H Clubs, and are denied the opportunity to compete with white youth for National and State awards of the 4-H program."

There has been little or no change in this situation anywhere in the South to my knowledge. There are still thousands of Negro youngsters who are denied the benefits of 4-H membership in counties where white youth are served. Practically all of the Negro 4-H clubs are still all-Negro and the white 4-H clubs still all-white. I use the word "practically" as there may be a few formerly Negro and white 4-H clubs that I have not heard of that have merged and are now integrated.

The Commission also found that Negro Extension agents were denied access to training furnished their white coworkers and were confined largely to inferior training (except in

North Carolina). The Secretary in his report to the President claimed that: "FES is providing assistance for training programs designed to compensate for past inadequate training." We have spoken to dozens of Negro Extension workers and have still to find one that has any knowledge of such training programs in their States. The Secretary's report to the President also said that they were conducting compliance reviews which would "give particular attention to the extent to which white staff members serve Negro clientele in all counties regardless of whether counties have Negro staff members," and that the findings of these reviews would "give particular attention to the extent to which white staff members serve Negro clientele in all counties regardless to whether counties have Negro staff members," and that the findings of these reviews would be used for obtaining corrective action. We have been unable to obtain access to these compliance reviews to determine what their findings were. We have requested the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights to attempt to gain access to the findings of this compliance review and to find out what corrective action was taken. They will share this information with us, if they get it.

Another Commission finding was that: "Many thousands of rural Negro homemakers receive less service than that of white homemakers in their counties, and in counties without Negro staff additional thousands are provided no services at all." The FES was to also conduct a compliance review to determine "the extent to which white county home economics agents served Negro clientele (no mention was made of determining the extent to which Negro agents service white families). We have not been able to find out whether such a compliance review was made, what was found out, or what corrective action was taken. On the basis of our knowledge it appears that there has been little if any imporvement in providing Negro homemakers with the same services enjoyed by white homemakers.

Probably the most important finding of the Commission concerning the State Extension Services was that: "Many thousands of Negro farmers were denied access to services provided to white farmers which would help them diversify, increase production, achieve adequate farming operations or train for off-farm employment." Also, that: "No review or evaluation was conducted by the Federal Extension Service to assertain the extent to which Negroes participate in

Extension Service programs."

We have spoken to many county agents and hundreds of Negro farmers in all the Southern states and we have yet to uncover any evidence that Negro farmers are now participating or benefiting in any appreciable way in the services which have always been provided white farmers.

FES was to create a task force to work with states to develop criteria for evaluating the quality and quantity of services to low income farmers; a national task force to identify the problems and needs of low income farmers with the objective of raising the income level of all farmers, particularly minority group farmers; and a reporting system to obtain data on program services in all states.

Here again, we are completely in the dark regarding what FES has done. One would assume that FES would be proud to publicise their actions to assist low-income farmers and to show what progress they have made since the Commission issued their report, but that is evidently not the case. There is no doubt, from the foregoing that it is time for the President to call on the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish him with a follow-up "One Year After" report on what has been accomplished by USDA agencies and the Extension Services since his last report of June 17, 1965. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights should also be called on to do a followup on their report of January, 1965.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

INFORMATION LETTER

Number 30 June, 1966

I. Farm Workers Organize
II. Farm Labor Legislation
III. Crops and Foreign Labor Importation
IV. Farm Product Prices Drop

I. FARM WORKERS ORGANIZE

Florida

Some 1400 farm workers and crew leaders in Belle Glade, Florida, members of the United Agricultural Workers of America, have voted to accept a charter as a local union of the Laborers International Union, AFL-CIO. In the first successful effort ever made to organize farm workers in Florida, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO lent its support to the drive undertaken by the United Steelworkers of America among canning processing workers at American Can and Continental Can Companies in Winterhaven. At an Industrial Union Department meeting late in April, thirty international unions decided that the Laborers International Union should assume jurisdiction over agricultural workers on the East Coast.

The Laborers Union, sixth largest in the United States, is expected to pour up to half a million dollars into a massive organization movement aimed at unionizing migrants and other farm workers up and down the Eastern seaboard. It is estimated that by fall the campaign will reach the proportions of the widely publicized West Coast organizing drive centering around the grape strike in Delano, California.

Both the Catholic and Protestant churches are deeply involved in this movement to bring basic union protections to some 106,000 farm workers--primarily Negro, Mexican-American, and Puerto Rican--whose annual earnings average $1,312.

Working and living conditions in the Belle Glade area are among the worst in the nation. Jack Ross, formerly head of the Florida State Citizens Committee on Agricultural Labor, had this to say about Belle Glade migrant housing in July, 1965: "I have had a lot of contact with slums in lots of places, and I am not easily shocked. But I saw conditions in Belle Glade which were worse than almost anything I have seen in Chicago or New York....I can only say that I intended to stay and see all I could, but after about 3 hours and visits to 20 or so places, I was so upset that I had to leave. I drove home earlier than I had planned and stayed awake most of the night trying to absorb it all....Negro families in Belle Glade pay about the same for two miserable rooms in wretched conditions as I pay for my comfortable house in the suburbs."

Arizona

Earlier this year some 175 central Arizona farm workers organized the Arizona Farm Laborers' Association, calling for higher wages, better working conditions, greater job security, and protection from employment abuses. The Association is working closely with community action groups in the agricultural towns of Avondale, Stanfield, Guadalupe, and Cashion, and has the support of the Arizona

co-chairmen: Frank P. Graham • A. Philip Randolph • *treasurer:* John A. Mackay • *assistant treasurer:* Robert W. Hudgens • *committee:* Steve Allen • William L. Batt, Jr. • Louis H. Bean • Robert Coles • Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg • Helen Gahagan Douglas • Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy • L. H. Foster • Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn • Henry B. Herman • Msgr. George G. Higgins • Jacob M. Kaplan • Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman • Isador Lubin • Archbishop Robert E. Lucey • Benjamin E. Mays • Bishop Reuben H. Mueller • Peter H. Odegard • Daniel H. Pollitt • Wilbour E. Saunders • Dore Schary • John M. Seabrook • Norman Thomas • Frederick S. Van Dyke • Josephine Wilkins • *founding members:* Herbert H. Lehman • Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt • Maurice T. Van Hecke • *executive secretary:* Fay Bennett • *program secretary:* Helen K. Shettle • *field representative:* Stanley Hamilton

Migrant Ministry. There does not seem to be direct labor union involvement as in Florida, although John E. Evans, Secretary-Treasurer of the Arizona AFL-CIO, promised he would fight for the inclusion of migrants under the benefits of all labor regulations in the state. In January, 1966, the workers staged a peaceful protest march at the State Capitol Building as Governor Goddard spoke on their behalf in his message to the State Legialature.

California

The ten-month-old grape workers' strike for recognition of their farm unions by some 34 growers in the Delano area met with partial success in April, when one of the largest ranches, Schenley Industries, finally agreed to negotiate without conditions with one of the unions, the National Farm Workers Association.

The news came to the strikers as they were finishing the last leg of a 25-day, 300-mile protest march from Delano to the state capital in Sacramento. Jack Conway, Executive Director of the seven-million-member AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, and Paul Schrade, Regional Director of the United Auto Workers, accompanied the farm workers, led by Cesar Chavez, on the first day of the pilgrimage. Two weeks later, other AFL-CIO officials walked part way with the strikers; among them was William Kircher, Director of Organization, to whom Chavez attributes much of the credit for the Schenley offer to negotiate. The march was climaxed by an Easter Sunday rally, largest of its kind since unions began trying to organize farm workers over 30 years ago; 8,000 demonstrators thronged the steps of the Capitol and listened to speakers who had flown in from as far away as New York to be with the strikers.

The strike began in September when members of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, walked off grape ranches in the Delano area protesting low wages and poor working conditions. Ten days later the independent National Farm Workers Association joined hands with AWOC, both groups pledging maintenance of the strike effort until the growers agreed to recognize the unions and bargain with them. Money was contributed by local unions and church groups, but it wasn't until Walter Reuther, head of the United Auto Workers and the Industrial Union Department, presented the strikers with a Christmas gift of $5,000 and promised a $5,000 monthly contribution "until this strike is won" that the farm unions were able to expand their strike efforts.

The partial breakthrough (33 other struck growers have yet to follow Schenley's example) was hard won. Nearly 10,000 people across the nation had participated in boycott activities against Schenley products. Boycott offices were set up in 16 of the largest U.S. cities. Over two million pledge and protest cards were distributed across the nation. The strike sympathizer had only to fill in his name and mail the card to Schenley. One hundred seventeen boycott committees, loosely directed from California, picketed supermarkets and liquor stores where Schenley products were sold.

On April 7, the day after the Schenley offer, Robert DiGiorgio, head of the area's largest grape ranch, offered to hold elections among his workers to determine whether or not they wanted to be represented by a union. As conditions to holding these elections, DiGiorgio called for a halt to boycott pressures, compulsory arbitration as part of negotiation procedure, and no-strike clauses in any final contract with the company. Chavez declined the offer, saying that the pickers presently in the field were strikebreakers who therefore had no right to vote, and that the pre-condition of cessation of boycott pressures was unacceptable.

Subsequent events have indicated that even this limited DiGiorgio offer was not made in good faith. Late in April, a near-riot between pickets and DiGiorgio guards broke up a meeting of company and union leaders. Cesar Chavez said: "Talks would be fruitless as long as DiGiorgio continues doing bodily harm to our pickets. We simply cannot sit in the same room in Fresno." (According to union reports, a picket, Michael Rosas, was hit on the head and required ten stitches when he helped a fellow picket who had been held at gunpoint and later dragged away by a guard. DiGiorgio officials have since ordered their guards to disarm.)

In addition, a DiGiorgio letter to its farm worker employees said the company "firmly believes you do not need a union, but we are ready and willing to let you tell us in a secret ballot if you want a union or if you want DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation." Gilbert Padilla, Vice President of NFWA, said the letter "tells workers they can vote for the union or for their job--some 'free' election."

In view of these facts, Chavez has diverted the massive boycott machinery from Schenley to DiGiorgio, and has called for a halt to all purchases of DiGiorgio products, which include S & W Fine Foods, TreeSweet, and White Rose brands.

During the week of May 9, approximately 2,000 people in California alone walked on picket lines. In Los Angeles, NFWA had over 500 pickets including officials from the AFL-CIO, Teamsters (independent), and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (independent). One store finally sent its employees home.

Texas

On June 1, 1966, 500 farm workers, members of the Independent Workers Association, went on strike in the field of three of the largest melon growers in the lower Rio Grande Valley. According to a union spokesman, the workers are asking for a contract with the growers and a wage increase to $1.25 an hour.

II. FARM LABOR LEGISLATION

The Delano Hearings

Early this year the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor held public hearings in the Delano area of California. Individuals and organizations concerned with the living and working conditions of farm workers were invited to present testimony.

Some of the statements presented were unexpectedly strong in favor of legislation for farm workers. The Catholic Bishops of California united for the first time in an urgent appeal for collective bargaining rights and a minimum wage for farm laborers. The statement, read by Bishop Donohoe, was applauded by nearly 1,000 people gathered in the Delano High School Auditorium. Senators Murphy (R-Calif.), Kennedy (D-N.Y.), and Williams (D-N.J.) broke their own rules of procedure by leading the applause for the Bishop, who said in part, "It is becoming evident that unless farm workers are given the chance to organize they are going to become wards of the state. This one act /collective bargaining/ will not solve the farm labor problem, but it will be a first and giant step toward a solution."

Copies of the hearings may be obtained from Frederick R. Blackwell, General Counsel, Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Minimum Wage

On May 26, 1966, the House of Representatives passed a minimum wage bill, H.R. 13712, which includes farm workers for the first time. This historic breakthrough extends a $1.00 minimum hourly wage to some 400,000 to 485,000 workers who labor on farms hiring more than 500 man-days of work during a calendar quarter. The hourly minimum goes into effect February 1, 1967, rises to $1.15 one year later, and reaches $1.30 in February, 1969.

When the bill came before the House it stated that farm workers must work more than 13 weeks a year in agriculture for their work days to count toward the 500 man-days which a farm must hire before being required to pay a minimum wage. However, once a farm reached the 500 man-day level, then all workers on that farm would receive the minimum regardless of whether or not they had been included in the original man-day count.

Unfortunately, an amendment offered by Congresswoman Green of Oregon was adopted to exclude from coverage those who work less than 13 weeks a year, even if they work on farms which are required to pay the minimum. This would give rise to basic inequities: two workers picking side by side, accomplishing the same tasks, would be receiving different wages.

Senate action on the bill, which is now before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, will probably come in late June. We strongly urge you to write your Senators stating that you are in favor of the minimum wage, but with a 300-man-day test rather than the 500 (thus including more workers on large farms); that you believe wages for farm workers should begin at $1.15 instead of $1.00; and finally, that you are opposed to the Green amendment or any similar one.

Collective Bargaining

A Senate bill, S.1866, now in the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, would amend the National Labor Relations Act to include farm workers, who have heretofore been specifically excluded from the effective right to bargain collectively. We hope you will write your Senators that you support this bill, due to be voted on in late June. Remind them of the critical situation in Delano, and of the fact that if NLRA coverage had been extended to farm workers, the ten-month struggle there for union recognition would not have been necessary.

Unemployment Compensation

A House bill, H.R. 8282, was reported out of the Ways and Means Committee with the farm labor clause struck out. It is now before the House Rules Committee, and when it reaches the floor for a vote, it is expected that some efforts will be made to restore farm worker coverage. Again, letters to your Representative supporting the extension of coverage to farm labor are essential.

III. CROPS AND FOREIGN LABOR IMPORTATION

Following the expiration of Public Law 78 (the Mexican Labor Importation Program) at the end of 1964, growers were forced to turn again to use of domestic farm workers, who had been neglected by most large growers for many years in favor of the almost limitless supply of low-paid braceros available under P.L. 78. Since higher wages and improved conditions would have to be offered in order to attract American workers, some growers still hoped to obtain Mexican and other foreign workers under Public Law 414 (the Immigration and Nationality Act). However, the Secretary of Labor used his authority to protect jobs and opportunities for American workers, and set minimum wages and conditions that growers would first have to offer domestic workers before he would approve importation of foreign workers under P.L. 414.

Most growers found an adequate supply of domestics available when they offered improved wages and conditions. In some cases imported workers were authorized in certain crops and for specific periods of time. Some growers who failed to show that they had made genuine efforts to recruit domestic workers had their requests for foreign workers denied. By late fall it was clear that the ban on unlimited importation of foreign labor was a resounding success: 100,000 more domestic workers picked the nation's crops at slightly higher wages than the year before.

Again in 1966, the replacement of imported with domestic labor has increased, and according to the U.S. Department of Labor, the number of foreign workers in the United States as of April 30 totaled 1,205, in contrast with 6,248 a year ago. Here is a brief summary of current problem areas, and recent decisions by the Labor Department on the authorization of temporary foreign labor importation.

California--Asparagus. Early in May the U.S. Department of Labor refused the request by asparagus growers for 2,500 foreign workers. The Labor Department's California regional director of the Bureau of Employment Security, Glenn Brockway, stated that the asparagus growers "declined to undertake an effective recruitment program to obtain American workers." Until very recently the growers have consistently refused to use state Department of Employment services to get domestic workers. According to Brockway, the government has repeatedly urged the asparagus growers to provide improved family housing, and offer higher wages and better working conditions in order to attract American workers. "These efforts were not made," he added.

California--Strawberries. On May 16, 1966, the Department of Labor authorized the importation of 1,000 Mexican workers to harvest the strawberry crop in Monterey County. After consulting with members of the California Farm Labor Panel, and with the California Department of Employment, it was decided that "Salinas Strawberries, Inc. has made a wide range of genuine and often costly efforts to attract workers... /Including:/ acquisition of two trailer courts with the total of 254 modern and fully equipped trailers representing an investment approaching 2½ million dollars; acquisition through lease of 34 family housing units...."

Oscar Gonzalez, President of the United Farm Workers in San Jose, strongly opposes this authorization of imported workers. Gonzalez claims that the above-mentioned family housing offered to workers is rented at exorbitant rates which "could in no way be construed as encouraging families to come to Salinas," and that sufficient efforts were not made to attract domestic workers this year. Whereas last year hundreds of San Jose workers were bused daily 60 miles to and from Salinas, no similar attempts were made this year.

IV. FARM PRODUCT PRICES DROP

Early in April, Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman reported that farm prices have fallen since February 15. He predicted that the average prices of all farm products will be 6 to 10 per cent lower in the fourth quarter of the year than they are now; more specifically, vegetables are expected to drop 20 to 25 per cent by the end of the year. He listed these vegetable price decreases since February 15: fresh lettuce down 35 per cent; cabbage, celery, and onions down more than 20 per cent; fresh oranges and grapefruit down 7 per cent.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

September 21, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Director of Special Projects
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

I have just discovered that your name is not listed in our file of people who receive our reports and mailings. We have now added your name and you will receive all future materials. Separately I am sending you a packet of our literature for your information and reference.

We will be having a meeting of NSF/RAP field staff at the Atlantan Hotel beginning Wednesday, October 5, and continuing through Friday afternoon, October 7. We would be most happy to have you be with us for as much of this meeting as your time will allow.

Enclosed for your information is a reprint from the Employment Service Review reporting on a Tennessee farm management training project which brought together the assistance of all of the relevant government agencies and improved the incomes of the participating farmers many times over.

Also enclosed is a summary of our final report on the Southern Rural Training Project. If you would like a copy of the complete 34-page report, I will be glad to send it to you.

Also enclosed is a recent brochure issued by NSF, "Panola Builds a Co-op". The brochure not only tells about the Panola farmers co-operative but about the other farmers co-operatives and conferences which NSF has helped to set up.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:lm
Enclosures
cc: Jac Wasserman

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•
FAY BENNETT
executive secretary
JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SUMMARY OF FINAL REPORT

The Southern Rural Training Project was an experimental manpower development project authorized under Section 201 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. The SRTP was originally created in January, 1964, by a contract between the U.S. Department of Labor and the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., and was continued under a new one-year contract which terminated on July 31, 1966.

SRTP was to demonstrate that local leadership in poorer areas of the rural South, coupled with the resources of nearby colleges, employment and education agencies, and other organizations, could help develop training programs to assist unemployed and underemployed persons in improving their economic situation.

During the past year SRTP has helped local leadership in Southern communities to achieve the funding of twelve programs which will provide training for more than 2,100 low-income adults. Favorable consideration has been received for most of sixteen additional projects to serve 3,000 trainees. The cost of SRTP per trainee will average $30-$70, depending upon the number of projects, not yet approved, which become operative. Projects have been developed by SRTP under the Manpower Development and Training Act, Titles I and II; the Economic Opportunity Act, Titles II-A, II-B, III-B, and V; and the Vocational Education Act of 1963. The funds for two-thirds of the projects developed will come from federal agency sources other than the Department of Labor (OEO and HEW).

Title III-B of the Economic Opportunity Act was found to be the most suitable legislation under which projects in rural areas could receive funds. In developing these projects, SRTP field staff encouraged indigenous people to take an active part in the planning and processing. Bi-racial advisory committees were organized, allowing seasonal farm workers to meet on an equal basis with their employers and with government agency personnel. These committees, it is hoped, will become permanent organizations to apply for other programs to meet their community needs.

In Louisiana, Georgia, and Tennessee, the first funded Title III-B programs were developed with the assistance of SRTP. From these programs, a model was developed upon which the design of other III-B projects was based, with variations to fit specific local needs.

With MDTA programs, SRTP found that the greatest problem rested in the long delays between initial application and final approval of projects. During these delays, which often extended to a year or more, local people remained ignorant of what was happening to their project; local enthusiasm consequently lessened; potential trainees were forced to accept alternatives; and replacements had to be found for originally chosen staff.

The greatest contribution of SRTP lay in providing the technical assistance necessary for local groups to learn to develop and process projects. If rural areas, small towns and colleges, and groups without financial resources are not to be excluded from manpower development efforts, similar technical assistance must be provided to potential project sponsors throughout the rural South

The National Sharecroppers Fund is glad to have had this opportunity to use its resources in cooperation with government and local groups to meet urgent training needs. NSF expects to continue its role in bridging the gap between these local rural groups and government resources.

Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
(Supervisor, Southern Rural Training Project)

(Second
printing)

The Tennessee Pilot Farm Management Projects

SAM F. PARIGI

What appropriate skill training programs can be developed for unskilled, undereducated, low-income farmers living in economically declining rural areas? This problem for developers of manpower programs is compounded by the outmigration of younger, more skilled persons from such rural areas, and the difficulty of placing older, farm-oriented trainees in urban jobs. Tennessee's pilot farm management program is giving evidence of being a successful answer to this training challenge.

The MDTA farm management pilot program was developed through the cooperation of the Tennessee Vocational Education Division, the Tennessee Employment Service, and agencies of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Although the program is still considered in the pilot stage, seven projects have been completed and four are in progress.

The Training Program

In conjunction with the county school boards which act as sponsors for these programs, the Tennessee Division of Vocational Education has developed a program designed to raise the income of trainees by 20 to 40 percent in the first year and 60 percent over a 3-year period. Prime attention is directed to four topics: Soils, crop production, livestock production, and farm plans. Other subjects receiving considerable attention are income taxes, electricity, farm organizations, and farm legislation. In each case, the trainee is shown how the topics in the training program apply to his own farming operations. This is the key to the high interest and success of trainees in the pilot projects.

A typical program would begin in July with the farm management instructor visiting the farm of each trainee to assess its potential and to discuss with the trainee what definite projects are to be undertaken on the farm as part of the training program. An overall farm plan is then developed for each trainee. The soil on each farm is "typed" early in the program by the Soil Conservation Service and the trainee is shown how to utilize the new information in his planting and fertilizing practices. Use is also made of "averaging" sheets, by which the farmer can compare his net income against what a similar farm would produce with fairly good management practices. Since trainees rarely net as much income as the farm sheets project, this income disparity provides incentive to learn and to exercise proper farm management practices.

Small farmers normally have inadequate records, so each trainee is taught to keep a record book of his farming operations. Bookkeeping is introduced early in the program, and the farm management instructor continues to check the farming records once a month.

Because most trainees know little of the range of agricultural services available to them from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, provision is made for representatives to explain their functions. In addition, the State Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) has made extra funds available to the trainees to carry out the soil conservation measures determined upon in their individual overall farm plans—

Dr. Sam F. Parigi is Director of the Southern Rural Training Project while on leave from Lamar State College.

For this farmer, the training resulted in better sanitation and good pastures for his livestock.

The trainees were shown how to reclaim their rain washed land so it could become productive.

SOUTHERN RURAL TRAINING PROJECT

liming, seeding, erosion control, and woodland improvement. Since funds from the ASCS must be matched by the farmer from his own resources, the trainee is urged to utilize at least part of his training allowances for this purpose. Field trips to experimental farms and plots of successful farmers are also taken to demonstrate proper farming techniques.

Vastly different educational levels are found among the trainees, although the program originally sought to require achievement equivalent to that of a high school sophomore for participation. In the first pilot program, provision was not made for specific classes in basic education, but 100 hours of communications instruction are now provided.

An interesting facet of the program is the integration of farm training and mathematical education. For example, the techniques of measuring land are first treated in the classroom, and instruction is given at that time on the multiplication and division needed to complete the task. Then the class goes into the field to apply the principles learned.

Throughout the program, classroom principles are directly applied to each farm. The instructor makes periodic visits to each trainee's farm and remains available to help the trainee if any difficult farming problems arise.

For trainees with marginal farms, the program may provide information on supplementary income opportunities. In one instance, the instructor suggested that the trainee might build a slaughterhouse to augment the farm income. The trainee bought a secondhand walk-in cooler and constructed the slaughterhouse with the aid of a $2,500 loan from the Farmers Home Administration. It is expected that the combined income from the farm and slaughterhouse operations will lift this trainee from the poverty classification.

Evaluation

The pilot farm management programs have shown outstanding success in raising the income of marginal farmers. A good example is the Yorkville Farm Management class, the first of the pilot programs, which began on July 15, 1963. Income tax returns indicated average net farm income of $343 for 1962, but $1,285 in 1964. Nineteen men completed the course. One man sold his farm but the other 18 increased their income—14 by over 100 percent! It is expected that the income of the trainees will continue to increase as they complete the various stages of their overall farm plans.

Good Attendance

Attendance averaged 97.4 percent and five men did not miss a class during the entire year. An esprit de corps developed among the trainees, and the community leaders voiced their approval of the program. The success of the program may also be judged by individual conferences held with trainees by representatives of the Employment Service. When asked if they would now take a job in town, each program graduate answered, "No."

Several conclusions may be drawn from the experience of this pilot program:

1. MDTA training can substantially increase the marginal farmer's income, which is especially meaningful when viewed in the context of the limited economic alternatives for unskilled older farmers. Furthermore, the rapid increase in income may also serve to revitalize the economic condition of destitute rural areas.
2. Marginal farmers seldom have utilized the vast range of governmental aids for agriculture. MDTA programs can help remedy this situation by assisting the small farmer to obtain the agricultural services to which he is entitled. Moreover, the concentration of trainees makes it easier for the agricultural agencies to provide services. Rather than duplicating farm agency services, the MDTA program supports them.
3. MDTA courses should also be promoted for marginal small business owners who lack managerial "know how." There is an extremely high rate of small retail business mortality which could be lessened through training related to finances, marketing, recordkeeping, and inventory.

Sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund and financed by a Department of Labor contract (as an Experimental and Demonstration Project under MDTA), the Southern Rural Training Project has stimulated the development of 28 training and basic education programs for more than six thousand unemployed and underemployed persons in seven Southern states. A number of these programs have already been funded and are in operation.

The purpose of the Southern Rural Training Project, directed by Dr. Sam F. Parigi, was to demonstrate that local leadership in poor rural areas, in cooperation with local institutions and organizations, could develop training programs to up-grade the skills and economic status of low-income, poorly educated rural persons.

Because of the expressed great need for such training programs and the relative unavailability of government services in rural communities, the Southern Rural Training Project has acted as a bridge between federal programs and the people who need them.

For further information contact:

National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003

or

Regional Office
National Sharecroppers Fund
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Reprinted from *Employment Service Review,* January, 1966

Au - Res.
Agri - Ala.

Mgy Adv.
9/22/66

Cucumbers Prove Success For Small Farm Families

Cucumber production proves to be successful for some 48 small farm families in Montgomery County, according to Addre Bryant, Extension Farm agent. They planted 168 acres of cucumbers which then produced 9,500 bushels of cucumbers and they received a total of $13,000.

The James Edward Adams family of Cecil Community was one of the most successful families growing cucumbers this year. They averaged better than $350 per acre on their two and one-half acres of cucumbers. Some of the other successful producers were: Mrs. Sallie Howard, Mathews; Joe Murray, Mitylene; Andrew Hendrix, Madison Park; James Colbert, Madison Park, and Emmett Edwards, Mathews. All of these farmers were well pleased with the amount of money they received from their cucumbers.

All cucumbers were marketed through the local grading shed which was located at Mount Meigs.

A successful cucumber program depends on carrying out good production practices. And all of the above farmers recommend these practices for farmers who desires to grow cucumbers: do a good job of land preparation, plant on time, use recommended rate of fertilizer, control weed and do a good job of picking.

After careful study earlier this year the Montgomery County Extension Council decided that cucumbers would be one of the cash enterprises it would recommend to the small farmers of Montgomery County.

A large number of community local leaders assisted in getting farmers to grow cucumbers. Some of these leaders were: Mathew Weatherly, Mathews; Isaac Dillard, Woodley; Andrew Hendrix, Madison Park and Brownie Walters, Lillian Dabney.

November 15, 1966

Mr. Joe Wasserman

EXPLANATION OF THE ATTACHED

1. The listing of complaints -- in a memo to Birkhead and Seabron -- was hastily compiled in Washington (at their request) during the last time I was there in early August. This request resulted from a meeting with members of the Agricultural Department, Dallas County farmers and myself. In this meeting we especially stressed our discontent and disallusionment with the lack of action following an intensive "investigation" into many complaints and in particular, into the Minter Plantation situation. Birkhead then personally ordered a new investigation and asked for an outline of complaints.

2. The six page statement that follows was prepared some time back by the Agent from the Inspector General's Office when he contacted me following that meeting in Washington. The list and further comments in the statement were supposed to form the base of a new and more extensive investigation. When this will happen is ?????

3. After reviewing the above a couple of days ago - and making some minor changes - I wrote the final two pages which I entitled "Agricultural 'Progress' Report" ... and asked the Agent that it be included as part of my statement. It is also my intention to send it on to Lardner of the Washington Post who did the original article on the Minter situation here.

Shirley Mesher

1

SOME ITEMS OF COMPLAINTS REGARDING THE MINTER AND OTHER SIMILAR PLANTATIONS

... * and also Negro farmer in general.

TO: Mr Kenneth Birkhead and Mr. William Seabron
FROM: Miss Shirley Mesher

1. That the tenants are held in involuntary servitude due mainly to fear, intimidation, lack of information and the tight economic control.

2. That all of the Federal Agencies responsible for information, administration and loans do not treat the Negroes fairly nor with proper respect. That in fact, information and help is withheld.

3. That the prices charged by landlords for supplies and in their 'company' stores are excessive.

4. That federal assistance programs are abused and misused by the l;andlords ... to the extent that they are totally within their favor and not inthe favor of tenant and sharecroppers as meant.

5. That the federal regulations are violated in spirit and in fact, specifically those against intimidation, coercion, forced payments, loss of land, increasing of rent, reduction of land and share of crops and all sorts of "schemes and devises which have been adopted for the purposes of depriving the tenant or sharecropper of the payment to which he would otherwise be entitles to receive under ... programs ".

6. That tenants are forced to buy supplies, food etc. from the landlord; that they are further forced to gin with him and further forced to carry their cotton to compresses controlled by him.

7. That excessive interest rates are charged.

8. That Negro farmers are forced to plow-up cotton which was planted according to stakes set by ASCS measurement for which the tenant has paid. (Pre-measurement). And no relief is given for this.

9. That the FHA and ASC constantly refer requests ... or rather the person making the request for infomration or help back to the landowner.

10. That the ASC, FHA, Extension Service or any other agency with local employees do not carry out the needed educational programs and services and make no attempts to inform the Negro farmer of his rights , the procedures nor of help or information available.

11. That all of these agencies cohort with landlords to deprive the tenants and sharecroppers of their rights.

12. That the agencies do not consult the tenants about the decisions on cotton allotments, federal programs such as diversion amounts and price suppots etc. .... but rather let the landlord make all the decisions without the consent of the tenants.

continued.

13. That land was taken for the purpose of profiting from federal programs ... and in some cases as punishement for civil rights and voting activities. Also, that the workk done before the land was taken was not compendated for by the landlord.

14. That land that was layed-out and ordered by the landlord and ASC personnel - supposedly for 'diversion' purposes - was not compensated for ... and did not oount in the diversion amounts.

15. That the figures on such as feed-grain program still do not agree with fact; both in acreage and compensation.

16. That land designated by the records as "pre-measured" was in fact not measured at all.

17. The unfair use of "assignments" that work to the advantage of the ;landlord only and prevent the tenants from getting out of the binding economic circle which keeps them forever without profit for their labors.

18. That cotton allotments are totally unbalanced in favor of the white farmers and unfair to the Negro farmers.

19. That the "producers" do not get copies of the papers that they are forced or required to sign by ASC officials ... and that the COM has stated that this upon orders from Washington that two tenants must sign the same form and therefore there are not enough copies and that Washington will not furnish sufficient forms.

20. That information about programs is very difficult to get from local federal agencies; and that certainly they never offer information nor government publications.

21. That seemingly all of the current federal laws and regulations are working or vbeing allowed to work for the benefit of the landlord and against the small - and particularly the Negro - farmer in the South.

22. That because of the operation of the federal programs, it has become profitable to kick=off the long resident Negro farmers, tear down the shacks they live in and not replace them.

23. That the landlord is allowed to collect high rents, charge for everyhting at high prices and not even keep-up or improve the shacks people are forced to live in.

24. That prices are not known, nor is interest, nor are bills fully itemized ... and that further no receipts are given for the normal supplies and goods obtained from the landlords.

25. That this systme of control which allows the landlord complete control prevents the tenant and sharecropper from joining intocooperatives for mutual saving and benefits and for greater profits. And normal sources of finance are cut-off by local agreements and controls.

I, Shirley Mesher, make the following statement freely and voluntarily to Gene D. McFadden, who has identified himself to me as a Special AGent of the Office of the Inspector Ganeral, United States Department of Agriculture, knowing that it may be used in evidence.

Recently, I furnished a listing of complaints concerning the U.S. Department of Agriculture agencies in Dallas County, Alabama, to Mr. Kenneth Birkhead and Mr. William SEabron, in Washington. I have reviewed this list of complaints with Agent McFadden, and offer the following additional remarks to explain or amplify these complaints.

I am aware that investigations have recently been conducted in Dallas County concerning the Dallas ASCS county office and the Dallas FHA county office and that some of the itemized complaints referred specigically to these agencies. The following remarks will refer to the complaints furnished to Mssrs. Seabron and Birkhead, by item number.

Number 1. I am aware that his is in the nature of a conclusion. However, there are actual cases I can refer to - but prefer not to name them at this time. This fear further extends itself to fear of complaining or protesting abuses and wrongs to not registering to vote. On this Tuesday, November 8, many who were registered and who had voted in the May primary, were so fearful they did not vote in the General Election. They are bound just as strong due to other factors, and not just fear. These facotrs included lack of information, and false infomration furnished to these tenants on their rights concerning access to the various Agricultural programs. Also, by the fact that the tenants are deeply indebted and made to be excessively economically dependent on the white plantation owners and this indebtedness is held over their heads and used to keep them on the farm.

continued.

Number 2. I have previously furnished a statement concerning lack of knowledge concerning FHA loans and the lack of efforts by FHA personnel to desseminate information. To my knowledge, lack of information is almost a 100 percent fact in the Negro community concerning various agricultural programs Negro farmers receive no pamphlets or fact sheets from the extension service. Negro farmers receive no information from the ASCS office, with the exception of notification of cotton allotment; and the Negro tenants do not receive this much - only the Negro land owners. When Negro tenants inquire at the ASCS office concerning cotton allotments, they are told to ask their landlord. Previous to our discussing it, I did not know of any Negro farmers who were aware of the assistance available from the ASCS through the various cost-sharing programs and certainly did not know of any who had actually participated in these programs. I do not know of any Negro farmers who are visited by workers of the ~~Extension~~ Extension service, including the Negro assistant county agent.

Therefore, these Negro farmers are denied the technical and financial assistance that is freely given, and made available to, the white farmers.

Information pertaining to number 3 was furnished previously in connection with the investigation concerning the Minter farm.

With respect to number 4, due to the fact that all information is furnished to the whites, and arrangements are made with them , and particularly the landlords, the programs work primarily for the benefit of the whites. The decisions to participate or not, in the programs, is made by the landlords, and he then receives the benefits of the programs. Many Negroes have not known if they were signed up - or for what . When they do have

continued ...

to sign, the ASCS office does not explain anything and usually does not furnish a copy of what they do sign. (See complaint no. 19) This was pointed out in the Minter investigation, and is widespread in Dallas County. Number 5 is essentially the same as No. 4, and I feel certain that there are few Negroes who have benefited from the feed grain program or the 1965 cotton program .... not to metnion numerous programs of years past.

Number 6. Tenants on the McHugh, Minter, Ellis, and Hain plantations - and many others - are forced to obtain their financing from their respective landlords, and are forced to gin their cotton with these same persons or at places designated by them. At the present time, efforts are being made to form farm co-operatives, and we have met with some relunctance from the Negro tenants, because they feel that they cannot obtain other credit, and cannot gin cotton at a gin fo their choice ... or for that matter store or put it on the government loan at a compress of their own choice.

Number 7. I feel that all of the local furnishing merchants charge excessive interest rates. However, they also fail to furnish copies of bills, notes and receipts for payments to Negroes, and it is hard to determine just what these rates are.

Number 8. Following is a few persons who were forced to plow up their cotton after it was pre-measured. Will Moorer, Willie James Johnson, Dave Olds, Williams Towns, N,F. Payne, March Clark, Jr., and William G. Jones, Jr.

Number 9. This item has been furnished in connection with previous investigations. Also numbdr 10 has been previously covered in other investigations and in this statemtn. This continued to be the case before, during and after such as the ASCS elections and the winter cover-crop program.

continued ....

Number 11 is in effect, a conclusion, and is best illustrated by the various agencies refusal to deal with Negro tenants and their referral of these tenants back to the landlord. I do not have any actual proof of an intentional conspriacy to aid white landlords, and this item is an opinion based on the overall actions of the agencies in dealing with Negroes ... and the resulting conditions and effects so uniformly placed on tenants.

Number 12 is substantially covered earlier in this statement. Number 13 was covered in part in the Minter investigation. However, there are numerous other instances of tenants being evicted so the landlord can take greater benefit from such as the feed grain pr cotton program. Also, cases of tenants being evicted because of civil rights activity ... or from attempting to exercise their right of free will in various programs and/or their right to question.

Number 14 is involved in the Minter investigation, and also number 15. Although the Minter case has been investigated and action supposedly taken, the decisions still do not agree with fact, as the tenants still have not been credited with the true and actual amount of corn acreage they had operated in previous years. Number 16, I cannot at this time identify specific persons, although I should be able to locate the records on this item.

Number 17 involves landlords requirement of tenants to assign feed grain and cotton payments to them, the landlords, for rent and furnishing to the tenants. Number 18 involves the fact that whites have large allotments and the Negro farmers have small cotton allotments. It seems that whites can ask for extra cotton acreage and get it, and Negro farmers can request extra cotton and it will be denied. The new regulation allowing the sale or lease of allotments is of course totally unfair to the Negro farmer. Number 19 is self explanatory and the ASCS office manager made this statement to ~~m~~me personally.

continued ...

Number 20 was covered in the FHA investigation and in this statement earlier. Number 21 is a conclusion or observation. Number 22 is self explanatory. It is more profitable to put land into the "soil bank" or not plant anything, than to rent it to the Negro farmer or to sharecrop it, and many Negroes are being displaced as a direct result of the operation of the federal programs. Number 23 is a factual statement, and perhaps does not involve the Department of Agriculture directly -- except that it should since Federal programs are involved.

Number 24 was covered in the Minter investigation, or the complaint was made concerning Minter. This same pattern is followed by other white merchants in Dallas County.

For number 25, this has been itemized before - so I will not offer any additional comment. This is based on observations, facts which lead to this conclusion. All evidence indicates this obviously correct -- including the referral of tenants etc. by the banks and FHA back to the landlord.

I have recently become aware of an additional matter which I believe requires looking into by the Department. Several tenants from the Minter plantation have brought cards to me which they received in the mail. These cards advised these tenants that they had cotton in the government cotton loan, and had until the last of July to redeem this cotton. My first comment is that these persons have never before received these cards and in fact have never known that they owned the cotton and could redeem it from the loan. This is another example of lack of information furnished to these Negro farmers. Further, several of these tenants stated that the cards referred to X number of bales in the loan that they could redeem, although they recalled that they had placed a larger number in the loan than shown on the card. To me, this indicates that soemone has already redeemed a part of the cotton from the loan. If this cotton is the property of the Negro farmer who placed it in the loan, then it would see, that no one else could redeem the cotton. Therefore, I think this requires

Continued....

immediate attention to determine who redeemed this cotton from the loan.

In addition to the above, the local and county committees, the COM and other staff refuse to address Negroes by their proper titles. They tell me there has never been a directive to this effect.

(Additional comment was to added questioning what happened to the requested investigations on the recent ASC Election and a long ago complaint about the Surplus Food program -- and why there was no action or report resulting from the FHA investigation concluded here some time ago. There was also to be included some commentary about the lack of response to a request for immediate technical agricultural assistance for the co=operatives.)

AGRICULTURAL "PROGRESS" REPORT

It has been many months since complaints were first lodged and so-called investigations began ... on numerous items and points. Then and for some time I and the farmers had hopes of something being done and that the government had serious intentions about correcting the abuses and seeing that all farmers - regardless of size and regardless of race - would receive equal and fair treatment from government programs and officials.

However, a total disallusionment with the Federal Government and in particular with the Department of Agriculture has set in. Investigators have come and gone. We have heard nothing. We have seen nothing. We see only that there are no substantial changes ...or even minor ones. We see no correction to the abuses. Only the attitude of your Department and its officials at all levels that tells us that the Government apparently has no intention of correcting these ills. Certainly with further abuses of the farmers, and with comments passed on, we surmise that the plantation owners and other large landowners also realize this and are under the impression - and take actions to prove it - that they can indeed do anything they want (to the Negroes) and the government will do nothing. This is the only conclusion which we can have at this time.

People have suffered greatly over the years. They suffered further for speaking-out and for cooperating to try and correct the ills. They are now about to suffer to the greatest and fullest extent by being thrown off the land ... with nothing else to do and no where to go. And they have already found that other whites will not rent to them.

And no one - no where in government - does anyone really seem to care. No preparation has been made for this. No preventative steps have been taken ... no attempt to stop - even temporarily - these mass evictions which will allow the landlord to profit that much

cont

more from government programs.

All that happens is that we are asked to spend additional, tedious hours on further investigations ... further hours and hours answering the same questions over and over. Further inaction. We are tired ... very tired of all of this. We have stacks - volumns of investigative materials. We have no action. No correction. Only excuses. The facts and the resulting circumstances speak on sight. Either the mind or the eye is blind !

Winter is coming. It will be very cold. People will be without housing ... and without food etc. Livestock will die without pasture and feed. When spring comes they will have no land to plant. No benefits. Even those who are left on the land will have nothing. Only another year of hard work without anything to show for it. But, the landlord will continue to do well and the tenants can look from their shacks to his great comfort. Or from the road. And that apparently is what the Department of Agriculture is all about.

WHEN? When will anything ever be done?

shirley ann mesher

cc: Miss F. Bennett and Mr. J. Wasserman - National Sharecroppers Fund
Mr. William Seabron - USDA
Mr. Donald Jelinek, Atty.

November 17, 1966

Mr. Kenneth Birkhead
Office of the Secretary
Department of Agriculture
WASHINGTON D.C.

Dear Mr. Birkhead:

Thought you might want to see what I attached to agent's report on needs for new investigation. Speaks for it self.

I am also still waiting to hear on technical assistance and some other help for the co-ops which they need desperately. Nothing is being done from this end. Nor can anything be done. Rural Community Development Service has no funds and no staff ... and they can NOT get the cooperation from the local services. We expected that you would have sent some help from Washington som e time ago.

We are also awaiting a response on emergency measures that the Department is willing to and will take for people being put off the land across the Black Belt. Already, more than 50 families are known to be so affected in Dallas County alone now.

It seems very strange that in this time of so desperate a need that I can not reach you by phone .... and that my calls are never answered. The evasion may do something for your office ,.. but it certainly does not do anything for the people who are in such great need and for whom your Department supposedly has some responsibility . We might also add that we hold the Department further responsible for these conditions.

Talk and investigations are one thing. But the conditions of the people are another and are not changed nor satisfied by conversation. They are at this moment almost totally disallusioned with the Federal Government whom they really counted on to be fair and to correct abuses and to help them to a decent living and life. That was about their last hope. And it too seems to be gone. Their bitterness is increasing and I can not really blame them nor find anything to rationalize their feelings away. Perhaps from Washington it is hard to get the feel of the hold and hunger that people are soon to experience .... to understand what it will be like to loose the pitiful few possessions that they know .... to face loosing their feww head of cattle and hogs because they will have no where to put them and no feed. It may be hard to feel from that distance ... but it is real.

Yours for .... WHEN?

shirley ann mesher

P.S. Will also mention that have heard nothing about the FHA investigation, about the ASCS Election investigation .... about the Surplus Foods investigation .... and on and on. WHEN?

31 1/2 Franklin Street, Selma, Alabama 874-9142 or 872-3427

Striking Poverty at its Source -- in Rural America

A Report on the Southern Rural Training Project
from
National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

> When graduates of a pilot farm management program in Tennessee were asked by the Employment Service if they would now take a job in town, each program graduate answered, "No."
>
> The average net farm income of these trainees before the program had been $343 for the year. After training, in 1964, it was $1,285; and the program graduates knew it would continue to increase as they put into operation farm plans and techniques they had learned. Fourteen of the 19 trainees who finished the course increased their incomes by more than 100 per cent. They had found a way out of poverty at home, where they wanted to stay.

Here are the basic facts on rural poverty which point to the significance of this pilot project and the work of the Southern Rural Training Project.

Half of all the poverty in the United States is in rural areas. And, over all, between one-third and one-half of current unemployment has been attributed to the number of workers forced out of agriculture since 1953. Between 1947 and 1964, the number of farms dropped 40 per cent, to 3.5 million, while the number of people working on farms dropped 41 per cent, to 6.1 million.

In the South, Negroes are usually first to go, because their hold on the land is weaker. The South lost 3.3 million nonwhites between 1940 and 1963. But for every Negro displaced, two whites are also displaced. This is far more than a racial problem. And so long as millions of unskilled rural people migrate to cities looking for jobs which no longer exist for the undereducated and untrained, urban poverty will not be eradicated.

"Surplus" People

Mechanization of agriculture is the root of the problem, but neglect and discrimination have also caused the small farmer to be by-passed by economic programs benefiting large farmers. Fewer jobs are available for farm workers, and more skill is required for most of them--handling machinery and chemicals, for instance. Small farmers who cannot afford the new techniques cannot compete successfully with their larger neighbors and are bought out as the big grow bigger. Tenants and sharecroppers are evicted as uneconomic burdens; they become day laborers or migrants, fighting for jobs that are disappearing.

As both the numbers and the incomes of small farmers and farm workers drop sharply, the small rural communities decline with them. There is not enough purchasing power to maintain the small stores, service stations, eating places, country banks. Whole areas stagnate, and then even residents of small towns start to migrate to the swollen ghettos.

Why a Southern Rural Training Project?

The Southern Rural Training Project (SRTP) became an effective effort to reach these hardest to reach of all people, living in poverty-stricken rural areas, without education, technical skills, or indeed anything but the desire to better their lives. The SRTP was set up by the National Sharecroppers Fund in 1964 and was financed by the Department of Labor as an Experimental and Demonstration Project under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

The services and technical assistance of a private agency such as NSF, with its Southern Rural Training Project, provided the bridge between legislation and need. Many of the poorest rural people do not know where and how to find the government agencies that can help; how to interpret legislation to see what is available; how to fill out intricate forms and follow through bureaucratic channels to success--although they have shown that they can learn.

The first year's experience showed the wide variety of needs that such a program could meet. The project served as a middleman, assisting local groups and institutions in understanding the programs that were available, helping them to survey their areas and to draw up the programs they needed, and putting them in touch with all the government agencies that had to be involved. Processing and clearances sometimes took as long as a year, and local people had to be kept aware of what was happening. People without previous experience in dealing with government programs would have been quickly frustrated.

What Is a Training Program?

Although training programs vary a great deal, depending on the area, the participants, and the objectives, they ordinarily comprise three components. First comes basic education in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and basic social education in health and hygiene, citizenship, how to apply for a job. Second comes training, whether in a classroom, on one's own farm with expert supervision, or on-the-job at a new place of employment. Third is the sphere of community action, which has two sides: supportive services for trainees (counseling, health examinations, and the like); and involvement of the program participants in the planning and running of the program, along with other concerned community people.

Programs Developed

Among the early projects developed by SRTP were one to train sugar cane workers in the use of farm machinery; another to train rural young people as secretaries; a third to train small farmers in farm management. One project was also used to test selection techniques; another to test methods of teach-adult literacy.

In its second year, the Southern Rural Training Project broadened its approach to program development, helping local groups apply for and secure training programs under the Economic Opportunity Act and the Vocational Education Act of 1963, as well as under the Manpower Development and Training Act. It broke new ground in Louisiana, Georgia, and Tennessee, where the first funded programs under Title III-B of the Economic Opportunity Act (programs for seasonal farm workers) were developed with the assistance of the Southern Rural Training Project.

Title III-B offered an opportunity for SRTP field staff to encourage indigenous people to take an uncustomary active part in the planning and processing of projects. One participant commented:

> I think that the most significant factor of the meeting tonight was that the seasonal farm workers could sit and discuss a training program with the "big" farmers. I don't think some of the persons attending have ever before participated in a meeting of Negroes and whites similar to this one.

During the second year, SRTP helped local leadership in Southern communities to secure funding for 12 programs which are now providing this kind of education and training for more than 2,100 low-income adults. And 16 additional projects, which will serve 3,000 more trainees, are ready for 1967 funding. This was accomplished at a cost per trainee of $30 to $70, depending on how many projects finally become operative.

Interest is High

From one of the poorest counties in the nation (Fayette, Tennessee), the local training project head wrote:

> Our school has been in operation for three weeks. We have separated the school attendants into three levels of learning. The highest level (consisting of 16 people) is just barely functional. The balance, about equally divided, are illiterate completely to barely being able to read. All of these people at one time had some skill in reading and writing, but through non-use this has been lost.... The interest among the students is high and the enthusiasm of the teachers is very high.

SRTP is a Success

SRTP completed its activities in July. It was an Experimental and Demonstration project which was clearly successful; nevertheless, the Department of Labor's policy is not to continue to finance demonstration projects beyond a second year. The local people who have been aided to plan and follow through on projects have learned how to carry on. But, despite the number of training projects in existence under all of the legislation that SRTP used, still unmet are the needs of thousands of "surplus" people in the rural South, anxious to help themselves if the tools and techniques are offered.

Still Needed

The National Sharecroppers Fund is determined to continue its pioneering work to help poor rural communities receive the benefits of educational and training programs which they desperately need. To this end, one of the most able of the SRTP field representatives has been added to NSF's Regional staff and is now at work with rural communities in several Southern states.

Thus, many more thousands of functional illiterates will begin to read, to learn skills, to find jobs, to open a door out of poverty. But to be truly effective in helping the rural poor to achieve a life of economic independence at home, and in helping to rebuild their impoverished communities, government and private agencies must greatly increase their efforts beyond their present level. NSF is working to bring this about.

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SOUTHERN RURAL ACTION PROJECT
OF THE
CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

50 WHITEHALL STREET, N.E., SUITE 817 ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
TELEPHONE 404/523-6146

RANDOLPH BLACKWELL
PROJECT DIRECTOR

Progress Report

The Southern Rural Action Project, which was initiated in late summer with a staff of five persons, is now at the end of its first four month period. With a central office established and seven of the ten project counties selected and moving, it now appears safe to assert the soundness of the following hypotheses:

1. Total community development (a program for everybody) is the best way to effect change in the economic level of the poor.

2. Poor people have resources in their possession that can be employed to change their economic condition.

3. There are available resources in the private sector of the economy that can be added to those from the public sector to carry on an anti-poverty campaign.

4. It is still not too late to think in terms of revitalizing the Southern agricultural industry.

5. Economic uplift has a direct positive influence on the nature of Southern politics.

The assertion of soundness of these hypotheses is justified by the empirical evidence that has come out of the programs, which are listed below, that the Southern Rural Action Project has carried on during the period of its existence. Each program should be viewed as a prototype. They are divided, programs of primary emphasis and programs of secondary emphasis.

PROGRAM OF PRIMARY EMPHASIS

I. Housing

In Greene County, Alabama the Community Development Committee, a creation of the Southern Rural Action Project, set upon the task of making home ownership a real possibility for every family in the area. In this connection a concrete block making factory was perceived as an essential element in the total objective. Thus far the community has erected a well constructed sheet metal building to house the block plant, and has purchased and installed the necessary block making machine. Test runs are now being

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made with the equipment in preparation for full-time operation. A very careful and complete survey of housing needs is being conducted on which a list of priorities will be established. The committee seeks to offer a well constructed six room home with full bath for $3,500. The model house will be open for public inspection on or before December 25, 1966.

II. Employment

In Taliaferro County, Georgia there existed for several months a small silk screen operation primarily for the purpose of affording employment for some of the theretofore unemployed citizens. This was to a great extent an effort at taking an operation structured at a hobby level and making it remunerative. While it is true that the operation as it existed was receiving contracts, SRAP saw in this an opportunity to step it up to real industrial method and output, adding on the necessary horizontal and vertical integration. As a result, the old operation with SRAP help is engaged in taking over the production end of an already organized concern with a well established market. This will, of course, mean the acquisition of additional training and equipment, but the prospect of an employee owned factory is enough to expect that whatever is required will be obtained. It is anticipated that the first of the year will find some forty (40) people working in new operation.

III. Enrichment

In Dallas County, Alabama, a very serious experiment is being conducted in pre-school education. The group there has made detailed repairs on two delapidated buildings formerly used as public schools. Several women have received very special training in teaching methods, and have the prospect of continuing to do so. One class of fifteen children is already in operation.

The children in these classes are being exposed to the much publicized Montesorri method of teaching, heretofore made available only to children of the affluent.

PROGRAMS OF SECONDARY EMPHASIS:

Organized three sewing clubs that are engaged in general household sewing with special emphasis on children's clothing.

Organized two film clubs that are regularly bringing movie-house features to counties that are without theaters. Discussions are held after each showing around questions raised by the pictures. Such fundamental issues are being discussed as self-image, integrity, individual relationship to the broader world, family life, and political and economic trends.

Involved public school teachers in a program of preparing a catechism that will be used in getting individuals ready to take the General Education Development Test (high school equivalency).

Established three community centers, which provide quarters for a number of community activities.

Picked up the remains of five home demonstration clubs in one county that fell apart after this service was discontinued. The clubs are now meeting regularly.

Organized two community study halls, well equipped with books and suitable furniture.

Attended and contributed to eighteen workshops and conferences related to community development.

Gave support to one broad poverty concern (CDGM).

Organized three classes in basic education for adults; two other communities have requested similar programs.

Located an avenue to the emergency capital necessary to enable a small Negro owned chemical company to remain alive.

Started the drafting of a proposal for a program to train house to house salesmen that will be employed by Union Town Chemical Company.

Pulled together a staff of experts that is in the process of drafting a multi-county health program.

Opened intensive investigation of the Eugene Condon Self-help home construction process, which will be revolutionary if it proves to be all that it is purported to be.

We joined with two indigenous cooperative farm projects and brought to them additional encouragement, organization, and technical assistance.

We have proposals before:

1. National Council of Negro Women for support of ten clubs, concentrating on household sewing.
2. VISTA for 40 volunteers to work with film clubs, community study halls, and information centers.
3. Southern Regional Council for a supply of books for one of our study halls.
4. Farm Home Administration for self-help housing aid to seventeen families being displaced by a shift in agriculture.

SUPPORT FOR SRAP

Thirteen organizations have pledged support to the Southern Rural Action Project. They are: the National Student Association, the National Council of Negro Women, the National Council of Churches, the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Delta Ministry, the National Council of Catholic Women, Wednesdays in Mississippi, United Church Women, the National Student Christian Federation, the American Foundation for Non-Violent Education, the National Sharecroppers Fund, and the Alabama-Greene County Clubs, Inc.

The following support has already been received:

U. S. National Student Association - finance
University of Illinois Housing Research Center - technical assistance
Southern Christian Leadership Conference - staff
Southern Regional Council - books
American Foundation for Non-Violent Education - finance
Stern Family Fund - finance
National Sharecroppers Fund - technical assistance

OBJECTIVES OF SRAP TO BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHIN THE NEXT 60 DAYS:

1. Select and get moving the three Mississippi projects.
2. Firm up at least 15 functioning support groups.
3. Begin the establishment of multi-county and region-wide programs.

LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES:

In the month of August, 1967 a poor people's fair will be held, to which all persons, agencies, and associations (public and private) will be invited to exhibit their products and relate their "before and after stories". These exhibits will be held in conjunction with lectures, discussions, and workshops. Entertainment will be supplied by the various groups in the area that have been exposed to cultural enrichment programs.

This fair will culminate in the formation of a very broad poor people's congress, capable of dealing effectively with the major economic issues of the day.

The only barriers that appear to stand in the way of this objective are: (1) We must strengthen the confidence of the people in their ability to produce change; (2) We must find more ways to penetrate the race barrier.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF SRAP:

1. An Assistant Project Director
2. A staff person for Mississippi
3. A $25,000 emergency project fund.

What you should know about

FARMER COOPERATIVES

A cooperative is a business owned and operated by the people who use the goods and services it supplies. It is one way that people can pool cash and some of their other resources to work together for a better life for each of them.

Most successful farm operators depend upon cooperatives. They may get their electricity through their local rural electric cooperatives, and their seed, fertilizer, feed, and other supplies through purchasing co-ops; sell the products they grow through marketing co-ops; and borrow the money they need to carry on their operations through cooperative Land Banks, production credit associations, and credit unions. Even the smallest farmer -- and the farm worker, too -- may find that cooperatives can help him save money in his farming and in supplying his family's needs.

An Example of a Need - Credit Unions

One of the easiest ways to save money is not to borrow it from the landlord, the supply merchant, the ginner, the loan shark. Yet almost all farmers and sharecroppers must borrow during the growing season, and farmworkers often must borrow during the off season. A study showed that Negro small farmers in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, were really paying their landlords 11.7% and their supply merchants 14.8% interest (even though it was reported at a lower rate). Those who could borrow from a production credit association or from a bank paid 6% to 6.8% interest (with no extra hidden charges). Most of the loans were from $50 up to $500.

A credit union is one kind of cooperative. It could have lent this money cheaper and might have worked out a better schedule for repayment. It might have been able to help those that the production credit association and the banks would not help, including farmworkers and non-farmers.

How a cooperative operates

A cooperative is organized to save money for its member-users and to bring them needed services, not to make a profit for stockholders. All cooperatives operate on this basic principle.

1. Open membership. Anyone can join a cooperative who can use and pay for its services, and pay the membership fee. (You have to be a farmer to belong to a farmer co-op. The membership fee depends upon the kind of business, usually ranging from $5.00 to $100.00.)

2. Democratic control. The cooperative is controlled by the members and every member in good standing can vote. Each member usually has one vote no matter how much stock he owns.

3. Limited interest on capital invested. Members buy shares in the cooperative so that it will have enough money to operate, but it is set up to serve its members, not to make a profit, so the members limit the amount of interest they pay themselves on their invested capital.

4. Service at as near to cost as possible. After cooperatives have paid their operating expenses, they may pay dividends to members on their invested capital. The net savings left over is allocated and paid to the patrons as patronage refunds. This means that it is divided up on the basis of goods bought or services used during the year. The more you use your co-op the larger refund you will get.

Types of cooperatives

There are almost as many kinds of cooperatives as there are needs for goods and services. Here are a few that have been most useful for rural people:

Purchasing co-ops - to buy at wholesale and to sell to their members such products as seed, fertilizers, machinery, gasoline, home appliances, and groceries.

Marketing co-ops - to gin, pack or prepare their members' products for market; and to sell them locally or ship them to market.

Credit unions - to encourage thrift and savings and to lend money to their members at reasonable rates. Usually, all members must belong to the same organization, such as a church or civic group.

Other Service co-ops - to own and operate expensive machinery; to develop water, forestry, and conservation districts; to build and operate housing for older persons, and health clinics; to reduce insurance and funeral costs.

How to use a cooperative -- or start a new one

First, visit the cooperative nearest you. Get its literature on how it operates and how to join. If it can meet some of your needs, join it, take part in its meetings, vote in its elections, and use its services. If there is no co-op nearby, try to get the one that best meets your needs to open a branch in your area.

Many co-ops have failed. Before starting one, learn if a cooperative will meet your local needs and if you have the resources to make it successful. Experts on cooperatives can help you determine if a proposed cooperative is practicable and has a chance for success.

Some of the causes of co-op failure have been: (1) Not enough persons in the area had enough need for it; (2) The members did not understand how cooperatives really operate; (3) There was no convenient source of supply for a purchasing co-op or a reasonable market for the products of a marketing one; (4) The manager was not qualified to run the business; (5) The members could not raise enough capital (although loans may have been available if the plans were really feasible).

No matter how big some cooperatives now are, most of them started with just a few persons sitting down and planning together how to get the things and services they need cheaper and better. But expert help is needed; get it from the start.

How to get help

Private organizations, state colleges, state departments of agriculture, banks for cooperatives, and the federal government are ready to help you learn about cooperatives and to form one if a feasibility study shows you can use one successfully. For further information on cooperatives and the nearest cooperative association that may help you, write to: The Cooperative League of the USA, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605.

For information and help on credit unions, write to: Bureau of Federal Credit Unions, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington 25, D.C.; or to: Credit Union National Association, 1617 Sherman Avenue, P.O. Box 431, Madison 1, Wisconsin.

The Farmer Cooperative Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250, is set up to advise and help farmers organize and operate cooperatives successfully. Write to it for Bulletin Reprint 6, What is a Co-op, and Circular 18, Organizing a Farmer Cooperative, and for other information. Ask Farmer Cooperative Service for help as you go along.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

What you should know about

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION LOANS

If you are a farmer and need additional funds at reasonable terms and rates to consolidate debts, for operating expenses, to improve your crop, stock, house, or buildings, or to buy a farm or equipment, Farmers Home Administration may be able to help you. You may have been turned down for an FHA loan in the past--or have been told that it is useless for you to apply. But if your farm experience makes you believe that with enough credit you can manage a farm successfully as either an owner or a tenant, you should apply again. Be sure to apply in writing, as only written applications can be considered.

Floyd F. Higbee, FHA Deputy Administrator, instructed all FHA offices:

> "We must concentrate on helping farmers improve their conditions... rather than to use their problems and shortcomings as a basis for rejecting their applications for assistance....The best efforts of this agency are now directed specifically to assisting family farmers through loans and guidance to the end that no deserving family farmer will have to give up the struggle of remaining on the farm because of factors that have come about through reasons beyond his control."
> (FHA Bulletin No. 691, February 15, 1961.)

Kinds of loans available

If you think any of the FHA loans listed here might help you, ask your FHA county office for the special leaflets that will tell you much more about them.

Operating loans: To help make your farm and home operations successful. Loans for livestock, feed, fertilizer, and farm equipment; for food, clothing, medical care, and other household expenses; to refinance debts; to produce trees, and to do other things to make your farm more productive. Terms: Loans up to seven years at 5% interest; 3% interest for forestry operations.

Farm Ownership loans: To buy, enlarge, and improve family farms. Loans for farm homes and buildings, to drill wells, to develop and improve forest or recreational enterprises. They are for larger, longer-range projects than operating loans. Terms: Loans up to 40 years at 5% interest; 3% interest for forestry.

Rural Housing loans: To build or improve farm homes or buildings, or non-farm homes in rural areas or communities of less than 2500. Loans to install heating or water, or to modernize; or to buy a house or homesite for persons over 62 years. Terms: Loans up to 33 years at 4% interest. Owners unable to repay a loan may be able to get a grant of up to $1000 for minor safety or health improvements.

Water Development and Soil Conservation loans: To improve your water supply and your land; for wells, farmstead water, irrigation and drainage, grading, fertilizing and seeding; to develop permanent pastures and improve forestry practices; to join a water district; and to pay for engineering plans and legal fees. Terms: Loans up to 40 years at 5% interest; 3% for forestry.

Emergency loans: To help farmers who need special credit to carry on their normal operations because of widespread losses caused by floods, droughts, and other natural disasters. They are usually made only in areas specially designated by the Secretary of Agriculture but sometimes can be made when only one or a few farmers are affected. Terms: Loans up to 7 years for livestock and equipment, up to 20 years for buildings and land improvement, at 3% interest.

Loans to groups: These are available for watershed improvement, water systems, irrigation, soil conservation, the development of grasslands, and forestry and recreational enterprises, and for the building of housing for older persons. Ask the FHA county office for information about these programs.

Who is eligible for FHA loans

The special requirements for the different types of loans are given in the FHA leaflets. All of the loans (except for rural housing) require the following:

1. that you are unable to get credit for the loan you need at reasonable rates and terms from private or cooperative lending agencies;
2. that you have a farm background and the farm experience or training necessary to be successful in carrying out the planned farm operation;
3. that you work out a plan with the FHA county supervisor that will make it possible to carry through the operation and pay off the loan;
4. that after the loan is made you actually will be managing or operating a farm either as owner, or tenant under a written lease, and that you be of legal age (and, in some cases, a U.S. citizen);
5. that you have the character, industry, and ability to carry out the farming operation for which you obtain the loan.

How to apply -- Who determines whether or not you are eligible

Consider your own farm operation very carefully. If you think that with a loan you can increase your cash income enough to both live better and pay off the loan, ask the FHA county supervisor to help you plan your operations and help you prepare your application. Your application will be reviewed by the FHA county committee which will decide whether or not you get the loan. The FHA committee is made up of three local farmers appointed by the FHA state director. The committee may ask you and your family to meet with it. Try to have other farmers who know you tell the committee about your background and ability. The local committee should decide in about two weeks. Appeals may be taken to the state director. Even if you don't qualify for an FHA loan at this time, the FHA office can help you plan for farm improvements.

What to do if you think you are not being treated fairly on an FHA loan

You have the right to have the FHA county office help you review your farm operations and plan your improvements. You are entitled to be treated with courtesy at the FHA county office and to receive help in preparing your loan application. If other debts are keeping you from qualifying, the FHA office may be able to help you try to work out new arrangements with your other creditors. The FHA county committee must consider your application fairly regardless of your color, the smallness of your farm, or any bad credit or operating experiences in the past.

Keep a careful written record of all your contacts with the FHA office and a copy of your applications. Keep every letter or notice that is sent to you, and keep the envelope it came in. If you think that you are not being treated fairly, write a letter telling everything that happened to: The Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

What you should know about

SURPLUS FOOD PROGRAMS
(Direct distribution, Food Stamp, and School Lunch Programs)

What they are

"Surplus food" is some of the food the farmer grows but cannot sell at the price he wants to get for it. It is available for distribution to people who need it but cannot buy it because they are out of work, unable to work, or paid too little when they are working to carry them over the off-season, or because disaster strikes.

The Department of Agriculture buys or takes over this food under price support and other governmental programs and, through the Agricultural Marketing Service, gives it to state and local welfare agencies and to schools. The federal government usually does not distribute this food directly to the persons who need it, and the Department of Agriculture does not have the money or the staff to do this except on an emergency basis.

How the food is distributed

1. Direct distribution through local public welfare agencies. The Agricultural Marketing Service packages the food and delivers it without charge to central distribution points within a cooperating state. Local public welfare officials decide whether or not they want to participate, to what extent, and for what period of the year. As they pay the cost of collecting the food from the central depots in the state and of distributing it to the persons entitled to it (sometimes with help from the state), there is no way legally to force a local community to take part in the program--or continue in it--if it does not want to do so. Occasionally, a local community has permitted a private welfare agency to assume the responsibility for (and the costs of) local distribution, but the public officials still must supervise the program with the help of AMS workers.

If a local community does take part in the direct food distribution program, it must follow the standards set by the federal government. It can distribute the food only to those in need, and it determines what families are in need. However, it cannot apply different tests to different families. It cannot deny food to persons because of their color or punish them by withdrawing food because of their civil rights or other political activities.

If your community is not taking part in the program or if it ends the program altogether at the end of the off-season, only negotiation or public pressure can bring it to take part or continue in the program. Sometimes local civic and religious groups can be persuaded to intervene. Sometimes a private welfare agency will take up the burden with the consent of the local officials. Sometimes state officials or the Department of Agriculture will intercede.

2. The Food Stamp Program. This program permits low-income families and families on welfare to spend their food money to buy food stamps of higher value. The family can then use the stamps to purchase food at any grocery. If your community has need for this program, rally local backing and write to the Secretary of Agriculture urging that your community be included in the Food Stamp Program.

3. National School Lunch Program. Any public or nonprofit private school can take part in this program if it operates its lunch program on a nonprofit basis, serves lunches free or at a reduced cost to those who cannot pay the full price, and serves lunches that meet the Department of Agriculture's nutritional standards. The federal government will pay $1 out of every $4 paid for some of the food bought locally for the lunch program and will contribute most of the rest of the food needed. Any group, such as a parent-teacher association, church, or fraternal or other service club, can help the local school start and carry on the program.

If your local school does not have a school lunch program, find out why from the school board. Interest local individuals and groups in helping to get a program launched. Seek help from the state Department of Education, which supervises the program in each state.

4. Special Milk Program. Even if a school does not take part in the school lunch program, it can still get federal assistance to serve milk free or at a reduced cost. This aid is also available for camps, orphanages, and other child care institutions. For information, write to Agricultural Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250.

5. Disaster Relief. Substantial supplies of federally-donated food are almost always quickly available to whole communities when such disasters as hurricanes, floods, drought, and widespread fire strike. But disasters sometimes strike single families too, and the same relief is often available if quickly sought. Check in time of need with local welfare officials and the local chapter of the American Red Cross.

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If you find that any federally assisted food program is not being administered fairly and you cannot work it out with local and state officials, gather your facts carefully and send a full account of them to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19 Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

What you should know about

ACREAGE ALLOTMENT PROGRAMS
(for cotton, peanuts, and rice)

This fact sheet furnishes general information on farm acreage allotments and marketing quotas for cotton, peanuts, and rice. If you have any questions about these acreage allotments and marketing quota programs, you should discuss them with the local County Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Office.

Marketing Quota Referendums and Acreage Allotments

Marketing quota referendums for cotton and peanuts are held by county ASC committees each year in which the Secretary proclaims a national marketing quota for these crops. The referendums are held not later than December 15 and must be approved by at least two-thirds of the farmers voting. Any farm owner, tenant, or sharecropper who "engaged in the production" of these crops in the year the referendum is held can vote.

With respect to rice, a referendum must be held within 30 days after the Secretary proclaims a national marketing quota. When conditions require it the national marketing quota for rice must be proclaimed by the Secretary between July 1 and December 1. Rice quotas must also be approved by at least two-thirds of the farmers voting. To be eligible to vote a farmer must have "engaged in the production" of rice during the year in which the referendum is held. Notices of acreage allotments are issued in advance of referendums in order that farmers will know the effect of the program on their farms.

How big an acreage allotment should you get?

The acreage allotted to you should be your fair share of the acreage allotted to your county for the crop. Generally, your fair share is based upon the past crop history of your farm and of the other farms producing the crop. (Abnormal growing conditions, the land, crop rotation, and your own experience are sometimes considered.) The allotments for all the farms in your county are listed at the ASC county office. Examine this list right away if you do not think your allotment is fair. Even if you have a small farm or a new farm you are usually entitled to some allotment for the crop. Ask the ASC office or your county agent to explain your allotment to you. A producer growing an allotment crop without an allotment is subject to marketing quota penalties and does not qualify for an allotment for subsequent years. Therefore, before a farmer without an allotment grows one of these crops he should discuss his chances for a "new farm" allotment with his county ASC committee.

ASCS County Elections

Once each year local farmers elect community committees whose chairmen elect the county ASC committee. Generally any farmer who is eligible to participate in one of the ASCS price support programs, has an acreage allotment established for his farm or participates in the Agricultural Conservation, Conservation Reserve, or Feed Grain Program, is eligible to vote in ASCS committee elections. These elections are well publicized locally. Any farmer who has any questions as to eligibility to vote should contact the local county ASCS office prior to the date of the election.

What to do if you don't get your notice of acreage allotment or think your allotment is unfair

If you do not get a notice of your allotment in the mail at the same time that your neighbors get theirs and before the marketing quota referendum, inquire at once at your local ASC office and write a letter to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C., telling him what happened.

When you get a notice of your allotment in the mail, read it carefully right away and save it. If you don't understand it, ask your local ASCS office to explain it to you. If you are not satisfied that the allotment is right for your farm, file a written application for review with your local ASCS office within fifteen days from the date of the postmark on your notice. Keep your copy of your notice of allotment. If you need help in filing an application for review of your allotment, the ASCS office will help you with it.

If you apply for a review of your allotment in time, it will be reviewed by an ASC review committee of three farmers who have been appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture and who are different from your local ASC committee. This committee will change your allotment if it decides, after considering all aspects of your case, that you did not get a fair share of the crop acreage allotted to your county.

If you still do not think that you are being treated fairly after the review committee has made its findings, you can appeal to the United States District Court or to the State Court of your county for further review. This is likely to be expensive, however, and you should get legal advice before you try to do this.

How to get an extra allotment

If you want to put more acres in the crop than you were first allotted, apply to the ASC committee. The county committee has held in reserve part of the allotted land to take care of the adjustment of any claims made, and sometimes growers do not want to plant all the acreage given them. This excess is divided among all those who apply for it.

The measurement of your land

The correct measurement of your land is important to you and to the government. If your fields are measured too big, you will not be planting all the acres to which you are entitled. If they are measured too small, you may be planting more than you were allotted and have to plow up some of it or be subject to other penalties. If you request it, the ASC committee must measure your fields before you plant them or will remeasure them later. But you must pay for the cost of this special measurement, so be sure you find out how much it is going to cost you before you ask the committee to do it. If you don't ask for prior measurement or remeasurement, you are bound by the ASC committee's determination of your acreage.

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If your ASC committee office does not treat you with fairness and with courtesy, or if it segregates you or discriminates against you in any other way, get all the facts you can, including what happened and when and where it happened. Get the names of the persons involved and of witnesses if you can. Send a full report of it to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19 Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

SUMMARY OF FINAL REPORT

The Southern Rural Training Project was an experimental manpower development project authorized under Section 201 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. The SRTP was originally created in January, 1964, by a contract between the U.S. Department of Labor and the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., and was continued under a new one-year contract which terminated on July 31, 1966.

SRTP was to demonstrate that local leadership in poorer areas of the rural South, coupled with the resources of nearby colleges, employment and education agencies, and other organizations, could help develop training programs to assist unemployed and underemployed persons in improving their economic situation.

During the past year SRTP has helped local leadership in Southern communities to achieve the funding of twelve programs which will provide training for more than 2,100 low-income adults. Favorable consideration has been received for most of sixteen additional projects to serve 3,000 trainees. The cost of SRTP per trainee will average \$30-\$70, depending upon the number of projects, not yet approved, which become operative. Projects have been developed by SRTP under the Manpower Development and Training Act, Titles I and II; the Economic Opportunity Act, Titles II-A, II-B, III-B, and V; and the Vocational Education Act of 1963. The funds for two-thirds of the projects developed will come from federal agency sources other than the Department of Labor (OEO and HEW).

Title III-B of the Economic Opportunity Act was found to be the most suitable legislation under which projects in rural areas could receive funds. In developing these projects, SRTP field staff encouraged indigenous people to take an active part in the planning and processing. Bi-racial advisory committees were organized, allowing seasonal farm workers to meet on an equal basis with their employers and with government agency personnel. These committees, it is hoped, will become permanent organizations to apply for other programs to meet their community needs.

In Louisiana, Georgia, and Tennessee, the first funded Title III-B programs were developed with the assistance of SRTP. From these programs, a model was developed upon which the design of other III-B projects was based, with variations to fit specific local needs.

With MDTA programs, SRTP found that the greatest problem rested in the long delays between initial application and final approval of projects. During these delays, which often extended to a year or more, local people remained ignorant of what was happening to their project; local enthusiasm consequently lessened; potential trainees were forced to accept alternatives; and replacements had to be found for originally chosen staff.

The greatest contribution of SRTP lay in providing the technical assistance necessary for local groups to learn to develop and process projects. If rural areas, small towns and colleges, and groups without financial resources are not to be excluded from manpower development efforts, similar technical assistance must be provided to potential project sponsors throughout the rural South

The National Sharecroppers Fund is glad to have had this opportunity to use its resources in cooperation with government and local groups to meet urgent training needs. NSF expects to continue its role in bridging the gap between these local rural groups and government resources.

Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
(Supervisor, Southern Rural Training Project)

(Second
printing)

SOUTHERN RURAL TRAINING PROJECT

Summary of Project Development (Final)

Projects Funded

Sponsor	Type of Project	Number of Trainees	Amount of Budget
Farm Bureau	III-B, Reserve, Louisiana	120	$ 76,586
School Board	II-B, Holly Hill, S. Carolina	500	25,105
College	Department of Labor E & D St. Mary's Dominican, Louisiana	90	70,650
College	Department of Labor E & D Loyola University, Louisiana	150	124,300
CAP	III-B, Ferriday, Louisiana	100	67,698
MACTAD	III-B, Mobile, Alabama	100	52,131
CAP	III-B, Fayette County, Tenn.	180	117,781
College	Department of Labor E & D Jackson State, Jackson, Miss.	115	56,209
CAP	III-B, Dorchester, S. Carolina	180	200,420
CAP	III-B, Thibodaux, Louisiana	180	224,668
CAP	III-B, Thomasville, Georgia	150	446,190
Community Organization	Department of Labor E & D Mobile, Alabama	280	966,570
		2,145	$2,428,308

Submitted But Not Yet Funded

Sponsor	Type of Project	Number of Trainees	Amount of Budget
Community Organization	OJT Prime-Contract Mobile, Alabama	100	$ 40,000
CAP	III-B, Shiloh, Tenn. (Savannah)	960	713,479
CAP	III-B, Elk River, Tennessee (Fayetteville)	320	308,812
County Welfare Dept.	Title V, Thomasville, Georgia	90	350,000

Submitted But Not Yet Funded (contd.)

Sponsor	Type of Project	Number of Trainees	Amount of Budget
Citizens Agency of TVA	III-B, Beech River, Henderson County, Tennessee	240	$ 183,158
CAP	III-B, Dillon County, S. Carolina	360	349,340
Labor Union	Department of Labor E & D, Washington, D.C.	100	48,400
NSF	OEO II-B, Program Development in Georgia & Alabama	60	216,635
CAP	III-B, Alexandria, Louisiana	360	303,820
Office of Mayor City Council	III-B, Triana, Alabama	100	135,720
College	Department of Labor E & D, Mississippi	225	98,298
CAP	III-B, Orange-Calhoun Counties, South Carolina	240	256,540
CAP	III-B, Grand Coteau, Louisiana	100	91,950
Educational Institute	III-B, Fitzgerald, Georgia	120	191,650
		3,375	$3,287,802

Projects Developed, Processing Continuing By Other Sponsors

Sponsor	Type of Project	Number of Trainees	Amount of Budget
Office of the Mayor	Department of Labor E & D Tampa, Florida	400	$ 677,113
State Dept. of Education	Office of Education E & D Florida	180	57,610
College	E&D, Fort Valley, Ga., TAPPED	240	153,054
		820	$ 887,777

Total Project Development		6,340	$6,603,887

Panola Builds a Co-op

Panola Builds a Co-op

Negro farmers in Panola County, Mississippi, were being paid only four cents a pound for their okra. They knew their okra was worth more. The broker to whom they sold their crop, and who was making a handsome profit, wouldn't pay. What did the farmers do? They organized their own co-op to market their own okra. This is the story of how they did it with hard work, determination to succeed, and technical assistance from the National Sharecroppers Fund.

Poverty has been the way of life for generations in Panola County, Mississippi. Nearly 29,000 people lived there when the 1960 census was taken, about 9,000 less than the previous census. More than half of them are Negroes, and nearly all of them are poor farmers. The one out of four—black and white, men and women—who left Panola County forever included more than half of the young people in their twenties.

As everywhere, in Panola the Negroes were harder pressed, poorer, more apt to be forced off their land or to lose their jobs. As more of them left, the thousands who remained wondered if they should—or could—go too. This is the source of the great migration to the cities of people who are untrained, without resources, still hoping to share in the American dream.

Like most of Mississippi, Panola is cotton country. And like many other southern counties, it grows okra and beans on the side. Cotton is so much the center of life that until last year children attended school on a split shift, with classes in the summer so they would be available for picking cotton at the midwinter harvest. Even small independent farmers had little control over their livelihood because they depended on a few local white brokers for pricing and marketing their crops, and they had to take what they were offered in order to get any cash at all.

Farmers Ask Help From NSF

The National Sharecroppers Fund first heard from the small okra farmers of Panola County in the summer of 1964. They asked NSF's field representative, Mr. James Mays, to come and advise them. Civil rights workers in the county had told them about cooperatives, and they asked him to help them start one.

These farmers were being paid only 4 cents a pound by the broker for their okra. When 60 of them signed a petition to the white okra buyer asking for 8 cents (and hoping for 5 or 6 cents), he told them not to try to run his business.

The farmers thought that trying to make a living was as much their business as making a big profit was the broker's business, and they decided to take the risk of trying to sell their okra for themselves. Mr. Mays helped them to get started, but they learned most by doing. Before long, they had formed the beginnings of a farmers' marketing cooperative.

The Poverty We Fight Against

The Farmers Begin

First, they learned how to buy seed wholesale and sell it to co-op members at cost, so that everybody saved. Then they learned that okra has to be graded before it can be marketed, that it has to be a certain size and shape.

When the co-op started, the farmers had to sell their okra on the open market in Memphis, Tennessee, because they had no contract for the crop. One day they might get 6½ cents a pound, and another day only 2 cents. That was because they started late in the season, and because their former buyer worked hard to prevent their getting contracts.

They decided to hold back 1 cent a pound from each member grower's sales to pay for the trucks the co-op had to hire to take the okra to Memphis, and for other expenses. The manager who kept the records and supervised the loading station didn't always get paid his $35.00 a week.

Some farmers went back to the old broker when the co-op had to cut its payments to 4 cents a pound at the end of the summer, but most of them stuck with their co-op. They knew next year would be easier because they now had experience in grading and marketing, and they had time to get contracts with out-of-state buyers and frozen food plants. With these new buyers, they could contract for other crops, too. If they could manage to buy their own trucks, they could save money there.

The Government Should Help

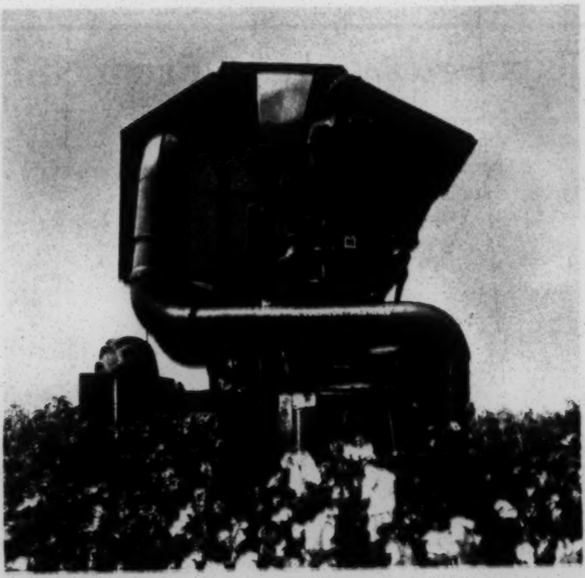
Both the National Sharecroppers Fund and the

Mr. James Mays, NSF field representative civil rights workers had told the farmers that they were entitled to government help that they hadn't been getting. The Extension Service could give them information about grading and marketing, and even help get them contracts. Other agencies could lend them money to buy trucks and equipment they needed.

Now that the West Batesville Farmers Cooperative was organized, the farmers had a way to tackle other problems. None of them could afford to buy machinery alone, but through the co-op they could share the expense. The first thing they wanted was cotton harvesters, so that their children could go to school instead of picking the crops after the split-session law was changed. They found out that the poverty program could lend money to a farmers' co-op if more than half the members were poor, but when they first went to the local Farmers Home Administration office the agent didn't seem to know about it.

The co-op filed an application anyway, asking for two cotton pickers, two bean combines, and a bulldozer. They also needed funds for an equipment shed and an office.

Then the county agent came to a co-op meeting and was very discouraging. He said the farmers were asking for too much and told them to take a survey of how many acres of cotton and beans they would be harvesting. The farmers took time off to make the survey and raised money to buy gasoline to get around the county. They found that farmers who wanted to hire the machines the co-op would buy had a total of 1,400 acres of cotton and 1,400 acres of beans. The county agent had to admit that they needed more than they had asked for—six cotton pickers instead of two, and three combines.



Cotton picking machine at work

The Loan Comes

In August, 1965, the co-op received a loan for $113,000 under the antipoverty program. They had ten years to pay, at about half the interest that was charged locally. It was the largest loan yet made to such a co-op, and all of a sudden local officials who had never done anything for the farmers became interested and even bragged about their achievement.

Now members are being trained to operate and take care of the machinery, and they are talking hopefully about the day they'll have their own cotton gin. Even though it was late summer before the loan came, they were able to make the 1965 payment on it. The drivers were paid $1.25 an hour, which big Mississippi plantation owners still claim they can't afford. Dealers are bidding for the co-op's business, and contracts for 1966 crops were signed in time. Plans are to start handling fertilizer, insecticides, and farm equipment soon.

The farmers' children are going to school now, instead of working in the fields. Some of the farmers are going to classes too, after work is done. With a special foundation grant, a young civil rights worker wrote the story of the co-op in language that people without much education can understand, in print large enough for easy reading, and with pictures that help to tell the story. This is part of a literacy program, and it also helps to spread the word about how to form a co-op.

The West Batesville Farmers Cooperative is a beginning for Panola County. The South is full of counties like Panola where people are being driven out; yet thousands want to stay—if they can get help to build a better life where they are.

Co-op member Mrs. Turner in her okra field

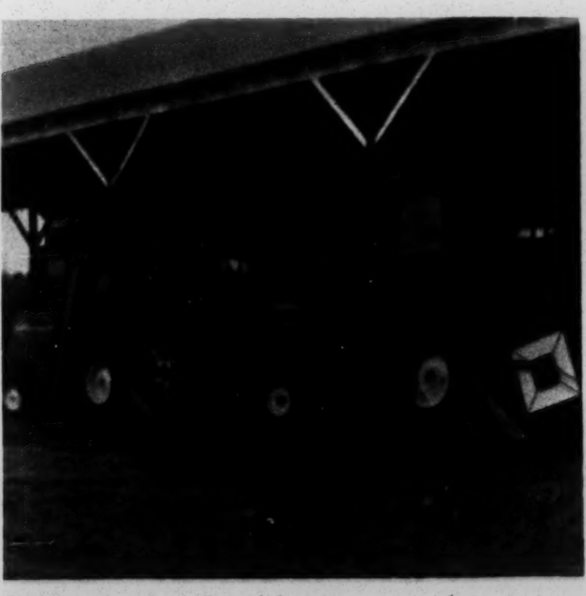
Before Panola – and After

The National Sharecroppers Fund has been helping low-income farmers and farm workers in the rural South for nearly thirty years. It brings information about agricultural assistance programs to rural people who need them, and it helps poor people to organize to take advantage of the antipoverty program and to implement the Civil Rights Act so that all may share in benefits.

NSF's first southern field represenative went into Fayette and Haywood Counties, in Tennessee, after hundreds of sharecroppers had been evicted because they registered to vote in 1960. Today, with NSF representative Art Emery as a moving spirit, farmers there have organized the MidSouth Oil Cooperative with a $49,000 loan through the Office of Economic Opportunity. A vegetable marketing cooperative and a credit union are in the planning stages, and another NSF program, the Southern Rural Training Project, is helping the local people get manpower training started there. Small machinery co-ops have been organized, too.

The very first OEO loan to go to a rural cooperative went to the Southern Consumers Cooperative in Lafayette, Louisiana. A delegate from the co-op had attended NSF's first Southern Conference (in North Carolina, in 1962) which brought government and rural people together to learn from each other. The next such conference, in South Carolina in 1963, was specifically about co-operatives, and more than 200 rural people attended. In the following years, similar meetings were held in Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama.

Poor farmers took home ideas of what they could



Equipment bought with government loan

do themselves (such as forming co-ops) and how the government could help (through loan and training programs). NSF added field representatives to follow up with help; those in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida work in a Rural Advancement Program jointly sponsored by NSF and the Southern Regional Council and the state Councils on Human Relations. In South Carolina, NSF representative L. S. James was credited with key assistance in forming the St. Mathews Machinery Association, which secured the first loan in the state for such a co-op.

Now small co-ops are beginning to multiply throughout the rural South: machinery co-ops, marketing co-ops, even producers' co-ops. The idea is outrunning the know-how, but not the need. Members must learn not only to run machines but to keep books; to understand market conditions as well as soil potential; what they can ask from government, and what they must give of themselves.

The way out of poverty is long and difficult. Guideposts, like NSF, help show the way. But the poor are on the move, and there will be no turning back.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET/NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003
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THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS IN 1965

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

by Fay Bennett, Executive Director

> "There still lies ahead the establishment for migrant farm labor of the standards of both decency and efficiency which are characteristic of other employment in this country."
>
> Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz in Year of Transition: Seasonal Farm Labor, 1965

> "I used to wonder how all my white neighbors got such fine cows and fine pastures and fine tractors. I kept snooping around and I found out my white neighbors were getting loans from the government. My [county] agent hadn't told me that!"
>
> Participant in Alabama Conference on Governmental Anti-Poverty and Other Programs to Aid Low-Income Rural People, co-sponsored by NSF

> "I think I've been on strike all my days 'cause I've been suffering all my days. I don't mind suffering . . . Let me suffer till I get to the good . . . . For God's sake stop grumbling and see the thing right."
>
> Mrs. Adkins of Shaw, Mississippi, in statewide Mississippi Freedom Labor Union Meeting, Sept. 4, 1965

The Year in Brief

1965 was a year of transition and hope for hired farm workers, of dispossession and struggle for marginal farmers. The end of dependence on foreign contract workers and the proof that domestic workers were available if jobs met minimum standards characterized the transition. Strike action and union organization marked a new militancy among farm workers. Continued mechanization made thousands of sharecroppers "expendable" and day laborers idle, as economic change was brutally speeded by evictions following voter registration and other civil rights activities. The war on poverty moved into southern rural areas but its pace lagged far behind the national effort.

Fewer and Richer Farms; Fewer and Poorer People

Between 1939 and 1964, 2.4 million farms disappeared; 95 per cent of them were small farms with less than $2,500 in annual gross sales, and about a fourth of them were worked by sharecroppers. Only about 1.5 million small farms are left now. In the same period, the number of farms with gross sales of $10,000 and more rose two and one-half times. In the South, three million people have left the land since 1940. Most of those forced off southern farms have been Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers who have migrated to northern and western ghetto communities. (At one point they were flocking to the Watts area in Los Angeles at the rate of 1,000 a month.)

The displacement of people from southern farms may be accounted for by many factors. Chief among these is continued mechanization. Mechanical cotton pickers and grain harvesters are eliminating sharecropping in the deep South, leaving only half a million day laborers. In the Delta area, 95 per cent of the cotton will be machine-picked in 1966--in contrast with 69 per cent in 1965--and 20,000 more farm laborers will be made idle. The coming mechanization of tobacco will have a similar effect in states just to the north of the cotton belt. Across the continent in California, about a third of the 1965 tomato crop--116,000 acres--was reaped by 262 machines; in 1966, a major portion of the tomatoes will be planted for machine harvesting.

Hundreds of farmers are being dispossessed in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana for participating in civil rights activities. The dispossession of others will be speeded by the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965; in the Mississippi Delta alone, one-third of the 925,000 cotton acres will be taken out of production.

Productivity continues to rise. The labor of one farm worker supplied the farm product needs of 11 people in 1940, 15 in 1950, 26 in 1960, and 33 in 1964.

Hired Farm Workers

There are about 2.5 million households with one or more members who do some hired farm work during the year. More than half of these live below the poverty level (defined as less than $3,000 income from all sources); in this group are more than 80 per cent of the non-white families, and more than 70 per cent of the families headed by a migrant.

In 1964, the last year for which full figures are available, there were approximately 664,000 full-time farm workers in the United States and about 2.5 million seasonal workers. Of these, about 386,000 were migratory workers and 272,000 of them did 25 or more days' work during the year. In 1964, migrants worked an average of 131 days at farm and nonfarm work and earned an average of $1,240. Nearly half (44 per cent) of them did both farm and nonfarm work with average earnings of $585 at farm work and $1,049 at nonfarm work. Those who did only farm work averaged $935 in annual earnings. A special wage survey made by the Department of Labor in May, 1965, covered 1.5 million farm wage workers. Seventy per cent of them were paid less than $1.25 an hour. More than one-third (in the South, 54 per cent) were paid less than 75 cents an hour.

Safety. The National Safety Council has again branded agriculture as one of the most hazardous of all industries. In 1965, agriculture ranked below only the mining and construction industries in death rate. It had the largest total number of deaths, 3,200, and 270,000 disabling injuries.

Children. More than one-fourth of the entire hired farm working force are young people less than 17 years of age. (In 1962, farm wage worker households with less than $3,000 income included 3 million members not yet 18, about 27 per cent of all children and youth in the poverty sector.) There is as yet no national legislation to prevent child labor in agriculture outside of school hours, as there is in other industries. "Crop vacations" are common from Maine to Louisiana, nullifying the school-hour protection. In the year ending June 30, 1965, Department of Labor inspectors found 2,300 farms violating child labor laws and a total of 7,076 children under 16 working during school hours. More than half of these were in the 10-13 age bracket.

Housing and Health. Despite the existence of new government programs providing financial aid for farm labor housing, too many farm worker families still live in miserable conditions. Investigation into an alleged labor shortage in Florida last spring uncovered these conditions:

> ". . . There are no camps in Dade County with indoor plumbing for each cabin. The electrical outlet provides a bare bulb for light. . . . Sometimes burlap is the only privacy between rooms. The floors and walls are generally bare, unpainted planks. Families with 10 and 12 children can live in one two-room shack for $8 to $10 a week. . . .'A new camp would have to live up to the letter of the law,' says [one] Sanitation Inspector. . . .'That's why there are so few new camps.'"

Small wonder that migrant families are more prone to illness than others; that diarrhea is chronic among children; parasitic and fungal diseases common; neglect of teeth, eye, and ear ailments prevalent.

Foreign Workers. 1965 was the year of transition for farm labor, domestic and foreign. Mexican braceros, always the bulk of foreign contract workers, were no longer available under Public Law 78, which had expired. The challenge of attracting a sufficient number of domestic workers to replace them had to be met and, for the most part, was met. Use of foreign labor was reduced 83 per cent, from 634,000 man-months (equivalent to 52,800 full-time jobs) in 1964, to 110,000 man-months (9,200 jobs) in 1965; Mexican labor was reduced 95 per cent. In 1964, there had been

178,000 Mexican contract workers in 17 states; in 1965, there were 20,300, all in California. The use of British West Indians did not decrease proportionately. In 1964, there were 14,000; in 1965, although there were 14,100 in Florida alone, man-months dropped from 81,000 to 64,000; but there were also 1,340 BWI's working in apples and 800 in tobacco. The number of Canadians imported to New England states dropped from 8,000 in 1964 to 4,484 in 1965--3,627 in potatoes and 857 in apples. Of the 1,080 Japanese and 110 Filipinos in the United States at the end of 1964, 200 Japanese remained by the end of 1965. All of the temporary workers imported in 1965 came in under P. L. 414, the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Average hourly wages for farm workers rose from $1.08 to $1.14, the largest one-year increase since the Korean War. Crop values were up even in the three crops--asparagus, strawberries, and pickle cucumbers--where crop losses may have been attributable in part to labor shortages. The price of fresh fruits and vegetables went down in 1965 (by 4.5 per cent, comparing November, 1964, to November, 1965), while the Consumer Price Index rose 1.7 per cent.

Farm Worker Organization

Large-scale militant union activity among farm workers developed in 1965 in widely separated parts of the country.

Cotton choppers and pickers, paid $2.50 or $3.00 for a 10-hour day, formed 90 per cent of the membership of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union; but they were joined by tractor drivers, haulers, domestic servants, part-time carpenters, mechanics, handymen, former sharecroppers, and renters. The MFLU demands were for a $1.25 an hour minimum wage, an 8½-hour day with time-and-a-half for overtime, sick pay, health and accident insurance, and equal employment practices. Evicted strikers and croppers set up a tent city. If MFLU cannot bring the huge plantation owners to the bargaining table, it may at least focus national attention on the need for alternatives for the poor people of the cotton country.

The grape strike broke out after Filipino workers returned from Coachella Valley, California, where they had received $1.40 an hour plus an incentive piece rate, to Delano where wages were $1.25 and the incentive smaller. They called for help from the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee. When employers refused to discuss wages, working conditions, and a union contract, between six and eight hundred workers struck. Within two weeks, 1,200 Mexican-Americans, organized in the National Farm Workers Association, joined them. Harrassment and arrests by employers and local authorities were constant. The strike continued from the picking season into pruning, the beginning of the next crop year. (In 1966, Schenley Industries has recognized the union and the Di Giorgio Corporation has suggested an election.)

Other areas were affected. At Lantana, on the East Coast of Florida, 14 farm workers struck, demanding a wage increase, but lost; just south of Lantana a strike was averted when demands were met. A wage increase was secured in the Pompano Beach area by a strike threat coupled with a labor shortage. A five-day strike of 800 British West Indian cane cutters at the Okeelanta Sugar Refinery was lost. The Steelworkers union organized Cypress Gardens Citrus Products, Inc., of Eloise, Florida's largest multi-purpose citrus plant, as the beginning of an organizing drive. In Louisiana, the Fish, Seafood, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union No. 300 secured for Gulf Coast pogy boatmen their first over-all pay increase in 25 years. Local 300, affiliated with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, includes dairy, sugar, and rice workers in addition to the fishermen.

Legislation

Congress moved slowly in 1965 on bills which proposed coverage for farm workers under minimum wage requirements, child labor regulations, collective bargaining guarantees, and unemployment compensation. Although both Senate and House worked on separate, similar bills, only one piece of legislation --a House proposal to include farm laborers under minimum wage coverage--was reported favorably out of Committee, but it did not come up for a vote before the session ended. (In March, 1966, a new minimum wage bill was reported favorably out of Committee.) In September, 1965, a proposal to transfer the authority to import foreign workers in times of domestic labor shortage from the Labor Secretary to the Agriculture Secretary was narrowly defeated.

More action was seen in state legislatures than in some years. Five states strengthened regulations governing housing and sanitary conditions. California enacted the first law requiring employers to provide sanitary facilities in the fields. Texas now requires a tuberculosis examination for persons seeking migratory work. Florida and Michigan set safety standards for motor vehicles used to transport migratory workers, and California improved its vehicle code. North Dakota deleted the exemption for agricultural workers from its minimum wage law, but Michigan suspended coverage of certain agricultural operations. New Jersey broadened its wage payment and collection law to include agricultural workers. Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, and Oregon amended workmen's compensation laws to provide some coverage for agricultural workers.

Federal Programs

Farmers Home Administration. In 1965 FHA loaned more than $798 million to help 12,186 farm families buy, enlarge, or develop farms; gave short-term operating credit to 118,000; assisted more than 12,000 with antipoverty loans; loaned $13 million which provided new or improved housing for more than 5,500 rural persons aged 62 and older; and gave credit assistance to 388 rural communities to construct water systems. Unfortunately, however, generations of discrimination have produced such inequalities that many Negro farmers cannot now meet qualifications for loans. In several Southern states, little change is yet visible. The number of farmers who have applied but not received loans is not known, and others have not even applied either because they do not know how or because they are sure they will be rejected.

ASCS. According to Department of Agriculture reports as of December 30, 1965, in the 1965 Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections 12,471 Negroes were on the ballot for various offices in 14 southern states. None was elected either member or first alternate to a County Committee but five were elected second alternates. On the Community Committees, 85 were elected regular members, 131 first alternates, and 303 second alternates. Without members on County Committees, Negro farmers still lack the effective representation needed to change traditional discriminatory policies. Reports from Deep South states indicate that in some areas elected Negro members are not being notified of Community Committee meetings or allowed to participate in their activities.

Office of Economic Opportunity. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 made possible, under Title III-B, programs for farm workers in education, sanitation, day care, and self-help housing. In 1965, OEO granted some $26 million in Title III-B funds to 65 public and private nonprofit organizations in 20 states. Around 350 VISTA volunteers are working with migrants. Under EOA's rural loan programs, nearly 25,000 rural families received $36.5 million in 13 months (including January, 1966), and in southern states, nearly 40 per cent of the family loans have been made to Negro borrowers. OEO has financed small machinery cooperatives, and more than half of these are made up partly or entirely of Negro farmers. EOA made possible additional projects under Community Action Program auspices, but the most impoverished communities--mainly in the rural South--have received the least antipoverty funds, because they lack the organization and technical help needed to initiate projects.

Training Programs. Since 1962, more than 20,000 persons have been trained in agricultural skills under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Area Redevelopment Act. Training is also given in basic literacy skills and for nonfarm occupations in areas where workers are needed. Hundreds of thousands are in need of such training as their old agricultural occupations are disappearing.

A Program for Rural America

The crises of American cities and farms, so different on the surface, are inextricably bound together. Dramatic evidence is the annual migration of a million people from rural to urban areas.

Remedial programs are needed to raise the living standards of rural people: inclusion of farm workers in all the protections of social legislation that benefit industrial workers; increased programs of loans and technical assistance to enable small farmers to remain on the land and to raise their income levels.

But beyond that, a program is needed large enough to meet the human needs of the rural areas:

* A million new rural homes are needed in the next ten years, and two and one-half million homes need major repairs.
* Rural medical, hospital, nursing, and dental services must be brought up to urban standards.
* Educational facilities must be increased at least to urban levels, requiring a 40 per cent greater investment in education, including construction of approximately 50,000 new classrooms.
* 30,000 rural town water and sewage systems are needed.

Vocational training and remedial education are needed to equip people for employment in these construction and development projects. The training of professionals to staff increased facilities will call for a steadily expanding number of educators and educational institutions. Following the basic medical and educational services should come a host of other social, cultural, and recreational facilities and personnel.

From a quarter to a half million new jobs could be created to meet the basic and expanding needs of the rural areas. On the basis of the new job-created incomes, the disappearing small towns of stagnating rural economies will become thriving small cities with new needs, new construction, new business, in a spiraling cycle of activity.

National Sharecroppers Fund

*has field representatives in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee, helping poverty-stricken people to help themselves, bringing knowledge of federal assistance programs available, and working to end discrimination in their implementation. (Four representatives work under the Rural Advancement Project, NSF's cooperative program with the Southern Regional Council and the State Councils on Human Relations.)

*set up the Southern Rural Training Project under contract with the Department of Labor to stimulate and develop training programs for the hard-core rural poor.

*carried on a crash five-month Farm Labor Counseling Program to advise unemployed rural poor about criteria farm jobs, training opportunities, and other means of increasing their employability and income.

*works to end the exclusion of agricultural workers from the protections and benefits of social legislation that other workers enjoy, and to protect them from the unfair competition of foreign contract labor.

*supports the efforts of farm workers in organizing unions and low-income farmers in organizing cooperatives.

*works with government and other private agencies to help low-income rural people secure a better life.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND -- 112 East 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

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Conference on

FARMER COOPERATIVES
and
JOB TRAINING

September 22 - 27, 1963

Penn Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

Sponsored by

National Sharecroppers Fund

and

South Carolina Council on Human Relations

The National Sharecroppers Fund and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, in sponsoring this conference, hope that it will supply local rural leaders with the tools they need to build a better life for American farm families.

FARMER COOPERATIVES JOB TRAINING

HOW THESE CAN HELP YOU

This conference for small farmers and other rural people explores practical steps that may be taken to meet the need for more profitable farm operation through cooperative purchasing, services, and marketing. It will answer the question, What role can farmer cooperatives and credit unions play in helping low-income farmers remain in farming?

The conference is also concerned with how those farmers and rural youth who can no longer earn a living on the land may prepare themselves for off-farm employment.

Experts from federal, state, and private agencies will explain the programs that are available to deal with these problems. Workshops and panel discussions will enable conference participants to learn how to develop the programs they need in their own communities and how to get guidance and financial assistance in carrying them out.

PROGRAM

Sunday, September 22

3:00 - Registration Begins
4:00 - Tour of Local Facilities

6:00 - DINNER

7:30 - A BETTER LIFE FOR SOUTHERN RURAL FAMILIES
Chairman: Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary, National Sharecroppers Fund
Welcome - Courtney Siceloff, Director, Penn Center, and Alice Spearman, Executive Director, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Keynote Address - Frank P. Graham, Mediator, United Nations; former President, University of North Carolina, and U.S. Senator

9:00 - THE ROLE OF FARMER COOPERATIVES

Chairman: John Potts, President, Voorhees Junior College, South Carolina

Purpose of the Conference - Jac Wasserman, Project Director, National Sharecroppers Fund
What Is a Cooperative? - Irwin W. Rust, Chief, Membership Relations Branch, Farmer Cooperative Service, USDA
The Small Farmer and the Technological Revolution - M. D. Farrar, Senior Scientist, School of Agriculture, Clemson College
How Cooperatives Can Help Small Farmers - Dwight D. Townsend, Washington Director, The Cooperative League of the USA

12:30 - LUNCH

2:00 - TYPES OF FARMER COOPERATIVES: MARKETING, SUPPLY, AND SERVICE COOPERATIVES - How Can They Help the Small Farmer?

Chairman: Paul Webber, Department of Economics, South Carolina State College

Farm Marketing Cooperatives - Claud Scroggs, Southern States Cooperative, Richmond, Virginia
Farm Supply Cooperatives - C. H. Kirkman, Director of Membership Relations, Farmers Cooperative Exchange, Raleigh, North Carolina
Farm Service Cooperatives - French W. Hyre, Chief, Farm Service Branch, Farmer Cooperative Service, USDA

Panel - Effective Use of Local Farmer Cooperatives
Questions and Discussion

6:00 - DINNER

7:30 - Continuation of Afternoon's Panel Discussion

Tuesday, September 2

9:00 - FACING UP TO MARKETING, SUPPLY AND SERVICE PROBLEMS

Chairman: S. Q. Hoobler, Acting Director, Division of Marketing and Utilization Science, Federal Extension Service, USDA

Services Available Through the Farmers Cooperative Exchange - George E. Prince, Administrative Assistant, F.C.X. Cooperative Service, Raleigh, North Carolina

Services Available Through the Southern States Cooperative - Claud L. Scroggs, Director of Economic Research, Southern States Cooperative, Richmond, Virginia

Questions and Discussion

12:30 - LUNCH

1:00 - WHAT CAN SMALL FARMERS DO ABOUT THEIR MARKETING, SUPPLY, AND SERVICE PROBLEMS?

Continuation of Morning's Discussion

6:00 - DINNER

7:30 - WORKSHOPS TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC LOCAL PROBLEMS

(Resource leaders will meet with each workshop.)

Wednesday, September 25

9:00 - FACING UP TO RURAL CREDIT NEEDS
Chairman: H. D. Monteith, M.D., President, Victory Bank, Columbia, S. C.

Credit Services Available Through Farm Credit Cooperatives - Robert A. Darr, Chairman, Presidents Committee, Farm Credit Banks of Columbia, Columbia, S.C.
Credit Services Available Through Farmers Home Administration - E. P. Rogers, South Carolina State Director, FHA
Credit Services Available Through Small Business Administration - James H. Cofer, Loan Specialist, SBA
Local Credit Unions as a Source of Credit - Wilfred F. Broxterman, Managing Director, S.C. Credit Union League

Panel - How Would You Cope With This Credit Need?
Questions and Discussion

12:30 - LUNCH

2:00 - HOW CAN SMALL FARMERS PARTICIPATE IN USDA PROGRAMS?
Chairman: Walter A. Hasty, Jr., National Farmers Union

S. Q. Hoobler, Acting Director, Division of Marketing and Utilization Science, Federal Extension Service, USDA
E. P. Rogers, South Carolina State Director, Farmers Home Administration, USDA
Albin T. Chalk, Assistant State Conservationist, Soil Conservation Service, USDA

6:00 - DINNER

7.30 - HOW CAN SMALL FARMERS PARTICIPATE IN USDA PROGRAMS? (continued)

John B. Vance, Director, Southeast Area, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, USDA
J. D. Strange, Chief of Cooperative Forest Management, Forest Service, USDA

Questions and Discussion

Thursday, September 26

9:00 - FACING EMPLOYMENT NEEDS
Chairman: George H. Robinson, Office of Area Operations, Area Redevelopment Administration, USDC

South Carolina's Present and Future Employment Needs - Thomas P. Evans, Chief of Research and Statistics, South Carolina Employment Security Commission
Training Programs for Farm Workers - Louis McConnell, Chief, Special Programs Branch, Office of Farm Labor Service, U.S. Department of Labor

Questions and Discussion

12:30 - LUNCH

2:00 - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN SOUTH CAROLINA
Chairman: W. F. Hickson, Assistant Supervisor, Agricultural Vocational High School Teachers, South Carolina State College

J. Bratton Davis, Chairman, State Development Board
L. H. Dawkins, Principal, South Carolina Area Trade Schools, Denmark, S. C.
Paul D. Jarvis, South Carolina Coordinator, Manpower Development and Training Act

Questions and Discussion

6:00 - DINNER

7:30 - JOB TRAINING FOR THE RURAL UNEMPLOYED
Chairman: M. D. McCollom, District Superintendent, Methodist Church, Walterboro, S. C.

A. C. Mallory, Manpower Training Specialist, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, USDL
Lester Rindler, Deputy Assistant Director for Automation and Manpower Utilization, U.S. Employment Service, USDL
Anne Gould, Training Coordinator, Area Redevelopment Administration, USDC

Friday, September 27

9:00 - FACING UP TO JOB TRAINING NEEDS

Basic Education Needs of Unemployed Adults - Mrs. C. E. Anderson, State Supervisor of Adult Education

Determining Training Needs of Unemployed Adults - Ernest A. Muller, State Supervisor, Manpower Development and Training Act, State Department of Education

Questions and Discussion

12:30 - LUNCH

2:00 - FACING UP TO JOB TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES

Selecting Trainees for Apprenticeship Training - William H. Hall, Jr., State Supervisor, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, Columbia, S.C.

Questions and Discussion

3:30 - CONFERENCE ADJOURNMENT

* * *

MEMO to Conference Participants

HOW TO REACH PENN CENTER: Penn Center is located at Frogmore and is one-half mile off U.S. Highway 21, six miles beyond Beaufort, S. C. It is roughly 50 miles north of Savannah, Georgia, and 75 miles south of Charleston. Greyhound bus line serves Beaufort from Savannah and Charleston, and taxi fare from Beaufort to Frogmore is $2.00. The Atlantic Coast Line Railroad serves Yemassee, S.C., about 30 miles from Frogmore, and several airlines serve Savannah and Charleston. The Penn staff will provide transportation from Yemassee (at charge per carload of $6), Savannah airport ($10), or Charleston airport ($13), IF THEY WILL NOTIFY PENN OF THEIR ARRIVAL TIME IN ADVANCE. Write to: Courtney Siceloff, Director, Penn Center, Frogmore, South Carolina.

ACCOMMODATIONS: Penn Center has dormitory facilities for over 100 people, with additional accommodations in private homes if needed. Linen is provided. The dining room serves all meals cafeteria style. Main sessions of the conference will be held in Frissell Auditorium on the Penn campus; discussion groups will be in the classroom building.

REGISTRATION: To register for this conference, please use the Registration Form and return envelope provided. There is no charge for registration. Room assignments will be made upon arrival at Penn Center

COSTS: $3.50 per day for room and meals, or $17.50 for the full five-day conference.

SCHOLARSHIPS: Scholarships will be available to provide financial assistance to persons who could not otherwise attend. Please indicate on the Registration Form if scholarship is desired.

For further information, contact:

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

(SCCHR is a non-profit, voluntary council that seeks--through fact-finding, discussion, and action--to attain equal opportunity for all people in South Carolina.)

or:

Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

(NSF is a non-profit, voluntary organization working to bring economic advancement to low-income Southern farm families, and to improve conditions for all American farm workers.)

COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE FACT SHEET

. . . . All 50 States in the U.S. have had compulsory school attendance laws; 48 states having enacted such a law by 1918. Alaska enacted a compulsory law in 1929, and Hawaii enacted one in 1896. The South Carolina Compulsory School Attendance Law was enacted in 1915.

. . . THIS LAW, admittedly, was inadequate and was never enforced very effectively, but it was on the books and was used by conscientious educators in some school districts when necessary in order to assure attendance.

. . . IN 1955 SOUTH CAROLINA AND MISSISSIPPI repealed the compulsory school attendance law. Virginia repealed its law in 1959 but later adopted a local option law in respect to compulsory attendance which makes it possible for local districts to enact such a measure. These three states are the only ones at present which do not have a compulsory school attendance law on a state-wide basis.

. . . DROPOUTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA SCHOOLS between 1952-53 and 1963-64 totalled 49,467 or 64.21 percent of those entering the first grade in 1952. Only 27,638 of the 177,213 1952 first graders made it through to graduation in 1964.

. . . 54.6 PERCENT of the 49,467 dropped out before reaching high school, grade 8 and below.

. . . STATES WITH THE GREATEST HOLDING POWER, such as Wisconsin or Utah graduate from 95-98 percent of the pupils entering their schools. These states have an excellent school system at all levels and a rigidly enforced public school attendance law.

. . . THE HOLDING POWER OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA SCHOOLS has increased during the past decade, but the state remains in the same position as a decade ago in relation to other states, thirty-eight in average daily attendance.

. . . COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE LAWS plus improved curricula are both essential for keeping children in school.

. . . A COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE LAW would undergird all other attempts to improve education in this state.

. . . A COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BILL has been introduced in the S.C. legislature for the past two years and will be introduced this year.

. . . IN THIS DECADE, South Carolina cannot afford continuing illiteracy. Many steps are being taken, but the state must increase its efforts if we are to move rapidly enough for the demands of the present.

MOBILIZE SUPPORT FOR THE PASSAGE OF A COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE LAW IN SOUTH CAROLINA

SCSCHR 12-9-64

I

THE NEIGHBORHOOD FOUNDATION PROJECT
FOR THE
SOUTH EAST CENTRAL AREA
OF
COLUMBUS, OHIO

Submitted under Title II A, Section 207, of the
Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

Applicant: The East Central Citizens Organization

Neighborhood Center
Twenty-second at McAllister Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43205

Phone: Clearbrook 2-3191

THE NEIGHBORHOOD FOUNDATION PROJECT: COLUMBUS, OHIO

> "Each ward would thus be a small republic within itself, and every man in the State would thus become an acting member of the common government, transacting in person a great portion of its rights and duties, subordinate indeed, yet important, and entirely within his competence. The wit of man cannot devise a more solid basis for a free, durable, and well administered republic."
>
> Thomas Jefferson to
> John Cartwright,
> Monticello, 1824

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1. A. Description of the Project:

The Neighborhood Foundation development of the First English Lutheran Church, Columbus, Ohio, has been proceeding for the past five months. The aim of the project is to turn the government of an existing church settlement house agency over to the people of the neighborhood it serves. The local neighborhood of 6,500 residents in the East Central area of Columbus, Ohio, is now incorporated as the East Central Citizens Organization. ECCO is a direct membership neighborhood foundation set up to legally receive the existing physical facility of the Neighborhood Center, develop and decide service programs, receive funding, and govern and manage program operation. The aim of this neighborhood foundation project is to further, in a poverty area of Columbus, Ohio the social service life of the settlement in the direction of neighborhood decision and total community service and general welfare. The settlement is governed by the incorporated neighborhood as its self-governing community service agency. With the transfer of the settlement agency to the people and neighborhood corporate charter we are laying the foundations of a democratically governed community of service.

A demonstration grant is being sought from the Office of Economic Opportunity under Title II, Section 207, to fund the operation of the governing structure of the Neighborhood Foundation for a period of two years, within which time service program proposals will be developed by the people and submitted for funding to various sources, metropolitan and national.

The background of this project and the circumstances of the church settlement agency which initiated this project should be discussed, in order to establish clearly the principle for which the East Central Citizens Organization is seeking an Office of Economic Opportunity grant.

The Neighborhood Center of the First English Lutheran Church, which is the settlement agency now transferred to the East Central Citizens Organization, began its full scale settlement program in 1961, after seven years of parish house service programming. Since 1961, the settlement agency has grown in programming, professional staff, neighborhood involvement and extended use of services, and of great importance, volunteer neighborhood participation in program development and operation.

At the present time there is a professional program directcr and secretarial staff, as well as a part-time program staff of volunteer professionals and neighborhood resident. A number of local residents who became interested in the variety of programs offered have contributed their efforts in program development and operation. Where money was available out of a very limited budget, neighborhood workers were added to the paid staff. Further, many students from Ohio State University and Capitol University participated voluntarily in tutorial projects, as well as the legal services program. While the program staff and neighborhood use of the settlement service programs was extensive last year, budget expenditures for 1964 totaled only $24,300.13, financed by private contributions and appropriations from the Church Council of the First English Lutheran Church, the Board of American Missions of the Lutheran Church of America, and the First Community Church, Columbus, Ohio.

The programs of the Neighborhood Center include afternoon workshops and friendship groups held for girls and boys in the 3rd through 6th grades. A day camp is conducted three days a week. Junior High boys and girls meet once a week; Senior High teenagers have dances twice a week, and a Teen Council meets once a week. For adults, there is a Monday Afternoon Club, affording neighborhood mothers an afternoon "break;" Senior Citizens and Golden Agers have their groups. Tutoring arrangements are made with high school and college students from all Columbus. The Columbus Chapter of the American Association of University Women conducts a day care program. There is also a pre-school program for retarded children during the school year. Ohio State University Law School runs a neighborhood legal services program at the Center with law students, a faculty adviser and volunteer attorneys.

Other special services include a Planned Parenthood Clinic and emergency welfare referral services, psychiatric counselling, a job placement unit, first aid classes held in cooperation with the American Red Cross, and AFSC work camp programs. As of July 12, there were 574 paid and registered members.

The major factor permitting this wide range of service programming in the settlement on a limited budget is attributable to the volunteer city-wide professional help, as well as to the volunteer and part-time paid service of the neighborhood residents in program development and operation. The people have been running a substantial part of the settlement activly with the strong encouragement and assistance of the permanent and volunteer professional staff. The importance of these past years of local participation is that today there is in this poor area a neighborhood service and welfare leadership. This leadership developed around and exists today in the context of the settlement.

In March, 1965, the Operating Committee and staff of the Neighborhood Center of the First English Lutheran Church undertook a long run review of the future of the settlement. It was clear that the current budget was inadequate to fulfill the growing welfare and service needs of the south east central area of Columbus which the Center had been serving. All program areas had to be expanded, and new services devised. Growing neighborhood need and desire for day care, health aid, legal services, pre-school education, assistance to the retarded, youth job training and placement, adult basic education and teen programming had to be confronted. At the same time, there was no prospect for increasing the budget from church sources for meeting these expanding needs of poverty. Nor could the church be certain that the anticipated programs of the Columbus Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization could meet all of the expanding needs in the neighborhood with the sensitivity and flexibility needed for intensely local needed for intensely local creativity and participation. It was clear the Neighborhood Center had to continue and grow, notwithstanding other welcomed social service and welfare developments in the city.

At this point, the Center took the position of seeking funding support from the Columbus United Community Council, for the expansion of its operating budget. The response of the United Community Council was negative. The argument was that the limited funds of the Columbus Federation of Settlements would necessitate the transfer of responsibility for the services of the Neighborhood Center to a United Appeal agency recently displaced by urban renewal and relocated near, yet outside of the area served, instead of funding another agency. At the same time, the Council made it clear that their rejection of the proposal did not reflect a negative judgment on the quality of Neighborhood Center activities. In the judgment of the Neighborhood Center such transfer to a United Appeal agency outside the area, would have hindered the development of local initiative, due to the physical distance and particularly due to the practical and necessary introduction of general rules and regulations.

This inability to obtain additional funds through community organization channels made it clear to the Neighborhood Center that metropolitan funds were inadequate to meet neighborhood needs and that the Center remained the best prospect for serving these needs. It was necessary to explore new directions of settlement development and funding, in order to continue the lift of the neighborhood settlement and promote its new institutional growth.

The Neighborhood Foundation Project for self-governing settlement was the plan of action decided. It has been since pursued. The major principle which directed this current development was the judgment of the Center's staff and operating committee that whatever the approach taken towards the continued growth of the settlement, it would have to advance and fulfill one principle: Namely, the settlement growth must rest on enlarged and reinforced participation of the neighborhood residents in the development and operation of social service and welfare programs; and that growth must assume legal and self-governing form. It was considered important to more strongly and completely identify the settlement agency with the total neighborhood community, as the social unit it served. The strengthening of the participation principle had to move in the direction of the people's actual legal decision on service program development and management, above and beyond their past informal assistance in program operation. In short, how could the settlement develop in the direction of its actual control and government by the neighborhood people? How could the Neighborhood Center become a self-governing settlement?

This direction of the self-determining service principle rested on firm experience. The major element of programming success over the years related more to the fact of neighborhood participation in program development and operation, than to the excellence of professional social planning and control. The future direction of settlement growth would have to be based on neighborhood decision and government of the settlement, in order that the service programs of the settlement maximally reflect the people's needs, as expressed by them in discussion and as decided by them through a neighborhood corporate structure of democratic self-government. It was contemplated that service programs arising on this self-determining basis would be different in character and value than programs derived from professional decision and control. It was felt that this difference could be evidenced in new indices of program success, and that this experiment in program difference was worth pursuing and putting to the test. This principle is the basis of our demonstration proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In exploring this direction of settlement development in April, it became clear to the church that in order to fully examine the kind of service programs that could come out of self-determination by the people, and the implications of such difference for the future of the settlement, it was incumbent on the church to legally transfer the control of the agency to the neighborhood it serves and initiate a corporate development in the neighborhood to receive and govern the settlement. The strategy of this development was conceived to involve three stages. First, the church had to transfer the agency to the neighborhood community. Second, the neighborhood community had to be corporatively organized on a direct membership, constituent basis to receive, govern and administer the settlement; and finally, the self-governing structure of the neighborhood foundation had to be funded with sufficient resources to develop and finance their own conceived and decided social service programs.

These three stages represent the organizational efforts that have taken place over the past five months, and bring us to the present time of proposal for a demonstration grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity to fund the self-governing structure of the Neighborhood Foundation, named the East Central Citizens Organization (ECCO). In the course of this project to date, considerable personal and institutional support has been developed and stands as a strong foundation of available resources for future service program development and funding from community service institutions and agencies, metropolitan and national. A review of these organization developments in the project to date will be helpful to introduce the basis for the demonstration grant being sought from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

A. The first stage of development, beginning in April, involved discussions between the Neighborhood Center staff, the Church Pastor, Leopold Bernhard and Assistant Pastor, Milo Billman, members of the Operating Committee Center, neighborhood residents and leaders, and Milton Kotler of the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D. C. It was out of this group discussion that the course of neighborhood foundation development emerged. The strategy involved two initial steps. First, it was necessary to gain the interest and approval of the church council and board of the Neighborhood Center to transfer the settlement agency to an incorporated Neighborhood Foundation. At the same time, disucssions on this development for the settlement were held with a larger number of people in the neighborhood to see if they were interested in receiving the settlement for their own government and administration .

Both of these early inquiries produced an affirmative response. The Church Council passed enabling resolutions approving the project development and resolving to transfer the agency to the neighborhood people in the proper course of the community organizing and charter development. In short, the Church Council committed itself to getting out the neighborhood social service business, and to turn its settlement agency over to the people for their own control, government, and administration. In the process of this decision, strong personal commitment for the development came from particular church members in the city's professional, business and civic leadership.

Concurrent with the Church Council action, the Operating Committee of the Neighborhood Center, which has served as its board, composed of five church members, five social service professionals, and five neighborhood residents, endorsed the neighborhood foundation development for self-governing settlement and favored the transfer of agency control to an elected neighborhood board. Today, this operating committee, with five additional resident members selected from the four component neighborhood clubs in the foundation area, comprise the interim Executive Council of the Neighborhood Foundation, pending elections of the new Executive Council from the Neighborhood Membership Assembly. The church, professional, and resident members of this Operating Committee have been very helpful resources in the past months in furthering the community organizing efforts, as well as in gaining citywide civic, professional and business support.

At the same time that the Church Council and Operating Committee were consulted, the people of the neighborhood, independently as well as through the four existing neighborhood clubs in the foundation area, were contacted for their views and interest in the project. Through a series of near 100 house meetings, neighborhood club meetings, and personal conversations, the residents expressed overwhelming support for the project, and offered their time and effort in organizing the Neighborhood Foundation. The four neighborhood clubs in the settlement area -- the Blackburn, the First Neighborhood, Clover Leaf, and Wilson clubs voted support and membership in the Foundation. Beyond this supporting decision and neighborhood resident organizing effort, neighborhood people began meeting in a regular project council to review the developing charter as well as plan organization strategy. This group, now meeting regularly, numbers about forty residents.

B. With the endorsement and organizing effort of the residents, as well as the affirmative resolution of the Church Council and the Operating Committee, the project development entered a second stage of legal charter construction and its circulating neighborhood review and revision, in order to build a firmly based democratic constitution of direct resident membership which would enable the neighborhood community to receive the settlement and to decide and manage its self-determined service programs with professional advice of their own choosing.

There were numerous aspects of this chartering stage once church and neighborhood commitment was affirmed: (1) funding for the initial project development; (2) legal assistance for the charter development; (3) interest and support of the Federal government and the Office of Economic Opportunity in the merits of this approach to the participation of local residents of a poor area in the development of their own self-determined programs of social service and neighborhood welfare; (4) cooperation of the Columbus Metropolitan Community Action Organization in the project development; (5) support from the Columbus civic and business leadership; (6) the understanding and good will of the Metropolitan Community Organization; (7) local and Federal agency interest in direct program funding and technical assistance to the Foundation; (8) national and community foundation support (9) the interest of the national social work professional structures and social work education leadership; and above all; (10) community organizing for enlarging local support of the Foundation by a project leadership council, composed of neighborhood club officers and other committed residents. They would play an important role in the review and revision of the charter development, membership organization, as well as the initiation of a community dialogue on the kinds of services needed in the neighborhood and the ways they should be set up. This began an ongoing indigenous community effort which continues today in building the foundation and promoting social service education in the neighborhood.

The following discussion reviews the developments of this second stage of the project and the enlarging circles of support from different sectors of society which have grown over the past five months. Its review leads us to the current stage of project development, namely, the submission of this grant proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity to support the realization and advancement of the self-governing service structure of the Neighborhood Foundation.

1. A research and development proposal for the neighborhood foundation project was prepared by Milton Kotler, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D. C. Pastor Leopold Bernhard, of the First English Lutheran Church, submitted this proposed budget to the Lutheran Church of America, requesting necessary funds to initiate the project.

Concurrently, other project development funding support was sought. The Stern Family Fund gave a grant of $3,000 for the project. The National Council of Churches was helpful in bringing in an additional $3,000 for support from the Columbus, Ohio Area Council of Churches.

2. Robert Herzstein of the law firm of Arnold, Fortas and Porter, Washington, D. C. volunteered his services to draft the Neighborhood Foundation charter.

He further enlisted the service of George Coburn, of Vom Bauer, Beresford and Coburn, Washington, D. C. in this task. Together with the drafting assistance of John Stein of George Washington University Law School, the charter development proceeded.

At each stage of charter development, the draft went back to Columbus for discussion and review. The Project Leadership Council, the Operating Committee of the Center, Pastors Bernhard and Billman, the Center staff, Mr. Kotler and Andrew White of Knepper, White, Richards and Miller, Columbus, participated in this ongoing charter review and revision. The attached final and approved Articles of Incorporation represents the successful outcome of this circulating process. Mr. White is acting agent for the corporation while Mr. Herzstein has applied for tax-exemption for the corporation from the Internal Revenue Service. A draft of the By-Laws of the East Central Citizens Organization is also attached. The attorneys are continuing to assist the Neighborhood Leadership Council and interim Executive Council of ECCO in this By-Law development.

The signing of the final Articles occurred on August 16 and was recorded and approved by the State of Ohio on September 7, 1965. The signatories represent the existing Operating Committee of the Neighborhood Center as well as five additional local residents, representing the elected leadership of the four constituent neighborhood clubs. This Executive Council will serve as the government of the foundation until elections of a new Executive Council from the Foundation membership, which will take place three months after the grant is awarded from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

3. The Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D. C., was informed of this development in its early stages. Interest was expressed from the Program Development Staff of the Community Act Program with a view of the Neighborhood Foundation Charter development a hopeful new approach to the resident participation of the poor in anti-poverty program development.

Since June, Mr. Kotler has continued his discussions with O.E.O. staff members and has gained helpful advice in the preparation of this demonstration proposal for funding the operation of the Neighborhood Foundation governing structure.

4. An important factor for the success of this demonstration project will be the cooperation of the Metropolitan Area Columbus Community Organization. Although this proposal seeks a direct demonstration grant under the Title II, Section 207 of the Economic Opportunity Act, endorsement of this project development by the Columbus CAP would be helpful for several reasons. First, while the cost of the governing structure of the foundation will be funded from Washington, the Foundation will be seeking funds from Columbus CAP, among other sources, for the self-determined programs it develops. Endorsement

of the project will favor cooperative proposal consideration and support in program funding to the Foundation from that organization. Second, endorsement by the Columbus CAP of the Neighborhood Foundation project would favor adequate testing of the self determining principle advanced in this demonstration. The principle for which the demonstration grant will be awarded is that anti-poverty programs of service and economic opportunity when developed, decided on, and managed by the people themselves, legally incorporated to so act, and directly funded for that purpose, will be different from the service programs developed by professional organization and decision, either under a CAP model or traditional settlement house concept. The cooperation of the Metropolitan Area Columbus Community Organization to make available a comparable CAP area for testing differences in professional and self-determining program decision and management would favor good evaluation of this demonstration principle.

Currently constructive efforts are under way to gain this interest and agreement from the Columbus CAP. A petition to this effect has been prepared in the neighborhood -- notifying the CMACAO of neighborhood membership in ECCO and their interest in CAP endorsement of this project. 1,000 members have already signed. At the same time, Mr. Kotler, Pastor Bernhard and others are developing support for the Columbus CAP agreement from friends of the foundation in the Columbus civic leadership who strongly support the approach of self-governing service. With these efforts on both fronts, as well as continuing discussion of the project with Columbus CAP staff, it is hoped agreement will be reached.

5. This brings us to the good understanding and wide interest in the Neighborhood Foundation project by civic, church and business leaders in Columbus. Discussions began in July and have since grown into strong support for this church and community initiative in self-help service organization among the poor. Some reasons for this civic interest include the chance this project provides for the people to decide what services they need and develop them along real lines. It is a way to put social service on the marketplace. Further, it presents the possibility of a direct working relationship and dialogue between rich and poor on the ECCO Advisory Board composed of civic leaders and elected neighborhood residents, as well as between the Executive Council and its Advisory Board. The circle of civic support is growing each week, and has resulted in real assistance.

Pastor Bernhard and Mr. Kotler have met with the Board presidents of Columbus settlement house agencies; the Board presidents of the United Community Council and Columbus Federation of Settlements; with the Chamber of Commerce and business leaders in the community representing major financial, retail, and insurance enterprises which long have been active in improving community welfare From these meetings there has grown a general expression of support for the project and a keen interest in seeing what direction the Neighborhood Foundation holds for future development in community organization. This civic support is an important source for Executive Council development of an ECCO Advisory Board.

Considerable assistance has come from the Columbus Area Council of Churches, which funded part of the initial development grant, through local denominational contribution. There is continuing observation of the project by local and national ministry and a growing dialogue on project implications for church social action strategy.

6. At the present stage of project development, strong attention is being given to the community organization and professional service structure of the city. Now that neighborhood support is at a high level, and good understanding and favor have developed among civic leaders, discussion with the officers of the United Community Council, the Federation of Settlements of Columbus, and the Columbus Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization (CMACAO), will prove more effective. At the current level of project development, with neighborhood strength, civic support, the positive interest of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the enlarging involvement of the National Council of Churches and national foundations, the interest of national settlement leaders like Margaret Berry, as well as leaders in social work education, like Dr. Alfred Kahn, New York University School of Social Work, constructive discussion can be held with the Columbus Community Organization structure and agencies.

The project staff has met with Ralph Pidcock, Director of the Columbus Community Action Program, and Homer Bishop, Director of the Columbus Federal of Settlements. The discussions have been constructive and point to a likelihood of endorsement of this project by the Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization. Continuing discussion will be held to further strengthen cooperation, aiming toward their positive program development and funding assistance to the elected Executive Council of ECCO.

7. In this connection, growing national and metropolitan public and private social agency interest in the ECCO development in Columbus is laying a good resource foundation for professional assistance and program funding support for ECCO programs. Efforts have been made in Columbus to explore cooperative training and evaluation roles for local agencies in ECCO self-determined program development. The present interest of the Columbus Council of Retarded Children, the Department of Public Health, as well as Ohio State University in subprofessional training contracts under ECCO funded programs represents an important resource to the Neighborhood Foundation in deciding which way to move in the program field.

At the same time, Federal government program funding support for self-governing ECCO program developments have been discussed by the project staff with agencies and departments in the fields of housing, small business development, job training, crime and delinquency prevention, education, etc. Direct grants from these agencies to ECCO could provide for training sub-contracts to appropriate local service agencies. The interest of this aspect of project activity has been to introduce Federal agencies and departments to the Neighborhood Foundation concept of self-governing service and pave the way for future program application.

8. Discussions have begun with national foundations in the community action field to develop a grant for free funds to the East Central Citizens Organization for service program use. Such a program "kitty" could provide the Foundation with a reserve for service programs not otherwise fundable through Federal or local welfare funding and social planning structures. It will permit a fuller examination of the self-determining program principle of the demonstration.

Discussion will also proceed with leaders in the Metropolitan Community Foundation field to explore the problem of capital development for neighborhood foundations. How can neighborhood foundations develop their own endowments in order to cover the costs of self-governing administration? Can the metropolitan community foundations of our cities assist the neighborhood foundations in their financial development and management? The Columbus Foundation could be of great assistance to ECCO in making available its organizational capacities and professional skills to ECCO for effective financial management and capital development. This could lay a financial basis for the support of the ECCO structure after the grant period of the demonstration.

9. At the national service professional level, there has been discussion about the implications of the Neighborhood Foundation for the future of the private settlement house agency. The self-governing settlement could be a new direction of the agency, recapturing its earlier spirit as a social movement. The settlement house has often become too professional and building-bound, and has lost much of its identification with the neighborhood as a social community, as well as with the poor as a social unit in the community. Settlement services may have become too individual. The case and group work emphasis has proceeded so far that the concept of neighborhood community as a unit of social behavior has receded. Since the neighborhood as a community no longer centers in the settlement, the settlement has lost much of its old excitement as a place of community action and self-help. Correspondingly, its funding has fallen behind the primary attention to new kinds of metropolitan wide specialized service agencies. It has become less central than in the past to the imagination and support of private donors. The self- governing settlement as a structure of neighborhood service might recapture this image of social movement and the sense of neighborhood self-help in new constructive social action.

Further, professional management of settlements has tended to separate the settlement boards from the neighborhood people. The Advisory Board concept of the Neighborhood Foundation, a civic group working directly with the elected Executive Council, can recapture that relationship and dialogue of rich and poor.

To the extent that settlement professionals have been hired by the boards instead of by the people of the neighborhood served, the staff has developed a suburban, rather than local neighborhood constituency. The elective foundation of professional staff in the self-governing regains the popular constituency for the Social Work profession, as well as the maximum involvement of the neighborhood people in service program decision and utilization.

The East Central Citizens Organization (ECCO), a neighborhood foundation for self-governing settlement, holds an exciting direction for the Social Work profession. With further self-governing developments around the country and their new possibilities of leadership and real service by the people and for the people, the profession can gain a new breed of personnel, such as Peace Corps returnees and the talented organizers from the Civil Rights and Community Action movements. At the same time, the Foundation can give new life and possibility to the settlement agency, where self-governing neighborhood and social agency are one. Margaret Barry, Director of the National Federation of Settlements, has expressed strong interest in this Columbus project, and a Federation interest in actively associating in the project whereever its services might be useful.

Mr. Kotler and Dr. Alfred Kahn, of the New York University School of Social Work, are discussing the implications of the Neighborhood Foundation for new departures in Social Work Education. Dr. Kahn is Chairman of the Advisory Council of a new community organization curriculum development, funded by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. Promising possibilities are ahead for updating the concept and dimensions of Social Work Education to furnish the wide-ranging knowledge required for professional assistance to neighborhood self-governing communities of service. The Neighborhood Foundation development, in its conception of democratizing social service, can catalyze this direction of curriculum change in Social Work Education.

It is expected that this involvement of the National Federation of Settlements, as well as support of leaders in Social Work Education, will favor further local support in Columbus from professional community organization structure and the Columbus CAP, and help assure effective cooperation.

10. At the neighborhood level, resident effort and understanding have grown rapidly since April. The neighborhood clubs have voted membership in the Foundation. The Project Leadership Council grows in number at each week's

Council meetings. And of great importance, the men are showing up and taking helm of organization leadership. There have been neighborhood club picnics and membership assemblies on problems of the neighborhood and what the foundation can do to solve them. On August 29, a celebration of the Charter was held, organized by the people with 300 membership signatures gained that day. Each week the residents continue their organization drive. Each week their hopes and ideas of the self-governing settlement grow into greater reality.

The First English Lutheran Church of Columbus has initiated the promise of a self-governing community service. This issue of church and community in this neighborhood area of Columbus has, over the past months, grown into an exciting reality and major endeavor in community organization in urban life.

The people are excited by the chance of legally deciding what meets their needs and governing a legitimate institution of social service for that purpose. The civic leadership of Columbus is sincerely committed to self-government and putting service on the marketplace by letting the people of poverty who need service decide what that service should be. Leaders in the Social Work profession see new life for the settlement agency and a new breed of Social Work professional working for the corporate neighborhood community, as a legal entity, to assist their expression and decision of service needs. The metropolitan community foundations see possibilities of financial relationship for service development directly to the people incorporated as self-governing service agency. We hope that the Office of Economic Opportunity will look with interest to this project as a new model of democratic involvement and real program development of what the poor really need, decided by the people with their own choice of professional assistance.

This church and community initiative toward the self-governing settlement has united many elements of the community -- neighborhood, citywide, and national, in a new social mission. The courage of the church in transferring its legitimate institution of service to the neighborhood, as their own corporate, self-governing organization, points to an exciting path for a future strategy of community action, which can bring together the dynamic forces of social change in the positive task of building new self-governing communities of service in our urban society, new polities of service, new "ward republics."

This review of development of the Columbus project brings us to the present stage of requesting funds for the incorporated East Central Citizens Organization as a demonstration of self-determining service program development. We seek this required funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity, and will discuss the case for its demonstration .

B. Self-Determination in Program Development

Traditionally, the Settlement House has served as the vehicle through which services related to welfare, recreation, and character development have come to a neighborhood or small community. The programs of Settlement Houses, further, have emerged in a variety of ways. While originally set up in terms of a donor's wishes, the more prevalent program today is that programs are primarily developed by the paid professional staff -- and the role of the Settlement House Board is largely to set limits based on fiscal considerations. The lay board is generally non-resident and generally is composed of the wives of businessmen in the larger city. Where the Settlement House is supported by a Community Chest program, development is largely determined by the fiscal power of that board, who usually primarily represent the major donors. It is rare that such boards initiate new programs. Basically, they select from among the proposals presented to them by member agencies, whose boards in turn have selected from the recommendations of their professional staff. These generalizations suggest that typically the program of a Settlement House consists of those portions of a professionally devised program accepted by primarily upper-middle class donors.

An implicit assumption of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is that programs defined in this way are not sufficiently responsive to the felt needs of neighborhood residents. It is our understanding of the concept "maximum feasible participation" that there is a belief that local residents would, in fact, select different program activities than those being selected by professionals or by the traditional controllers of either public or private philanthropic funds. To our knowledge, there has been no empirical investigation of the validity of this assumption. We have found no evidence to support any of the assumptions which are extant: the assumption that the poor would come up with wholly innovative or virtually neglected problem areas; the assumption of social Darwinists that left to their own devices, the poor would evolve programs whose ineffectiveness was long ago proven; the assumption that programs might be identical but that the sense of participation might increase service utilization.

This study seeks to investigate the extent to which program development is affected by the nature of participation in its formulation.

This demonstration will compare three different models of program development structure for community action.

(1) The Traditional Model: A professional, non-resident staff develops program subject to the approval of a non-resident group of donors. Responsibility for program execution rests with the professional staff. Fiscal responsibility is retained by the donor board.

(2) The CAP Model: Program development is the responsibility of a committee which includes non-resident donors and public officials, representatives of public and private agencies, and representatives of the residents of the area to be served. Responsibility for program execution rests with a professional staff which may employ some residents, usually in non-ex ecutive positions. Fiscal responsibility resides in a county or citywide professional agency.

(3) The Self-Governing Model to be developed in this demonstration: Responsibility for program development is limited to residents of the area, who elect such committees, officers and staff as they choose. The program and fiscal decisions, performance and action of officers and staff will be accountable to the residents.

The setting for this comparison will be three impoverished areas in Columbus, Ohio. These areas are approximately equal in size; have similar populations, and similar social problems. One of these areas is currently served by a Settlement House organized along the lines labelled above as the "traditional model." Another area is slated for a program being developed by the Columbus Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization, and will be organized along the lines we describe above as the "CAP model." This demonstration will seek to develop a third model -- a self-governing organization. Arrangements have already been completed for the transfer of a church social agency to a newly created neighborhood foundation whose membership consists of residents and workers of the area, age 16 and over. There are 6,500 residents in the area. Some 1,000 residents have already joined the organization. They will meet regularly in a community assembly and elect an executive council who will conduct the day-to-day operations of the organization. The executive council will be responsible to the membership and their first order of business will be the development of a staff and local service program for their community. It is expected that within six months after the election of the executive council, which will follow three months of organization for that election funded as a first phase of this grant proposal, that it will be possible to make direct comparisons of the programs being devised in these three similar areas.

Comparisons will be made on the basis of such variables as proposed program content and the relative stress and priority placed on different program areas; the kinds of neighborhood needs and the priorities identified by each group; the plans for implementation, staffing and goals; and the extent of neighborhood participation in each. Specific comparisons of procedures and budgets will be made where two or three of the program development groups approach solution to similar problems.

It is hypothesized:

(1) That there will be greater similarity between proposals brought forth by the traditional model and the CAP model than there will be between either of them and the self-governing model.

This hypothesis is based on the assumption that the professional members of the CAP board will dominate the decision-making of that board, and that their approach to the solution of social problems will be similar to that of a board composed primarily of professionals.

(2) It is hypothesized further that the proposals developed by the traditional and CAP models will be more innovative than those presented by the self-governing model.

This hypothesis is based upon the assumption that the members of the self-governing model have less information available to them as to the relative effectiveness of various program approaches and so are aware of fewer alternatives in program development. Further, it is hypothesized that part of their motivation will be to equip their neighborhood with the institutional accoutrements that they have admired from afar in middle-class neighborhoods.

It is suggested that this grant provide for an external observer. Further, the amount of money made available as stipends for executive council members in the self-governing model should be adequate compensation for the expenses of day-to- day decision.

Done carefully and with adequate reporting, it would appear that this study can throw useful light on the practical consequences of resident participation and a basis for examining the relative effectiveness of the community action model in meeting the implied goal for resident participation expressed in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

C. Organization of the Project

The East Central Citizens Organization of Columbus, Ohio, is the direct neighborhood membership service organization that will serve in this demonstration as the model structure for self-determining program development. This neighborhood foundation is incorporated in the state of Ohio. Its articles provide for a self-governing community service agency based on local practices of service participation and forward commitments to democratic self-help organization.

Membership in the foundation rests on residence or regular employment in the bounded area of the expressway on the south and west; Bryden to the north; east to Ohio; south to Main, then east to Wilson; and Wilson on the east. The Neighborhood Center, which is the facility of the existing church settlement agency now being transferred to the East Central Citizens Organization, is located in this bounded area. Over the years, this locality has been the circumference of Center activities, membership and program participation. Within this neighborhood of 6,500 people, anyone age 16 and over is eligible for membership in the corporation.[1] Membership involves simple declaration and signing the roster. The body of members constitute the Assembly of the Foundation, which will meet twice annually and for special meetings, in order to elect the Executive Council and transact other business within its constituted powers -- i.e., authorization and termination of programs, hearings on neighborhood problems and Foundation operation, removal of officers and Executive Council staff for cause in accordance with bylaw provisions, etc. As such, the Assembly is a governing authority, holding certain major powers of decision.

The annually elected Executive Council is the ongoing seat of executive authority and policy decision in the Foundation. Its chairman, or president, is directly elected from among the Council membership by the Assembly. The Executive Council in turn elects an executive director, chief administrative officer of the Foundation, and a program director and corporation counsel.

The Council will appoint an Advisory Board, to advise them on professional assistance and qualifications, and on matters of financial management and capital development. The power of decision of the Foundation rests solely in the Executive Council and Assembly.

The day to day business of the Council and its elected staff will be to fulfill the purposes of this Neighborhood Foundation; namely, to operate for charitable, scientific, and educational purposes in order to promote and further the welfare of the neighborhood through its good will operating in democratic, self-governing action. For these ends, the Council shall

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1. See Appendix 1 for map.

exercise the power and authority of this Neighborhood Service Foundation, develop self-determined programs and receive and manage funds to the Foundation for those purposes.[2]

Currently, an interim Executive Council composed of members of the operating committee of the Neighborhood Center plus five representatives of the four component neighborhood clubs are serving as the temporary authority of ECCO until elections of a new Executive Council from the neighborhood membership of the organization. This election will take place three months after funds are received from the Office of Economic Opportunity, or no later than March 1, 1966. The first three month phase of the grant period will cover costs of membership organization and assembly development for effective elections. With the ECCO elections at the March 1, 1966 Assembly, the new Executive Council will proceed to select an executive staff of their own choice and accountable to them, and begin with that staff assistance to develop self-determined service programs for funding from metropolitan and national service agencies, public and private. During this period of program development and management, the Council will be accountable to the Assembly, and subject to the exercise of its constituted powers at regular or special meetings. It is this self-determining program development period that represents the second phase of this grant period, and is the effective period for testing the hypothesis of this demonstration. Both phases comprise the grant period of this application, and compose the organization of this project.

I. PHASE ONE: Community Organization for Neighborhood Elections (three months).

The interim Executive Council of the East Central Citizens Organization will designate a project staff for the phase one period to consist of a project director, two skilled community organizers, four full-time neighborhood workers, a community development consultant, legal consultant, recorder, and secretarial and supporting personnel. Staff work will pursue the following tasks.

A. To increase membership and active involvement of residents in the East Central Citizens Organization in order to gain full neighborhood wide participation in organizing efforts, assembly development, community discussion, and council candidacy for the March 1st Assembly meeting and elections. It is important at the outset to further the development of the Assembly structure so that it will effectively exercise its constituted powers and become an articulate and critical structure for council and staff accountability.

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[2] See Appendix 2 for Articles and By-Laws

B. Since the charter provides for the election of two Executive Council members from each of the four component neighborhood clubs in the foundation area, another task of the organizers and neighborhood workers will be to work with each of the neighborhood clubs to develop and advance their organizational structure, both as districts of the Assembly, as well as units of intensely local service initiative. The organizing staff will also assist neighborhood club leadership and residents to realize and further their organizational potential.

C. To organize through the concept of community service education and self-help community action. Emphasis will be put on the values and organization of self-governing service and the methods and techniques of deciding and managing self-determined program development. This is a process of community education for service knowledge and self-governing decision. A consultant will assist the organizers and neighborhood workers in advancing the techniques of community education for self-governing service, as the central organizing concept.

D. The recorder will keep a running record of ECCO activity in this organizing period. This record is a necessary element in the evaluation of this demonstration.

E. A local legal consultant will assist the interim Executive Council in the revision and development of the By-Laws of ECCO, and serve as legal agent of the corporation. By-Law development is an essential task of the first phase so that an adequate procedural basis exists at the time of the first Assembly meeting for the conduct of elections and full exercise of Assembly powers. Good by-laws are equally important for the effective conduct of initial business by the elected Executive Council and their firm assertion staff control. The legal consultant will also work out the basis of charter ratification at the Assembly meeting.

His work will advance the corporate legal structure, character, and capacity of ECCO through community legal education . Such education is important at the outset to establish the fullest understanding of the legal aspects of corporate organization -- the rights and duties, the benefits and responsibilities it imposes upon members, officials and staff. Initial neighborhood understanding will contribute a solid foundation for official responsibility and accountability to the membership as well as effective Assembly action to insure these interests.

PHASE TWO: Self-determining Program Development (twelve months)

The second phase of the grant period of this demonstration will begin with the March 1st Assembly meeting and the neighborhood election of the Executive Council and Council President of the East Central Citizens Organization.

OEO funds will cover the costs of administrative staff and self-governing operation, to enable ECCO to proceed in developing, funding, and managing self-determined programs of community service.

The components of this organizational development include:

A. Staff Development

1. Council selection of executive staff to include:
    a. An Executive director.
    b. A Corporation counsel.
    c. A Program director.
2. Council appointment of:
    a. 3 consultants
        1) Program research and development consultant.
        2) Community organization consultant.
        3) Financial management consultant.
    b. 6 corporation aides
    c. Recorder
3. Supporting Staff: Council approval of executive staff selection of:
    a. An office manager
    b. 3 secretaries
    c. Bookkeeping service
    d. Janitorial service

B. Executive Council Development

1. $1,000 stipends to elected members of the Executive Council
2. Organization of Council into officers and committees.
3. Program development for funding and management by regular council and staff proceedings.

C. Assembly Development

1. The six corporation aides appointed by the Executive Council will work to develop Foundation membership; further Assembly development toward an active critical role to insure responsive program development and management, and council and staff accountability to the people; the communication of Council deliberations and decisions to the membership; communication of neighborhood needs to Executive Council; bringing membership into effective program utilization.

In addition to this staff development for self-determining service programs, there is the need for permanent and consumable equipment to support effective administration and accountable decision. The funds for this second phase of the grant period will cover twelve months corresponding to the annual period of elected office.

D. Resources Available for the Project

Earlier we reviewed the important institutional interests, metropolitan and national, which have developed in the Columbus Neighborhood Foundation project. Support from these sectors brings into the ECCO development helpful resources for advancing effective self-governing organization and program development, through advice, professional assistance, program funding and material contribution. This enlarging circle of interest should be discussed in terms of its resource potential to the East Central Citizens Organization.

There are also critical resources for organization and program development available within the neighborhood community and within the body of ECCO membership. Membership of the local business community in the Foundation holds promise for material contribution to program developments.

We can speak of presently existing resources and their utilization by the interim Executive Council for phase one of the grant period. With respect to phase two of self-determining program development by the Council and their selected staff, any discussion here of resources is based only on its future availability to the Council. Specific utilization for program development depends on Council decision and Assembly authorization. This grant only aims at making self-determining program decision possible and opens the issue of the people choosing among different program resources. The best we can do to date is indicate resources interested in the project, and continue to seed this field. It will be up to the elected Council and their staff to decide what they want to harvest and when.

Mindful of this commitment to self-determination by the Council and Assembly, we can review certain institutional resources available to ECCO through their current expression of support. These different resources are available for both phases of the grant period, and should be discussed in order.

A. Phase One: Organizational Development for Elections

1. Community organizing

a. The basic resource for community organizing is project interest and involvement by residents in the neighborhood, and their commitment of effort in building the organization of ECCO. The current level of 1,000 members represents a major investment of work by volunteer neighborhood workers in membership development.

The number and effort of volunteer members is growing at a fast pace. At present the residents are carrying the burden of community organizing. There have been no professional paid organizers in the initial development to lay the way of organization with highly developed techniques. While there has been occasional volunteer advice from organizers visiting the Columbus project to observe the development over the past seven months, the constant day to day task of organization building has been handled by the neighbors and their own originality, innovation and hard work. The regular volunteers today number approximately 40 residents and constitute an open project leadership council. These people have come into the organization from background experience in the neighborhood clubs, the Neighborhood Center membership, the area council, and other local sources.

Their involvement grew out of numerous house meetings, neighborhood club meetings, center meetings and personal conversations, on the Foundation development. Today they constitute an ongoing decision group for organization strategy and are open to any members who want to pitch into the effort. They meet on Tuesday evenings at the Center to review organizing gains over the week and plan new techniques of building more effective organization.

This project council also includes residents on the interim Executive Council, but it is by and large, a distinct body. Its concept of operation is to serve as a parallel structure to the interim Executive Council, carrying on the task of actual organizing; while the interim Executive Council authorizes its organizing activity, carries the legal responsibility for the corporation and advances this grant proposal toward successful approval. The two groups work together and overlap. Each week the project council draws new residents into the Foundation, who not formerly identified with the settlement agency. As a group, it can be viewed as an emergent structure for the development of new leadership and candidacy for council elections.

In an important way, it is also the organizational basis for the development of an active Assembly structure. As some of the project council people may get elected, and move into the Executive Council, new people will enter this project council, or some future form it may take within the Assembly structure, and challenge existing leadership. It may become the future Assembly structure of criticism, opposition and accountability, within which context new leadership can emerge. The following names and occupations represent some of the people currently on the project leadership council. Each week the list grows.

Rufus Linville
427 S. 17th
(janitor

Helen Linville
427 S. 17th
(housewife)

Barbara Johnson
403 S. 22nd
(telephone solicitor)

Joyce Crawley
413 S. Ohio
(babysitter)

Phil Callender
965 E. Rich
(janitor)

Ben Dubenion
995 McAllister
(retired)

Tom Mayo
413 S. Ohio
(unemployed)

Jackie Thomas
1082 E. Mound
(housewife)

Pat Stulsky
1088 McAllister
(laundry worker)

David Craig
1088 McAllister
(unemployed)

Hazel Ward
1007 E. Main
(housewife)

George Fleming
1000 E. Rich
(unemployed)

Shirley Love
945 E. Rich
(Factory assembly line)

Donella Decker
418 S. 17th
(housewife)

Jo Ann Morgan
451 S. Champion
(ADC)

Sedonia Thomas
904 McAllister
(high school student)

LaVerne Love
823 E. Mound
(part-time
secretary)

Hilda Ellison
1080 McAllister
(takes in laundry)

James Jeter
411 S. 22nd
(retired mineworker)

Vernon Spence
960 E. Cherry
(unemployed)

Susie Grey
772 E. Mound
(hotel worker)

Willene Morgan
911 McAllister
(housewife)

Richard Byrd
880 E. Mound
(unemployed)

Ray Lowery
420 S. Monroe
(factory worker)

The project council will be the group with which the selected organizers, funded in phase one, will work. The four employed neighborhood workers could be selected from this group. This brings us to the issue of available resources for selecting skilled organizers for the project.

b. An important community organizing resource from the inception of the project has been the work of Milo Billman, Assistant Pastor of the First English Lutheran Church and Randolph Holland, Director of the Neighborhood Center. The Church Council of First English Lutheran Church has authorized their current and continuing part-time assistance to ECCO development, while fully recognizing, as expressed in resolution, that ECCO is completely independent of the church and will receive the church transferred agency. Mr. Holland is a professional social worker . Pastor Billman has had considerable experience in community organization and has trained in the field at the Urban Training Center for Christian Missions in Chicago, Ill.

Additional service in community organizing has been freely given to ECCO in the past months and is available for extended use. Carl Seigenthaler, Head of the Community Organization Section of the Urban Training Center has assisted the project staff and council. Charles McDew of Washington has visited and advised the project council on organizing strategy. Bernard Wohl, Director of the Southside Settlement in Columbus, has consulted to the project, lending his community organization skills, experience and imagination to the development. He has offered continuing assistance.

These people as well as others from various fields and professions in the city and around the country have contributed volunteer organizing assistance. They reflect the sufficient pool from which two excellent organizers can be selected by the council for phase one.

c. Mr. Kotler has offered to continue his service to ECCO and its Executive Council during phase one as a community development consultant.

2. By-Law Development

An important part of the phase one effort is the review, revision and improvement of the attached By-Laws of the East Central Citizens Organization, by the interim Executive Council. It is important that this charter development continue during the three month period preceeding the elections, so that adequate procedures are available for the conduct of business and elections at the first Assembly meeting as well as the initial meetings of the elected Executive Council. The By-Laws are important as a procedural foundation for the program decision and management process; and will facilitate effective operation and responsibility of the Executive Council to the Assembly. It will also promote active Assembly participation in review, accountability and program authorization.

Attorneys Robert Hertzstein of Arnold, Fortas, and Porter, Washington, D. C., and George Coburn of Vom Bauer, Beresford, and Coburn, Washington, D. C., and John Stein of George Washington University Law School have agreed to extend their service to the interim council of ECCO, to assist a local legal consultant on the project in By-Law development. Currently Mr. Hertzstein is applying for ECCO tax-exemption. It is necessary for ECCO to budget for a legal consultant during this period, to supplement these volunteers efforts and better advance these legal tasks. ECCO will select a local attorney for consultation and as legal agent for the corporation.

Currently Andrew White of Krepper, White, Richards and Miller of Columbus, Ohio, and author of the Ohio Revised Code, is voluntarily serving as agent for the incorporation of ECCO. He has strong interest in the project development, and has offered continued assistance. Other attorneys are available for phase one consultancy. Professor Gerald Messerman, of Ohio State University School of Law, has also been close to the Neighborhood Center and the Foundation project. He is director of the Legal Clinic of the Law School and has, within the past year, established a student legal service program at the Center. Currently he is interested in new directions of extending legal services to the neighborhood under the new auspices of ECCO, in conjunction with the Law School. This idea will be considered by the Executive Council.

B. Phase Two: Self-Determining Program Development

Phase two of the grant period, following the election of the Executive Council will concentrate on fulfilling the executive, administrative and Assembly structure of the organization to effect maximum self-determination of program development and operation. There are many resources for this later phase from various community service related institutions, national and metropolitan, which have expressed interest in cooperating with ECCO in program and training assistance, and program funding consideration. The utilization of these resources is subject to ECCO decision.

1. There has been considerable program training and funding exploration in the past months. Mr. Kotler has been asked by the project leadership and interim Executive Council to investigate a series of service program directions for submission to the elected Executive Council, as a basis for program discussion and consideration. The interest of this aspect of the organization development has been to prepare a variety of raw program ideas for presentation to the Executive Council and project leadership, in order to initiate neighborhood wide discussion of program development possibilities, as part of the community organizing effort.

The theory of this demonstration requires service programs to come from the elected council rather than outside sources, acting independently of the authority of the neighborhood residents and their elected officials. None of these program ideas have been developed as definite funding proposals to ECCO. Their purpose has been to initiate community service education and self-help orientation to the community organizing process of the project development. In terms of organizing around the principle of community service education they have been a valuable resource in stimulating neighborhood understanding and critical concern.

2. In the course of this service discussion in the context of self-determining programs, wide institutional and agency interest has developed, both with respect to technical assistance and funding interest to ECCO. It can be said that growing national and metropolitan attention to the ECCO development in Columbus is laying a good basis for positive funding consideration to the programs of ECCO. At the same time that national funding support has been solicited by the project staff in the fields of housing, health, retardation, education, legal aid, job training, youth programming, etc., a major effort has been made in Columbus to explore contract relationships for ECCO sub-professional training programs with local agencies, as well as direct local funding sources within the community organization structure. The present exploration of program support from professional service and planning agencies will be an important resource for ECCO in their own Executive Council determination of which way to move in the program field.

a. The Columbus Council for Retarded Children has expressed an interest in developing a resident teacher aide training program for an ECCO retardation program. This training direction could augment the existing pre-school for retarded children program, currently conducted at the Neighborhood Center but transferable to ECCO under its expansion and alternative funding. If the East Central Citizens Organization should choose to take this direction of sub-professional training and new occupations for unemployed residents, the Columbus Council for Retardation has expressed its willingness to accept a training sub-contract if ECCO can get a program funded.

b. There is neighborhood interest in expanding the existing student legal services program currently operating in the Center, but transferable to ECCO. It is conceivable that the law school will participate in an ECCO funded program development if agreement on program structure could be negotiated. The interest of the Law School is in the direction of advancing the pre-professional training of law students as well as training neighborhood legal aides to function in certain new and important adjunct legal service capacities in order to supplement effective service by law students and attorneys working in the neighborhood.

c. Dr. Goodloe, Director of the Columbus Department of Public Health has indicated an interest in cooperating as a resource in an ECCO sub-professional health aide training program. There is strong expression in the neighborhood for improved health aid, and it is likely that the elected council will develop some kind of health assistance program. Dr. Goodloe's interest represents an available program resource for ECCO.

d. Dorothy Cunningham of Ohio State University School of Social Work has offered her services to ECCO as a training resource in a self-determined program for neighborhood workers in the child care and community home maker field.

These expressions of interest in service assistance from metropolitan agencies and professional personnel reflect the wide range of program development, training, and funding resources available to ECCO.

3. Concurrent with the exploration of these metropolitan agency resources for technical assistance and training are federal government resources for directly funding ECCO programs. The interest of this aspect of project activity, as suggested earlier, was to introduce different national agencies, public and private, to the growing development of ECCO, so that funding interest could await the Foundation's self-determining program developments.

a. In the housing field, the Low-Income Demonstration Committee of the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) has expressed an interest in receiving an ECCO proposal for experimental housing rehabilitation and redesign.

b. The Research and Development section of the Office of Education has expressed interest in considering a possible ECCO proposal for the development of a neighborhood zoo, as a supplementary education center in the area of the life sciences and animal care. The 4-H Clubs section of the Department of Agriculture would cooperate in such a program.

c. The Small Business Administration has expressed interest in assisting ECCO with the development of a Small Business Investment Center within the organizational structure of the neighborhood foundation.

Other national agency interest, governmental and private, look forward to future self-governing program proposals from ECCO with consideration for direct funding to include training subcontracts to local agencies. This agency familiarity and interest represents an important future basis for program funding.

This concludes the discussion of resources available to ECCO for organization and program development. This demonstration proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity from the neighborhood foundation of the East Central Citizens Organization currently involved ranging institutional interest and support. This suggests a likelihood of cooperative assistance and constructive direction in this project of self-governing community service. ECCO comes into this proposal as a good organizational model for demonstrating self-determined program development.

E. Specification of Organization

In this section, a general description and justification of ECCO Council and staff roles and functions will be discussed.

A. Specification of Phase One Organization.

1. Executive Council:

Currently the governing authority of ECCO rests in the Interim Executive Council of the East Central Citizens Organization. More properly, these are the Trustees of ECCO temporarily serving as its executive authority until the March 1st Assembly meeting at the close of phase one and the election of a new Executive Council. The trustees include members of the Operating Committee of the Neighborhood Center plus additional neighborhood residents, representing the four component neighborhood clubs.

This group is organized according to provisions in the Articles of Incorporation and functions in accordance with the general purposes of ECCO, therein mentioned. As provided in the Articles, this group will serve only until neighborhood elections. This Board, hereinafter referred to as the Interim Executive Council, consists of the following persons:

Wilbur Taylor	2277 Naylor Road	Columbus, Ohio
Clifford Tyree	1066 Lilley Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Samuel Daykin	6560 Worthington-	Columbus, Ohio
	Galena Road	Columbus, Ohio
Leopold Bernhard	305 Cassady Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Linwood Walker	1430 Bryden Road	Columbus, Ohio
Howard Spiller	211 S. Wayne Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Rufus Linville	427 S. 17th Street	Columbus, Ohio
Herbert Docken	2071 Argyle Drive	Columbus, Ohio
Helen Bowers	707 Sheridan	Columbus, Ohio
LaVerne Love	823 E. Mound Street	Columbus, Ohio
Milo M. Billman	386 Berkeley Road	Columbus, Ohio
Hilda Ellison	1080 McAllister Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Myrtle Haynes	953 E. Rich Street	Columbus, Ohio
Willis Whaley	739 E. Mound Street	Columbus, Ohio

The Council Chairman is Clifford Tyree, authorized to sign this proposal for the East Central Citizens Organization. Herbert Docken is Treasurer, authorized to sign this proposal as Financial Officer. The Interim Executive Council has authorized the submission of this grant proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity, and will be responsible for the administration of approved funds for phase one of the grant period. Thereafter the responsible authority of ECCO will be the neighborhood Executive Council, elected from ECCO membership on March 1st. Throughout the grant period there will be a continuing executive authority of ECCO, responsible to OEO for the administration of the approved grant.

For the phase one period, project authority, policy decision, and responsiblity will rest in the Interim Council. This trustee group, composed largely of neighborhood residents, will select the phase one project staff.

2. Project Director:

The role of the project director will be to coordinate the work of community organization, membership and Assembly development, and community service education with executive council authorization and decision. He will insure that the purposes of this proposal are properly and successfully promoted. Further, he will insure that the organization of the project proceeds with due executive responsibility and staff accountability.

This task of promoting organizing activity in the context of continuing Executive Council authority is crucial. It is a task of communication and continuity, and must be vigilantly pursued at the outset so that initial precedent is set for effective and responsible self-government.

Further, this continuing relationship of authority and action is the best practical basis for the bylaw development of phase one. Within the steady context of action, the Interim Council will be able to test out the bylaw provisions and review and refine them for practical effectiveness in deliberation, decision and execution.

To insure this care, the Interim Executive Council has selected Pastor Leopold Bernhard as Project Director for phase one of the grant period. Pastor Bernhard initiated this project of church agency transfer to the people and has been actively engaged in its development. He is a trustee and member of ECCO and will perform the functions of Project Director until the March 1st election of the new Executive Council. Thereafter, pending OEO approval, the role of project director will be performed by the Council-selected Executive Director. The functions of project direction therefore will be continually performed throughout the grant period, although the person performing that role may change.

Another important function of project director in phase one will be to advance the total transfer of church settlement agency from the Church Council of the First English Lutheran Church to the East Central Citizens Organization. This is a problem of carrying existing Church resolutions of transfer into complete effect. The strategy of this task will be to guide the gradual transfer, as Pastor Bernhard has been continually doing since project inception, so that by March 1st the total program operation of the Neighborhood Center, and its remaining operating funds, present or committed, will be transferred to ECCO and its new Executive Council. At that point the Neighborhood Center will be dissolved, and it would be up to the Executive Council of ECCO to decide what to do with the transferred programs and funds. By March 1st it is contemplated that ECCO will be the sole authorized service agency using the Neighborhood Center facility. The church settlement will have dissolved in the favor of the self-governing settlement. The careful requirements of this transitional strategy further favored the appointment of Pastor Bernhard.

An important task of the project director will be to advance communication and understanding of the ECCO development throughout civic, professional, business, and religious structures of Columbus, in behalf of increasing resource support for technical assistance and program funding to ECCO during phase two. This support is further important for developing the evaluation component which requires comparison of ECCO programs to professionally decided service models in the city. The project director will work with the organizers in developing and practicing a strategy of civic support, concurrent with intense neighborhood organizing.

3. Community Organizers (Two):

Upon grant approval, the Interim Executive Council in consultation with the project leadership council will hire two skilled community organizers to assist the residents in neighborhood organizing membership and assembly development, and community service education, in preparation for the council elections.

The Interim Council is seeking experienced organizers for this task who have worked among the poor and have organized them into a stronger confidence of their citizen rights and service needs, and into greater competence for self-help and community improvement. They are seeking organizers committed to the task of building new institutions of self-governing service in the neighborhood community.

To find capable people, the council is turning to the resident community itself, as well as outside the neighborhood.

There is no set professional requirement for this role, just talent and experience. The Council will turn also to practitioners in the fields of social work, education, church social action, community action, Peace Corps returnees, etc. Interviews are already underway by the Council, and selection will be made at the time of the grant approval.

These organizers will work full time in the neighborhood of the East Central Area for a three-month period. There are possible arrangements in the second phase period for their continuing role in the project, should the elected Executive Council wish to continue their services.

4. Neighborhood Workers (Four):

With the advice of the selected community organizers, the Council will also approve four full-time neighborhood workers during this phase one.

These people will be neighborhood residents and members of ECCO, representing different groups in the neighborhood. They will work with the organizers in the daily job of organization towards the first Assembly meeting and the Executive Council election.

An important function of the organizers will be to help the workers develop an ongoing skill in methods and techniques of organizing which will be an invaluable resource to the foundation when the organizers leave the project. These workers can be a source for the Executive Council appointment of corporation aides in phase two.

5. Community Development Consultant:

The task of this consultant during phase one will be to advance national understanding of the ECCO development among service related institutions and agencies for future program funding resources. He will explore with the organizing staff and Interim Council the variety of ways to relate the project development more closely to the major institutions of the city and nation, under the theory that no successful project can be isolated from the metropolitan and national picture. What relationships of professional assistance in service training, assistance in capital development and program funding, etc. are available to ECCO to increase its life chances and strengthen its self-determining program development? Mr. Kotler has been asked by the Council to serve this consultancy.

6. Legal Consultant:

The job of the legal consultant will be to act as legal agent for ECCO and work with the Executive Council to complete the bylaw development so that a procedural basis will be ready for the first Assembly meeting and Executive Council election.

He should be skilled in charter development and be able to work with laymen in legal education and corporate development. The only specification is that he be a Columbus resident and a practicing attorney in Ohio. The Council has asked Andrew White to accept this consultancy.

7. Recorder:

The job of the recorder will be to maintain a continuing record of organizing activity and foundation development. He will initially serve as observer to develop sufficient data in phase one to assist the best development of a project evaluation system and procedure. The further specification of his role will be developed by the evaluation panel of the project. The evaluation panel will recommend an appointment to the Council.

B. Specification of Phase Two Organization.

1. Executive Council:

At the March 1st Assembly meeting of the East Central Citizens Organization elections will be held for a new Executive Council of 21 members. Two councilmen will be elected from each of the four component neighborhood clubs of the foundation; 13 members will be elected at large from the Assembly.

The Council will serve as the major executive authority of the East Central Citizens Organization, and will organize its official and committee structure. It will consider the bylaws, and present them for Assembly adoption. The Council will proceed to select the executive staff and start the continuing task of program development.

The work of this elected council in the role of program decision, development and operation is the heart of the self-determining concept of community service. Its effective role requires new community decisions, skills and continuing practice.

The 21 councilmen will receive a stipend of $1,000 for their yearly service. The concept of the stipend relates to many dimensions of official performance. First, they are indeed legislators of community service, and will be called upon to give major time and effort in the performance of their office. Such work warrants reasonable compensation. It is also a nominal payment that will offset the personal costs incurred in the performance of duty, like telephone, mail, babysitting, etc. $1,000 is a reasonable expense account for the time and effort involved.

Second, there is a strong justification for the stipend being viewed as a "community fellowship". Indeed, the governing role of the councilmen can be socially viewed as an education in the problem of discovering the new human resources and directions of improved community service. There is an advantage in viewing this elective office as a "learning process", in which discussion and decision instructs and builds greater social and political judgment in the community.

Third, the payment of a Council stipend will promote a greater interest and consideration in the elective process among the membership. It will promote greater care and consideration of candidates seeking office. Further, payment to the Council by the corporate membership will encourage greater accountability of the Council to the membership assembly. In general a stipend is likely to promote a higher and more responsible quality of elected official.

2. Advisory Board:

The elected Executive Council will select an Advisory Board, composed of civic supporters of the Neighborhood Foundation. They will meet with selected ECCO members, and function to advise the Executive Council on professional qualifications for staff development, financial management and capital development, as well as help enlist continuing metropolitan support among local professional and funding agencies for the self-determined programs of ECCO.

3. Executive Director:

Specification for Executive staff positions funded in phase two cannot be finally settled in this proposal. The Council decision on the selection of Executive Director, Program Director and Corporation Counsel is as much a problem of self-determination as the program development itself. Setting definite qualifications now would only limit the decision of the Council and obstruct the principle of this demonstration. The specifications for executive staff positions discussed here will only be of a general nature, more to the point of reviewing some of the likely functions of their roles, and the kinds of competency they may require.

The Executive Director will be the chief administrative officer of the corporation. He will carry out the policies and directives of the Executive Council for service program development, financial management and capital development, Executive Council-Assembly relationships, etc. His work will be to strengthen the self-governing structure of the corporate organization through development of the neighborhood foundation at the Assembly, Executive Council and staff levels. He will endeavor to maximize participation of the membership in its service program design, operation, and utilization.

A further job of the Executive Director will be to relate the organization and programs of ECCO to the outside community and keep the metropolitan area informed of ECCO developments in community service. It is important that he build continuing resources for program funding and professional cooperation in the city, as well as at the national level.

It is evident that the Executive Director will require administrative, educational, and political skills though he need not be a certified professional. He must be sufficiently political to participate with the membership in a common community of dedication, work and direction. He should also be able to work with outside agencies and institutions to gain resources and support for ECCO programs. He should have the educational skills to help the Council and membership build a greater community service knowledge and a competency in self-governing organization, decision-making and program management. He must help build local leadership so that the organization can grow on its own.

As such, the considerable dimensions of his role do not easily indicate any given professional identity. It is even hoped that such a talent might reside in the ECCO neighborhood community. This is a new kind of office, and the Council will look hard for the right man.

4. Program Director:

The job of the Program Director will be to assist the Council in program development and carry the daily responsibilities of service program management under Council authorization, decision, direction and review. His function may be related to traditional neighborhood social work, except that in this case he will not decide what programs the neighborhood foundation will run. That decision lies with the Council and the Assembly. It is important, however, to stress this difference from traditional performance. While he will advise and assist on program development, he will primarily act as an educator to further competent service knowledge and self-governing decision, and as an administrator of Council-determined programs, responsible to that body and to the Assembly. For these functions, it is important to find a Program Director sufficiently professional in service administration and management, but democratically committed to self-determination.

People of this talent, sensitivity and disposition are available within the ranks of the social work profession. With the widespread social work education and professional organization interest in this development it is likely that the Executive Council will find such a person or that such a person will find ECCO. It is not asserted here that the Program Director must be a professional. That choice is up to the Council.

5. Corporation Counsel:

The Executive Council will also appoint a Corporation Counsel. This appointment will be limited to the specification that he be authorized to practice law in the State of Ohio. Within this broad limit a new kind of attorney will have to be found.

The task of the Corporation Counsel will basically be threefold:

> a. At the narrowest level, he will be responsible for the legal relationship of the East Central Citizens Organization, as a corporation, to other organizations with whom ECCO relates. He must protect the corporation, as well as strengthen the just claims of ECCO to outside organizations.
>
> b. A further task of the Corporation Counsel will be to legally advance the internal governing structure of the foundation so as to maximize justice between the membership and the governing authorities of the organization. He must assist the continuing development of the bylaws and articles of the corporation, so that the responsibility of the elected officials to the membership will be strengthened. Further, he must advance the legal abilities of the Assembly to develop and

and actuate their powers and rights under the Charter, and bring the Executive Council into greater accountability to the membership for their official actions. In short, he must help to advance the rule of law and good polity within the corporation of ECCO.

This task requires both legal and educational skill. He should be able to teach the rights and obligations of law to the membership, under the Charter, as well as between the foundation and outside organizations and groups. He must pursue a kind of legal instruction that will advance the concept of self-government as a just and effective social form and process. In order to do this, he should be disposed to learn from the people the profound meanings and expectations of law that lie within their mind, heart and thought. He must be open to deeper levels of law and justice that come alive and into expression when the people through the foundation and its self-governing structure, find new common power and confidence to act through corporative decision.

c. A further important dimentsion of his legal work will be direct legal assistance to members of the foundation in many personal problems of the poor which involve legal action and require legal assistance.

6. Corporation Aides:

Six Corporation Aides will be selected by the Executive Council, with the advice of the Executive Director, to continue the work of neighborhood organization, enlarging membership and improving communication between elected officials and the membership. They must continue to build the Assembly structure into an ample base for popular review of official action, accountability, mandate, new emergent leadership and as a forum for direct community wide service discussion.

The Corporation Aides will investigate on a day-to-day basis through direct contact and discussion with the people of the neighborhood, the new and multifarious personal and general service needs that exist in the neighborhood. They will bring this information back to the Executive Staff and Council for deliberation and

and effective response. They are the principal daily agents of service information in the neighborhood.

The aides will bring to the people the deliberations and decisions of the Executive Council and staff on program development, and operation. Through their familiarity with peoples' needs they must bring residents into participation in the service programs of the foundation, as well as into the service programs of the city. They will inform members in need about health services, day care, legal services, preschool, small business developments, job training and placement, etc. They will bring the operating programs of the foundation and city closer to the people, and the people closer to those programs. They will carry out this function by relating the people of the neighborhood community on a total basis through identity in the neighborhood foundation and its self-governing service process.

In addition, their job will be to assist the four component neighborhood clubs to strengthen their more local, block-level activities and programs within the foundation context. The four neighborhood clubs within the foundation will be districts of the Assembly as well as self-help units in the neighborhood. Both concepts must be advanced by the aides. One corporation aide will be assigned to each neighborhood club, as the area of his service. He will advance the self-help ability of the membership at the neighborhood club, foundation and city levels.

Two of the Corporation Aides will concentrate their efforts on foundation-wide functions of publicity and external organization relationships with other communities of poor people in Columbus. One aide will be responsible for a newsletter; another primarily responsible for spreading an understanding of the organizational concept of the ECCO neighborhood foundation to other communities of the city. The Corporation Aides will be full-time workers, residents of the foundation area, and members of ECCO. There are competent people for these jobs within the neighborhood.

7. Recorder:

The position of Recorder, as discussed in phase one, will continue during the second phase of the grant period. The importance of the Recorder is to develop and maintain an ongoing record of the foundation activities. This record will be of inestimable value to the Executive Council and Assembly in serving decision and deliberation with a past record of comment and precedent. Further, it will be a necessary component of governing accountability and responsibility. It will serve the Council and Assembly as a record for reflecting on the foundation's progress in decision, program operation, and staff judgment.

Another value of the continuing record will be for the evaluation component of this project. The record will be of further importance in the event of application of the neighborhood foundation to other localities, as a guideline of organizational strategy. In addition, in phase two the recorder will also serve as an official clerk and registrar of Council decisions for public record. His major qualifications should be keen social observation and writing ability, as well as judicious disinterest in behalf of the objective record.

8. Consultants:

During the second phase of the project, there will be a continuing role for consultants to assist the Executive Council and executive staff on: a. Community organization; b. Program development and proposal presentation; and c. Financial management and capital funding. These three functions are vital to strengthening the structure of self-governing service organization and self-determined program development. Their effective role requires special competencies which are not likely to be found in the neighborhood community, but which, nonetheless, the poor require to advance self-help organization. At the same time these competencies are not constantly required so as to justify continuing staff position. Rather, they should be available at the necessary time to perform service in such a way as to develop like competency within the ECCO membership. These consultants should be educators as well as technicians, for part of self-help organization is the education of the people in the community into the kinds of expertise that will yield community benefit. After all, poor people and their community exist in the context of complex institutions and social organizations. They must relate to the structures of these organizations which control the benefits of the society in such a way as to gain a greater share through self-decision and competent program operation. However, in order to gain a fair share among the competing agents in the organizational marketplace, the poor require an understanding of the structure and process of organizational funding and control. These consultants can enable them to work within the standards of these service funding structures:

a. Community Organizing Consultant:

The job of organizing is not completed with the first Assembly meeting, and the election of an

Executive Council. Nor is it finished with the appointment by the Council and executive staff of the corporation aides. These workers are agents of continuing organization. Training in techniques of action, problem identification, and methods of solution are necessary. If the neighborhood aides were an established profession, the problem would be different. Here we are inventing a new and necessary occupation of self-governing community service. While the Executive Director will be in continuing relationship with the Corporation Aides, the training and problem-solving task should not be confined to that closed circle. It is an educative process in a new field. It will be served by outside perspectives and comment, and by the experience and methods of neighborhood organizing that is going on around the country. These kinds of resources can be brought into the neighborhood and training process by an outside consultant in the field.

The Executive Council in the second phase may retain one of the organizers hired in the first phase for this role. A monthly consultation will suffice. The National Federation of Settlements has offered consultancy to ECCO in this field, as well as in the area pf program development.

b. Program Development and Proposal Presentation Consultant:

ECCO will be seeking program development in the many areas of education, housing, health, job training, etc,, in order to advance total community welfare and benefit. There has been such great advance in funding new kinds of services in these fields that ECCO will seek many agency program relationships at the national and metropolitan level. Established applicant agencies are today staffed with personnel expert in wide ranging program assistance and funding resources around the country. For the same reason the neighborhood foundation requires a knowledge of these resource sectors.

This knowledge can be advanced by expert consultancy suggesting the diverse possibilities of funding through different federal, state and local agencies, as well as through national foundations. It important practical information, and its imaginative use is vital to the successful self-determining program development of the East Central Citizens Organization.

The consultant can also bring expert knowledge of agency resources for training neighborhood people in program roles. This knowledge is important for developing contract relationship between ECCO and metropolitan agency structures for new occupational roles for the poor, which might become the heart of service program development.

c. Financial Management and Capital Development Consultant:

A major task of the East Central Citizens Organization during this demonstration will be to develop a strategy for capital funding, so that at the close of the grant period an endowment will be available to cover the major cost of supporting the governing structure of the foundation. This achievement will enable ECCO to continue to develop service program proposals for agency funding, without jeopardy to its self-governing coporate organization.

The task of capital development is highly specialized, requiring the skill and experience to identify local resources that can be used for such purposes. In this effort a local consultant is desirable. He can work with the Columbus Foundation and pursue the possibilities of direct relationship between that community foundation and the ECCO neighborhood foundation. The community foundation is an existing non-profit structure in the field of philanthropic distribution that has an established apparatus for capital development and endowment management. Conceivably certain cooperative arrangements of assistance could be found. The consultant might further consider the feasibilities of corporate capital development through community owned housing or small business investment.

Another important role is to advise ECCO on general problems of management of approved grant funds for service programs, as well as to solve specific fiscal problems that arise in connection with unanticipated program needs. He can assist the Council and staff in the financial analysis of program costs, projected estimates, and general program budgeting. It is above all important that the consultant advise within the context of educating the staff and executive council in the requisite financial skills of service organization funding and corporate capital growth.

9. Conclusions:

This concludes the specification of the executive staff, during the second phase of the grant. In addition, there will be funding for supporting staff positions. These positions include:

a. Office Manager.
b. Stenographer-typist.
c. Two Clerk-typists.
d. Bookkeeping Service.
e. Janitorial Service.

Personnel for these positions will be appointed by the executive staff, with Council approval. Standard specifications will govern.

F. Physical Facilities

A. Rent and Grantee Contributed Furnishings and Equipment.

The transfer of the Neighborhood Center Settlement agency by the First English Lutheran Church to the East Central Citizens Organization represents a major commitment of material resources for the operation of this self-governing service project.

The Church has agreed to rent the settlement building to ECCO for its neighborhood foundation government, program development and operation. During phase one, existing Center services will continue with agreement that the Center will terminate its agency by the March 1st elections, and transfer existing program operations and remaining and committed funds to ECCO for its own use. The elected council will then decide how to use these transferred funds and whether to continue or terminate transferred programs. Thus, the Center agency is transitionally continuing in order to keep services going in the neighborhood, while ECCO organization advances toward the Assembly meeting and elections. By March 1st ECCO will be the sole authorized social agency using the Center facility.

The following is a statement of the estimated value of the Center facility:

CENTER BUILDING

Building appraised at	$ 300,000
4 offices 1 supply room equipment, furnishing, and supplies	5,640
1 assembly room and furnishing	4,000
8 classrooms and furnishing	19,000
1 kitchen and equipment	3,500
1 kitchen and equipment	2,000
1 parlor and furnishing	3,000
Miscellaneous equipment & supplies	500
(Furnishing and equipment costs are based on estimated trade-in value)	
TOTAL	337,640

While ECCO will be the leasing social agency of this building facility, the Church will continue to use some space and furnishings for church-related functions, under a shared use arrangement to be negotiated with the ECCO council. Church use will amount to one-third space and furnishing utilization of the building facility during the period of the project. It will transfer two-thirds space use of the building and furnishings to ECCO.

The transferred two-thirds value of this facility is divided into two components: space use and furnishings. While space use will be rented to ECCO, furnishings and equipment will be offered by the Church to ECCO, and will represent a grantee contribution in this proposal. These components are valued differently in the two phases of the grant period, and will be separately discussed.

1. Phase One.

a. Space Use:

In the first phase while Center activities transitionally continue, and the project emphasizes organizational development, ECCO will mainly be using office space, the assembly room, parlor, and kitchen. Classrooms will principally be used by the continuing Center activities, though in part used by ECCO. Accordingly, rent to ECCO is calculated at one-third of the total $600 per month rent value of the total space use of the building facility, namely $200 per month.

b. Furnishings and Equipment:

During this phase the Church will contribute the furnishings and equipment of the ECCO used portion of the rented facility, calculated at $9,315, or one-fourth to one-third of its total.

2. Phase Two.

a. Space Use:

During phase two ECCO will be the exclusive social agency of the Center. During that period, with the dissolution of Neighborhood Center operation, ECCO will add to its activities the principal space use of the classroom and increased space use of the assembly room, kitchen, parlor and offices. In general, it will absorb the former space use of the Neighborhood Center agency, which will add another one-third of space use above phase one utilization. With the Church continuing at one-third use, ECCO will use two-thirds space at a rental of $400 per month.

b. Furnishings and Equipment:

During this phase the Church will contribute additional furnishings and equipment in the facility, fitting the additional portions of the facility space used by ECCO. This additional contribution refers to the furnishings and equipment of classrooms, assembly room, parlor, kitchen and offices, ranging from one-half to two-thirds use by ECCO. The grantee amount indicated in the phase two period of the budget represents an additional $12,200 of contribution value to the project.

B. Additional Permanent Equipment Purchased

In addition to the grantee contribution of equipment and furnishings, this project will require the purchase of additional permanent equipment for staff operation.

1. Phase One.

a. Office Furnishings:

4 desks and chairs @ $215 ea.	$	860
1 office file @ $75 ea.		75
1 stencil file @ $50 ea.		50
1 work table @ $75 ea.		75
Miscellaneous		140
	$	1,200

b. Office Machinery:

1 IBM typewriter @ $450 ea.		450
3 typewriters, used, @ $250 ea. ...		750
1 stenorette transcription machine @ $300 ea.		300
1 copying machine @ $250 ea.		250
	$	1,750

c. Janitorial Equipment:

Tools, mops, brooms, etc.	$	250
	$	250
PHASE ONE TOTAL	$	3,200

2. Phase Two.

Further additional permanent equipment will have to be purchased in the second phase, because of expanded staff and operations.

a. Office Furnishings:

3 desks and chairs @ $215 ea.	$ 645
2 work tables and chairs @ $75 ea.	150
1 file at $75 ea.	75
Miscellaneous	500
	$ 1,370

b. Office Machinery: 450

1 IBM typewriter @ $450	450
1 typewriter, used, @ $250	250
1 stenotype @ $175	175
1 stenorette @ $300	300
1 adding machine @ $175	175
1 Gestetner duplicating machine @ $450	450
	$ 1,800

c. Janitorial Equipment:

Additional permanent equipment estimated @	300
	$ 300
PHASE TWO TOTAL	$ 3,470

C. Consumable Supplies.

The cost of required consumable supplies for the grant period is clearly stated in the budgets for phases one and two.

G. Evaluation Structure and Procedure

Phases One and Two constitute the grant period of this proposal. The success of the second phase of staffing and program development will depend upon the skill of community organizing and education during the first phase of election preparation and Assembly development. Therefore, both phases of the project must contain an evaluation component.

There are two major elements that must be covered in the evaluation:

I. Service program developments by the self-governing foundation must be followed and their results assessed.

a. The evaluation team must develop indices of measuring the success of programming. Such indices must be applicable for measurement against the comparative program designs and results of professional decision and management in a CAP and traditional settlement model. It is not sufficient to merely apply existing professional measures of success to the self-determining programs of the foundation. These measures rest on certain professional assumptions that would not be suited to the foundation concept. Hence, a major task of the evaluation team will be to develop new cross measures of program effectiveness suitable to all the comparative models of program development under consideration in testing this demonstration.

b. The evaluation team must also analyze the relationship between program effectiveness and the structure of self-governing program decision. What aspects of the self-governing process does program effectiveness rest on? What are the crucial structural elements of self-governing organization for self-determining program development? The relationship between the structure of the self-governing form of organization and program results must be tested in order to determine and recommend further direction of application.

II. The evaluation team must compare this assessment and analysis of self-determined service programs to the other models of service development, suggested in Section B. Three different models of program development structure for community action must be compared. Thus an initial task of the evaluation team will be to identify and designate a traditional model of settlement house operation and a locality of CAP operation in Columbus, for continuing comparative analysis in terms of program development and effectiveness during the grant period of the project.

The full cooperation of these other organizations to permit the observation and analysis required of their program operation for good evaluation procedures, examination, and conclusion is important to this evaluation process. Correspondingly, the Executive Council of the East Central Citizens Organization will make total information available to the evaluation team.

The Interim Council has requested that the evaluation contract can be given to Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Dr. Martin Cohnsteadt of Antioch has expressed interest in assuming this evaluation task. He has previously evaluated poverty programs for the Office of Economic Opportunity and was active in the development of the Dayton Community Action Program.

Because of the wide ranging institutional interest in this neighborhood foundation development, as well as the concrete requirements of evaluation development and presentation, there will be two components in the evaluation structure:

1. An evaluation staff will be developed by Dr. Cohnsteadt.

2. A cross institution evaluation panel will meet with Dr. Cohnsteadt at the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D. C. This will include people in the following fields:

    a. Settlement house administration.
    b. Church social action.
    c. Social work education.
    d. Community and national foundations involved in community development.
    e. The civil rights movement.
    f. Labor organization.
    g. Education.
    h. The public administration field.
    i. The private welfare agency and the metropolitan community organization field.

The evaluation panel will meet three times during the project period. The first meeting will be to develop the guidelines of evaluation procedures and designate the two other model areas in Columbus for comparison in service programming with the East Central Citizens Organization. Dr. Cohnsteadt will develop the evaluation staff and set up procedures for analysis following the suggestions of the panel.

A second meeting midway through the project period will review the development and comparative data. The panel will be able to introduce any new and necessary departures for the evaluation staff, in the light of current developments. This midway meeting will provide the opportunity for the panel to update the guidelines as well as gain a midpoint view of the project development and program results. This may be of value for new directions of application in their representative institutional fields.

A final meeting of the panel will be held at the close of the project to review the staff evaluation findings and develop a panel report on the project, supplementing the evaluation analysis with appropriate public policy recommendations in the field of community action. Thus the evaluation panel will serve as a national public policy committee considering on the basis of the neighborhood foundation project new directions and implications for community action at the local and national level.

This is the general form which the evaluation component could take, and is subject to primary OEO standards of evaluation governing its approved demonstration projects. Detailed specification of the evaluation structure and procedure will be developed during phase one of the project after grant approval and will be subject to OEO approval.

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From A to Z

By ABE ZAIDAN

Civic Goals

THE CRISIS of the American city, news analyst Edward P. Morgan commented recently, will be the nation's number one domestic problem of 1966. The dimensions of this crisis can be measured from the chaos of the recent transit strike in New York City, or the explosion of Watts, to having to wait in a long line for an ice cream cone at the neighborhood dairy store.

Although New York City's bright and ambitious Mayor Lindsay would be the first to deny it, some pessimistic observers have already written off his city as beyond any dream of salvation. But other American cities aren't far behind New York City's miseries. A staggering number of people are dangerously inflating metropolitan areas from coast to coast.

In a recent *Saturday Review*, which devoted a special issue to the problems of the city, Ralph Lazarus, president of Federated Department Stores, Inc., noted that by 1985, about 180 million people will be stuffed into America's 216 cities. The figure is even more significant in view of the fact that it represents the total number of people living in the U.S. just five years ago.

But Lazarus also believes that something can still be done to head off metropolitan catastrophe. "There has been no time when we have been as ready and able to tackle the task of improving our metropolitan areas by plan," he writes. "With the gross national product rising at a rate of nearly $50 billion a year—or $250 per per-

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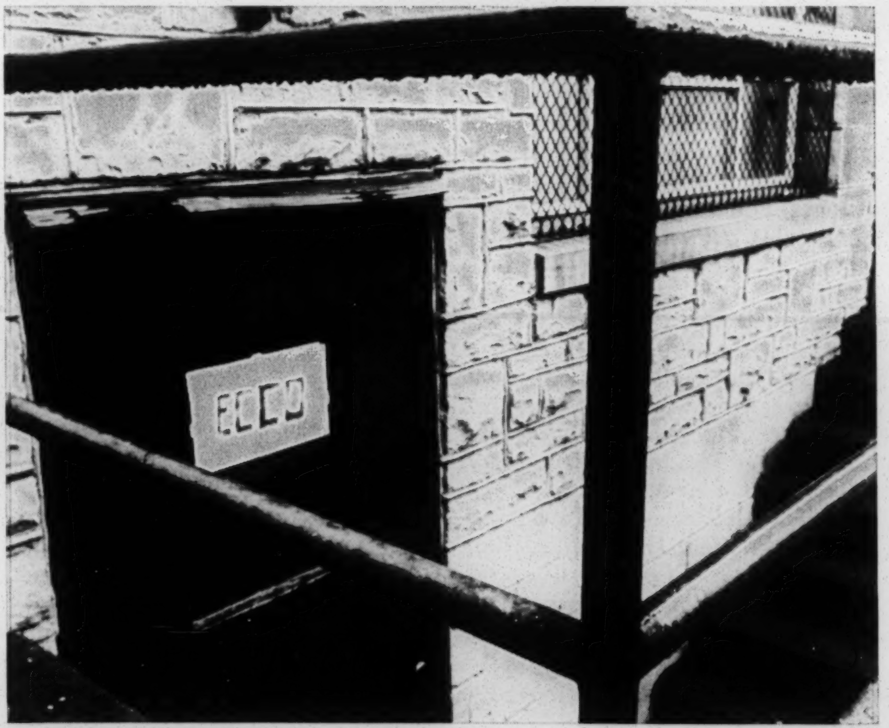
'Grassroots Self-Government'

When People Decide To Help Themselves

(See page 2)



The Meaning of ECCO

By Robert Kotzbauer

A nursery school for four-year-olds at First English Lutheran Church.

FROM THE OUTSIDE, the houses of east central Columbus just north and east of the "ditch"—as residents call the freeway—look solid and habitable. Some are of upper middle class vintage, one generation removed.

Inside, a startingly different picture emerges. The generation that moved has been replaced largely by transients, some uprooted by the freeway, some by urban renewal, others driven north by an urge for something better, though never clearly defined, than the cotton fields back home.

They came over the last 15 years, 70 percent of them Negro, transforming the social fabric of the neighborhood. Call the pattern post-Korean transitional. Color it desperate.

The two-family structures are bursting with tenants, four kids to a bed, tucked in by a mother-father parent. The rooms reek of beans bubbling on a hotplate. The air trembles with a cacophony of shouting drunks, jazz, auto horns, and television.

You quickly get a composite picture of despair and neglect among the jobless, the fatherless, the aimless, the hopeless. One hears of marauding teenage gangs, girls and boys, but also, curiously, of a makeshift basketball "court" in a white woman's backyard where white and Negro youngsters whittle away at idle hours by angling a ball through a netless hoop.

Beneath the neighborhood's flaking crust something else is stirring, too. The people call it ECCO—East Central Citizens Organization. Pure and simple, it is a grassroots attempt at self-government that aims to reverse the kind of tragic decline that is rotting inner-city neighborhoods across the country.

"We're going to decide our own programs," asserted one ECCO member. "We're going to elect our own people to run things; work, learn, earn in new jobs, jobs of people working with people."

Organization also takes work, and the door-knocking started last summer. "ECCO needs your help," the people were told. "Get ready for community elections. What do *we* want? It's our choice. Pre-school? Freedom school? Health center? Hot-rod clinic? Neighborhood city club?"

The response has been sudden. Already 1000 have joined. (About 3000 people, 16 years of age or older, are eligible to join in the ECCO community of 6500 people.)

The self-government approach to poverty shares a kindred spirit with the federal poverty program. Battle lines in the national War on Poverty are drawn up along a front labeled "maximum feasible participation of the poor," a phrase derived from the 1964 Act of Congress. It was designed to give the residents of impoverished areas a voice in what is developed, conducted and administered for them.

But in too many places, the words have only spelled trouble, threatening the entrenched social-work agencies and frustrating the deprived who see politicians and professionals skimming the cream off federal grants while little is changed where it will mean the most—among the poor themselves.

The leaders of ECCO, however, are determined to run their own poverty program. And they are moving.

They have created a non-profit, non-partisan, tax-exempt foundation under Ohio law. The charter and by-laws were drafted by the Washington law firm of Arnold, Fortas and Porter. Andrew J. White Jr., senior partner of the Columbus law firm of Knepper, Richards and Miller, is serving as agent and corporation counsel.

Milton Kotler, a staff member of the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington, an organization whose purpose is the renewal of democratic policies in our society, developed—while consulting frequently with the residents—a project application for funds from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

In turn, OEO has come up with $185,000 for a demonstration project for ECCO—the first of its kind in the nation. (The entire two-year program will cost over $300,000.)

"We're ready to move forward as soon as we get the money," says Mrs. LaVerne Love, one of 28 members of an interim executive council that is running ECCO until a 21-member permanent council is elected sometime in the next two months.

Others on the interim council, just as Mrs. Love, are community-minded volunteers who have spent long nights in endless sessions trying to arouse their friends and neighbors to conditions existing around them, and to build a grassroots organization that might cope with the problems in town-meeting fashion.

Rufus Linville, a janitor, is interim

Robert Kotzbauer is Columbus bureau chief of the Akron Beacon Journal. *Photographs by Doc Bosworth.*

council treasurer. Mrs. Marian Craig, a housewife, is secretary. Clifford Tyree, who works for the Franklin County Juvenile Court, is chairman. Linwood Walker, a social worker, is vice-chairman. Others who are helping out are construction workers, seamstresses, students, insurance agents, businessmen, the unemployed. The nucleus of ECCO consists of about 40 area residents like these, although by now about half the neighborhood is aware of what's happening, and they're reacting to it.

"Sure, there are still many people around here who are ignoring ECCO, or quietly watching it from a distance," observes the Rev. Milo Billman, the bearded assistant pastor of First English Lutheran Church, which rises from the heart of ECCO "turf." "They've seen messiahs come and go, things which didn't affect them except to push them ever deeper into apathy. Many have been hurt too deeply to give ECCO a thought, but I think they'll come around."

The originator and prime mover of ECCO is Billman's colleague, Pastor Bernhard, an articulate and determined innovator who is obviously prepared to see the project through to the benefit of his neighborhood. Bernhard, a fugitive from Hitler's pre-war Germany, arrived at First English Lutheran in 1960 determined to have no more truck with racism here than he did in Europe. As a theology student at the University of Berlin in 1933, he joined a resistance movement against Hitler and was forced to complete his education in Switzerland. He later learned there was no room for him in the German church because he refused to take a loyalty oath to Der Fuehrer.

So he sailed for the U.S., where he studied and served congregations in several cities before coming to Columbus.

The Columbus church was ready for him. While most of its middle-class members had moved to suburbia, they had determined to maintain their church in the changing neighborhood and to serve it as best they could. A youth recreation program was started in the late '50s but only about 25 youngsters a week attended.

The church was losing out to the ills of the neighborhood. "Acts of vandalism were committed nearly every week," Bernhard recounts. "There was outspoken hostility to the church. Members coming to week-day meetings at night felt threatened and some were actually assaulted. . ."

Bernhard impressed the church council with the need for starting a full-scale social service center with a professional director. The congregation responded by raising $100,000, and spent another $75,000 from its reserves plus $30,000 from the Lutheran Board of American Missions.

The center caught on. Last year the budget topped $24,000 and programs included pre-school and mental retardation classes; legal, psychiatric and family counseling; job referrals; tutoring help; "Golden Age" and young persons' clubs, teenage dancing, parties—a host of reasons for the neighborhood to come to the church center, and come they did—some 12,000 last year.

Lending a hand were law seniors from Ohio State University, volunteers from the American Association of University women, students from OSU and Capital University, social workers from the city. But most importantly, the residents themselves came to help in the projects.

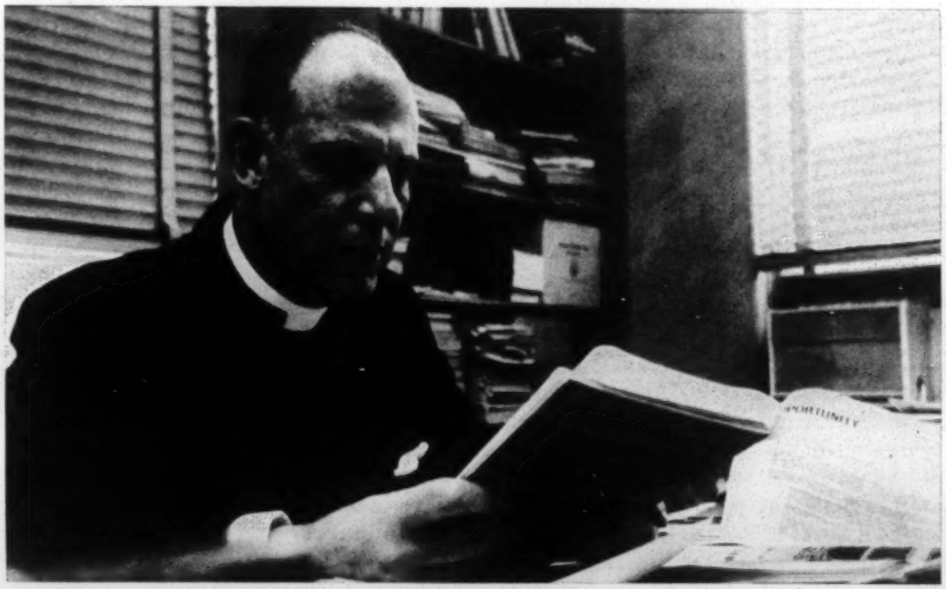
"We soon found our church resources insufficient to meet the needs of the community," says Bernard. "So we developed involvement of people because we couldn't do the projects any other way."

Five residents of the neighborhood served with five church members and five professional social workers in managing the center. Later, resident participation was increased to 10 members. Now it's 20.

One year ago, as he was searching for ways to expand the center's program despite the church's dwindling financial resources, Bernhard met Kotler at an Urban Training Center for Christian Mission in Chicago. He listened to Kotler explain the concept of "ward republics" and the wheels began to roll.

Kotler began putting the program on paper. Bernhard met with area leaders and sent them out to begin organizing their neighbors. He also called on civic leaders and professionals, like Bernard Wohl, director of Southside Settlement House, attorney White and others for support and advice. And he got it.

The church council, meantime, passed a resolution offering to turn over the service center and its programs to ECCO. "We realized," says council vice president Webb Taylor, "the financial limit to what the church itself could do with the center. This way we're giving the people an opportunity to help themselves. They are capable under some leadership."



Bernhard: "Incredible patience, tireless wrestling. . ."

What this means is that a three-story annex to the church, built in 1950, worth an estimated $300,000 plus furnishings, will be rented for $400 a month and totally utilized by the area residents except for church school activities. The church intends to return the rent to the neighborhood organization. It also means that the people, through their elected 21 community councilmen, will decide what programs to continue, which to expand, which to drop, and so on.

The present center director, D. Randolph Holland, until six months ago a social worker at the Columbus State School, may be out of a job if the council should decide to hire someone else to run activities. But he shrugs it off, because he believes in the concept of resident power and responsibility.

It would be a mistake, however, to

(Continued on next page)

ECCO continued

think of ECCO as an agency for running an established neighborhood center. It's much more.

"While the people have learned to think of the center as their own, and while it is a center for neighborhood activities, we are organizing to solve the problems of the community," explains Mrs. Love.

"We want self-government," says Rufus Linville, "the opportunity to handle our own problems. Under this program what money we get will be directly used by the people instead of winding up in some social worker's pocket downtown."

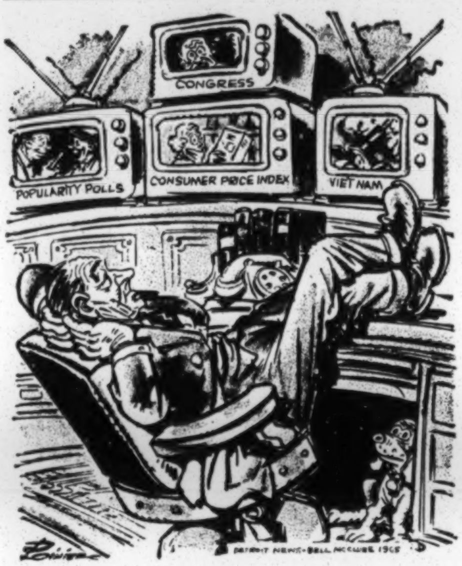
Among the three most prominent problems, say ECCO residents, are juvenile delinquency, unemployment and housing. They hope somehow to work on rehabilitation of housing by employing those who can do carpentry, painting and other work in the neighborhood. Already they're making progress on the delinquency problem.

Except for the center, the only recreational facility for youth in the 50-block ECCO neighborhood—Bryden Road, to Ohio Avenue, to Main Street, to Kimball Place and the expressway—is a roller skating rink at Mound and Eighteenth Streets. It has been a racial sore spot for years, with fistfights and near-riots commonplace. ECCO has a committee working to develop new facilities in an old armory nearby, and to promote integrated use of the rink and a supervisory program to head off trouble before it begins. Thus the people hope to defuse the bombshell.

"We feel the emerging neighborhood leadership has grasped hold of one of its hot spots," says Mrs. Love. "ECCO feels that with financial support, we can begin to attack and solve some of our basic problems."

Organization hasn't been wholly absent from the neighborhood in the past. For years, four block clubs have been striving, with minimal success, to get increased services from the city, such as trash collection, street lights, stop signs. When the new ECCO Council is elected, eight of the 21 members will be representatives from these clubs. The remainder will be elected at large.

An advisory board of civil leaders and professional social workers will be appointed to advise in the more technical areas of administration and fund-raising. (ECCO leaders hope to persuade local and national foundations to invest in their projects.)



—Poinier in The Detroit News

Four-screen operation

Ultimately that staff will consist of a paid director, a corporation counsel and a program director, plus a recorder, six corporation aides (neighborhood organizers), an office manager and secretarial and janitorial workers. Consultants will be hired as needed.

Council members are to be paid $1000 a year, the length of their elective terms.

Among the ideas for new programs to aid the ECCO community are the training of residents as teacher aides for an expanded retarded children class; a bigger legal services program; a health assistance project; child daycare services; experimental housing rehabilitation and redesign; a neighborhood zoo, and a small business investment center.

Before any of these projects get off the ground, of course, they have to be funded, and this is one of the rubs. While ECCO itself, as a demonstration project in neighborhood organization, went directly to Washington and didn't require approval by the Community Action Organization in Columbus, the specific projects it develops to fight poverty will need CAO approval.

This means ECCO's projects will be competing for funds with projects devised by the Columbus Community Action Organization; for example, CAO's seven neighborhood centers. More than a few poverty chieftains around town are concerned that ECCO, with friends in Washington and with its special status as a demonstration project, might siphon off money from the professionally-drawn poverty programs. Others are worried about the inefficiency of handling problems on such a narrow base when poverty is so widespread.

Some of the fears may be justified. The people lack administrative ability; there is still a high degree of lethargy among many in the ECCO neighborhood. Some Columbusites fear pressure, even demonstrations, if ECCO's people sense the strength of numbers their organization will give them.

The rise of new political strength is bound to have an effect on traditional ideas and attitudes, but ECCO's people reply that if this is what's needed to bring about change, so be it.

ECCO's success is by no means certain. Unless the communications are set up properly, unless the residents are faithfully represented on their own council and take an active part in choosing their leaders, ECCO could become a paper organization lacking even the professional know-how that regular programs can count upon.

But right now optimism is high.

"What makes this opportunity unique and highly promising," says Pastor Bernhard, "is the fact that the disadvantaged are in possession of power and therefore are free not only to hear but to express themselves without fear of retaliation or loss.

"One of the major problems of the disadvantaged is their alienation from the democratic process. Their powerlessness, their exclusion from access to power structures, their inability to make themselves heard, their complete isolation have rendered their participation in the democratic process largely futile and meaningless, and have made their withdrawal into subcultures a matter of survival.

"Suspicion, hopelessness, and the basic will to live in a hostile environment rather than lack of skill have alienated the disadvantaged from the life of our society and its dynamics. . . It requires not only new forms but incredible patience, tireless wrestling and relentless search for new points of contact to reestablish confidence."

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BY-LAWS FOR THE REGULATION (EXCEPT AS OTHERWISE PROVIDED BY STATUTE OR ITS ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION) OF EAST CENTRAL CITIZENS ORGANIZATION.

Revised March 1, 1966

ARTICLE I.

OFFICES

SECTION 1. PRINCIPAL OFFICE. The principal place for the transaction of business of the corporation is hereby fixed and located at Columbus, Ohio.

ARTICLE II

PURPOSES AND POLICY

SECTION 1. The purposes of the Corporation are set forth in the Articles of Incorporation, and among them is, "to put into action the goodwill of those who live and work" in the Neighborhood; the Corporation is founded on a confidence in the ability of the Neighborhood's residents and workers to act creatively in promoting their own welfare and happiness; and it aspires to be the effective servant of, by, and for all the citizens of the Neighborhood.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. ELIGIBILITY. The following are eligible to membership in the Corporation, according to the Articles of Incorporation: all residents of the Neighborhood sixteen years of age or over; all who have regular employment in the Neighborhood; all who are employed by the Corporation; all who support or participate in the activities of the Corporation; all who are duly elected by the Neighborhood Assembly, and all charter members.

A "resident" is hereby defined as one whose regular domicile is encompassed within the boundaries of the Neighborhood as hereinafter described.

"All those who have regular employment" applies to employers, workers and others who make their occupation within the Neighborhood, and who spend at least half their working hours therein.

"All who are employed by the Corporation" applies to those who regularly receive compensation for services regularly performed for the Corporation.

"All who support or participate in the activities of the Corporation" applies to those who render regular volunteer services to the Corporation, and who are so certified to the Secretary by the Executive Director.

To be eligible to be "duly elected," an applicant must have been nominated by at least three Members of the Executive Council and five other Members, and his name must have been posted at least ten days prior to a Regular or Annual Meeting of the Neighborhood Assembly, whereupon he may be elected into membership by a majority. of the Members present and voting. But there may be no more than 25 such Members elected in any one year, (excluding the election of Reinstated Members) and their numbers may at no time exceed ten percent of the total current membership of Corporation.

SECTION 2. BECOMING A MEMBER. The Executive Council Secretary shall prepare enumerated, standardized Roster Cards which shall elicit at least the following information of applicants:

--the date of application

--the basis of eligibility (residence, employment, participation or elected)

--the full name and address of the applicant, plus his business address if the basis for his eligibility is employment within the Neighborhood.

--an affirmance by the applicant that he is eligible for membership.

SECTION 3. ISSUING MEMBERSHIP CARDS. Upon receipt of the applicant's Roster Card, the Secretary shall cause to be sent to the applicant a Membership Card which shall contain at least the following information:

--the number of his Roster Card

--the applicant's name and address

-- the date

--the basis for his membership (resident, etc.)

Upon receipt of his Membership Card, the applicant shall be a member in good standing in the Corporation, subject to the conditions set forth below.

SECTION 4. THE SECRETARY'S DISCRETION. The Secretary shall have no discretion in making available Roster Cards, but shall accept all filled-out Roster Cards tendered him. Nor shall he have discretion, upon receipt of such Cards, in issuing Membership Cards to the applicants, except when he has reason to believe that the information provided on such Cards is erroneous, or that the information called for has not been completely furnished.

SECTION 5. REVIEW: An applicant who has been refused a Membership Card, may, upon written request, have the question of his membership decided on at the next Regular or Annual Meeting of the Neighborhood Assembly.

SECTION 6. PROOF OF MEMBERSHIP: The presiding officer of any component part of the Corporation, including that of the Neighborhood Assembly, may require proof of membership of members attending a meeting thereof: but identification other than Membership

Cards may suffice, and non-members may be permitted to attend such meetings, provided they sit apart from the members.

SECTION 7. TERMINATION OF MEMBERSHIP: A Member may voluntarily resign his Membership by so stating in a letter to the Secretary. Membership based on residence, or on the location of the Member's employment, or on employment by the Corporation, shall terminate unless otherwise ruled by the Executive Council. Upon the Member's moving his residence out of the Neighborhood, or upon his changing his locus of regular employment out of the Neighborhood, or, in the case of a non-resident employee of the Corporation, upon his ceasing to be an employee thereof, which ever is applicable. It shall be the duty of all Members to report to the Secretary, any change of address in their residence or employment, when either of these qualifies them to be Members, even when such changed address remains in the Neighborhood.

Membership based on participation in Corporation activities shall cease upon decertification by the Executive Director that such Members are active participants.

Membership based on election, including Reinstated Membership shall not cease except by voluntary resignation, as heretofore provided.

Executive Council Members shall be deemed Members of the Corporation during their term, anything in these By-Laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

SECTION 8: REINSTATED MEMBERSHIP: Anyone who has been a Member, but whose Membership has been terminated by the automatic provisions set forth in Section 8 above, may apply for Reinstated Membership by requesting Membership in the Corporation through the Secretary. The Secretary shall honor all such requests by posting the names of such persons at least ten days prior to the next Annual or Regular Meeting of the Assembly. At such meetings, it shall be a primary order of business to vote on such requests. Two minutes of time shall be given to speakers for, and two minutes to speakers against, electing such applicant to membership, unless the time limit is extended. After each such debate, the Assembly shall vote upon the application, and accept or reject it by majority vote of those present and voting. Members thus elected shall not be counted as "Elected Members" in tabulating the "25-per-year" or "10 percent" limitations provided for in Article III, Section 1 hereof.

SECTION 10. RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERSHIP;

All Members of the Corporation shall have the right to attend and to vote at meetings of the Assembly; to speak in debate; and to stand for election for membership in the Executive Council.

They shall also have the right to attend all meetings and functions of the component parts of the Corporation, including meetings of the Executive Council, unless the call for such meetings expressly limits attendance to certain individuals. At any meeting of the Executive Council, its committees, and other such meetings (not including the Neighborhood Club), the Member attending who is not a member of such Council or committee shall have no right to vote, speak, or post questions except as is granted by the presiding officer of the Committee.

Non-Members of the Corporation may be welcomed at any meeting of the Assembly of other component parts of the Corporation, at the discretion of the presiding officer and/or the members thereof. But they shall, if requested, sit apart from the members and take no part in such meeting, except upon request.

The rights of membership include the right of free speech, to question and freely criticize the Corporation, its appointed and elected officers and employees, its programs and its policies. But this right shall not transgress the right of the majority to work its will nor the right of the individual to be secure from abuse.

ARTICLE IV

THE NEIGHBORHOOD ASSEMBLY

SECTION 1: IN GENERAL: The powers of the Neighborhood Assembly, as stated in the Articles, shall be implemented in the manner set forth in the following sections.

SECTION 2: ORGANIZATION: The Neighborhood Assembly shall be conducted in the manner of a town meeting. The presiding officer shall be the Moderator. The rules of procedure shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order, (Revised), unless a more simplified manual of procedure is adopted and made generally available to the Members by the Moderator.

SECTION 3. THE MODERATOR: The Moderator shall chair all meetings of the Neighborhood Assembly. He shall be appointed by the Executive Council but not of its membership, for a term of one year. He shall be the parliamentarian of the Neighborhood Assembly, for which he should be qualified. It shall be his duty to impartially expedite and clarify debate and discussion, to the end that the Assembly may know its mind and work its will. He may, for this purpose, introduce privileged motions to limit, focus, table or otherwise structure debate and discussion.

SECTION 4. AGENDA: Prior to all Regular, Annual or Special Meetings of the Neighborhood Assembly, the Moderator shall consult with the Executive Council or whomever else calls the meeting, and establish an Agenda, outlining the matters that such calling party desires to be considered and acted on by the Neighborhood Assembly. The Agenda shall be transmitted to the Secretary who shall post it and shall, to the degree practical, include it on the notice of the meeting he sends to the Members. The Agenda should, as far as practical, harmonize with the order of business as set forth in the Rules of Order, of manual of procedure, governing the Neighborhood Assembly, but in case of conflict, the Agenda is to be followed. The Agenda must include, however, provisions for general discussion and debate on questions as to old business and new matters of Neighborhood concern in all Regular Meetings; those parties calling Annual and Special Meetings may include such a provision in their Agenda.

SECTION 5. COMMITTEES: The Executive Council or any staff officer or Member may recommend to the

Neighborhood Assembly the formation of a committee of the Assembly to assist the Assembly in better exercising its powers. The Moderator shall draft and post a Protocol , as a suggested manner by which such Members, staff officers or Council may effectively present such a recommendation to the Neighborhood Assembly, thereby facilitating the establishment of such committees.

SECTION 6. INVESTIGATIONS: The Neighborhood Assembly may establish committees to investigate both Neighborhood problems and Corporation programs. Such committees may hold hearings; but all such hearings must be open to the general public, and no Member, staff officer, Councilman or employee of the Corporation may be penalized by the Corporation for refusing to honor a request to testify at such hearings.

Investigation Committees must be of limited duration, not longer than sixty days, and limited to particularized matters of inquiry. At the conclusion of the time permitted for the investigation, each such committee must file a Report to the Neighborhood Assembly with the Secretary, who shall post it until the next Regular Meeting or any Meeting of the Neighborhood Assembly prior to the next Regular Meeting, in which the Agenda permits consideration of such a Report. The Report must state the committee's findings, all its sources of information, and its recommendations.

In the event that a Member, staff officer, Councilman or employee has reason to feel aggrieved by criticism directed towards him in the course of such an investigation, the committee shall inform the person thus criticized of the source and nature of the criticism, and he shall then be afforded an opportunity to reply to said criticism. A full summary of each such criticism and reply shall be included in the Report.

This section may not be amended except by a two-thirds vote of Members present and voting in the Neighborhood Assembly.

SECTION 7. THE SECRETARY: The Secretary of the Corporation shall be responsible for recording of all minutes at meetings of the Neighborhood Assembly, and shall post a summary of such minutes no later than 10 days after each such meeting.

SECTION 8. THE ANNUAL MEETING: The Neighborhood Assembly shall meet annually on January 20 of each year, or if that is a legal holiday, on some other proximate date chosen by the Executive Council. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to prepare the call for such meetings, setting forth the place, time and Agenda thereof, and notice of the meeting shall be sent to all Members by the Secretary at least ten days in advance.

The Agenda of the Annual Meeting shall consist of at least the following matters: a report by the Executive Council, on behalf of itself and the staff officers of the Corporation, reviewing the Corporation's activities of the past year; a comprehensive recommendation as to future Corporation programs and policies; and annual elections of Members of the Executive Council.

REGULAR MEETINGS: The Executive Council shall call one Regular Meeting on May 20 each year, or, if that falls on a legal holiday, or some other proximate date, at a designated time and place; notice thereof shall be sent to all members at least ten days in advance. The Agenda shall at least include a report by the Executive Council of all programs and policies initiated by it since it last made such a report to the Neighborhood Assembly. The Agenda shall also include provision for inquiries as to Corporation programs, activities of the Corporation and its staff officers, and an opportunity for the Neighborhood Assembly to authorize new programs and policies of the Corporation.

SPECIAL MEETINGS: A majority of the Executive Council may at any time call for a Special Meeting of the Neighborhood Assembly, the call for which shall include an Agenda particularizing the matters to be discussed and acted on. Notice of the meeting shall be sent by the Secretary to all Members at least four days in advance. The Agenda may limit the business of the meeting to the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting and the taking up of one other matter; but the Agenda may call for an open discussion of Corporation affairs, and may be patterned after the program of a Regular Meeting.

Twenty Members and three Members of the Executive Council may similarly call for a Special Meeting upon filing a petition with the Secretary. All the above regulations shall govern a Special Meeting thus called by petition.

SECTION 9. AUTHORIZATION OF OBJECTIVES OF PROGRAMS AND POLICIES:

The Neighborhood Assembly in Regular Meetings and in such other meetings that so permit, may adopt resolutions requiring the Executive Council to execute such program and policy objectives as the Neighborhood Assembly sees fit to promulgate. Such resolutions should simply state the objective desired and the general manner by which it wants the objective obtained. It shall remain the duty of the Executive Council to administer such resolutions in the best practical manner consistent with the stated objectives and methods.

The Moderator shall determine whether each such resolution posed conforms to these requirements.

SECTION 10. TERMINATION OF PREVIOUSLY INITIATED PROGRAMS:

At all Regular Meetings, and at all other meetings which so permit in their Agenda, the Neighborhood Assembly shall be informed by the Executive Council of all programs initiated since the last such report of the Executive Council. Upon hearing such reports, the Assembly may adopt a resolution to terminate any such program; a two-thirds majority of those present and voting shall be required to adopt such a resolution. This Section may not be amended except by a two-thirds vote of Members present and voting in the Neighborhood Assembly.

ARTICLE V

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1: MEMBERSHIP OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

There shall be twenty-one Members of the Executive Council, at least four of whom will be teenagers, who may be alternatively called Councilmen hereafter; two Representative Councilmen to represent each of four unincorporated Neighborhood Clubs existing within the Neighborhood; namely, Southside Cloverleaf, First, Blackburn, and Mid-East Neighborhood Clubs; and thirteen At-large Councilmen to represent the Neighborhood-at-large.

SECTION 2: ELIGIBILITY: All Members, and none others, shall be eligible to be elected to serve on the Executive Council.

SECTION 3: NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS: As to the selection of the eight Neighborhood Club Representative Councilmen, these shall be conducted in accordance to such rules and regulations as the aforementioned Clubs shall each decide; but the term of office of such Representative Councilmen shall be as herein set forth, and it shall be the duty of each of the aforementioned Clubs to conduct elections at the expiration of each designated term, which elections shall take place no later than January 31 of the appropriate year, and all such Representative Councilmen selected by the Neighborhood Clubs must have previously been Members of the Corporation.

Nominations At-large seats on the Executive Council shall be by petition; twenty signatures of Members, and name of the nominee shall constitute a petition. The Secretary shall receive and post any such petitions given him during a period thirty days before any election; petitions must be tendered to the Secretary at least 4 days prior to a meeting of the Neighborhood Assembly. Thereafter, no further nominations, including nominations from the floor, shall be in order unless the number of vacancies exceeds the number of nominees.

Elections at-large seats on the Executive Council shall take place at the time of the Annual Meeting, as hereinbefore provided. Each nominee may be permitted to speak in behalf of his own candidacy, or select such other or others to speak for him as he may choose. Each nominee may be permitted to speak at least once. The total speaking time allotted to each candidate may be limited in advance.

After the time for speeches has elapsed, balloting shall begin.

Ballots with names of nominees shall be distributed to qualified members as they register. A Member need not vote for as many nominees as there are spaces to be filled, but any ballot containing more votes than there are spaces shall be invalid. No votes for persons not duly nominated shall be counted. The Moderator shall then provide for the collection and the immediate tabulation of the ballots in such a way as to insure a fair and honest count. Upon completion of the tabulation, the Moderator shall announce the names of the winners; that is, the nominees receiving the highest numbers of votes, equal to the number of At-large seats vacant. In the event that, because of a tie or ties among the lowest ranking nominees of this list, more nominees are elected than there are seats open, there shall be an immediate run-off election between the nominees thus tied, to choose the appropriate number of At-large Councilmen from among them; if, for example, eleven people are clearly elected to fill thirteen seats, but for the final two seats there is a five-way tie, the run-off shall be between those five nominees to fill those two seats, in the same manner as above.

The persons thus elected shall be declared Members of the Executive Council, and shall immediately succeed their predecessors in office.

SECTION 4: ELECTING THE CHAIRMAN: The election of the Chairman of the Executive Council shall immediately follow the election of the At-large Councilmen. All such At-large Councilmen may be eligible for election to the Chairmanship, as may all Representative Councilmen who have been selected to represent their block clubs within the previous month; but of these, only those assenting to run for Chairmanship shall be nominees. Such nominees may speak in behalf of their own candidacy, or choose others to speak for them, for a predetermined, limited time. Balloting shall then be conducted as before, except that Members may vote for only one nominee. If any one nominee receives a majority of the votes on the first ballot, he shall be declared the winner. If none receives a majority, there shall be a run-off between the three nominees receiving the highest number of votes; and if none of these receives a majority, there shall be a final run-off between the nominees receiving the two highest number of votes. The Chairman thus elected shall immediately succeed his predecessor in office.

SECTION 5: TERMS OF OFFICE: Members of the Executive Council representing the Neighborhood Clubs shall serve from the date of their election to the date of the Neighborhood Assembly election in January of the following year. Similarly, At-large Members of the Executive Council shall serve one year terms.

SECTION 6: REGULAR MEETINGS: The Executive Council shall, in its first meeting after elections, determine a day in each of the forthcoming months on which to have regular monthly meetings, The schedule of such Regular Meetings shall be posted. If the Executive Council adopts a standard agenda to govern the order of business of its meetings, the posting of the Regular Meeting schedule shall alone suffice to serve notice on the Councilmen of each forthcoming Regular Meeting. If, however, no such standard agenda is adopted; or if the Chairman desires to alter the standard agenda for any forthcoming meeting; or if seven Councilmen want to so alter the standard agenda, and so inform the Chairman then the Chairman shall cause to be posted, and delivered to each of the Councilmen, an agenda (or revised agenda) for the forthcoming Regular Meeting, at least 24 hours prior to such meeting.

All Regular Meetings of the Executive Council governed by a standard agenda, requiring no special notice, shall be open to all Members of the Corporation, as provided in Article III, Section 10, above. All other Regular Meetings, governed by agenda posted and delivered to the Councilmen, shall also be open to all Members unless the agenda specifically excludes all but Councilmen or, in addition, certain named individuals, during part or all of the forthcoming meeting.

SECTION 7: SPECIAL MEETINGS: The Chairman, or any seven Councilmen, may at any time call a Special Meeting of the Executive Council. The agenda for a Special Meeting must be posted at least six hours before such a meeting, and all councilmen must be informed of the contents of the agenda, and the time and place of the meeting, at least six hours in advance. Good faith efforts by the Chairman or the Councilmen calling the Special Meeting to notify the other Councilmen of the meeting, by telephone or other appropriate means, shall serve as sufficient constructive notice to Councilmen not thereby notified and informed if, but only if, the Councilmen thus absent from the meeting later sign a written waiver of notice, or a consent to the holding of such meeting, or an approval of the minutes thereof. All such waivers, consents, or approvals shall be made a part of the minutes of the meeting.

All Special Meetings shall be open to Members of the Corporation, unless the posted agenda specifically limits attendance at the meeting to certain individuals, as stated in Article II, Section 10.

SECTION 8: VOTING: Voting on all resolutions and motions shall be by voice vote unless any Councilman demands a roll call vote of the Councilmen prior to the vote. No Councilman may vote or act by proxy in the Executive Council or any Committee thereof.

SECTION 9: QUORUM: The presence in person of the persons equivalent to a simple majority of the Members of the Executive Council at any meeting shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SECTION 10: ADJOURNED MEETINGS: Any regular, adjourned regular, special or adjourned special meeting, whether or not a quorum is present, may be adjourned to a time and place specified in the order of adjournment. Less than a quorum may adjourn from time to time. When a meeting is thus adjourned, the resulting adjourned meeting shall be governed by the agenda governing the previous meeting. The posted agenda of an adjourned meeting shall note the order of adjournment, and Councilmen absent from such adjourned meetings shall be notified of the order of adjournment in the manner set forth in Section 7 above.

SECTION 11: PROCEDURE: Subject to the limitations of the Articles of Incorporation, of these By-Laws, of Sections 1702.01 et seq., Revised Code of Ohio, or of Agenda governing Executive Council meetings, or procedures of the Executive Council shall be in accordance with Robert's Rules of Order, Revised, unless a more simplified manual of procedure is adopted by the Executive Council.

SECTION 12: COMMITTEES: The Executive Council shall have the power to designate, by majority vote of those Members present and voting, such standing, special, interim, and investigatory committees, to designate the numbers of Councilmen and others to serve on such committees, and to assign such matters to such committees and under such circumstances, as it deems appropriate. The Chairman shall appoint the Councilmen, one of whom shall be the chairman, and others to serve on each such designated committee, subject to the following conditions: at least two Councilmen shall serve on each such committee: no Councilman who has been appointed to serve on one committee may be appointed to serve on a second committee unless all Councilmen have been appointed to serve on at least one committee: similarly, no Councilman may be appointed to serve on a third or fourth committee unless all Councilmen have been appointed to serve on at least two or three committees respectively, and so on: there shall be exceptions to the above two clauses in that the Chairman or vice-chairman shall be an ex officio member of all committees, and Neighborhood Club Representatives shall automatically serve on committees designated as advisory or liaison committees to their respective Clubs without prejudice to the number of other committee assignments to which they are entitled.

The Executive Council shall have the power to prescribe the manner in which proceedings of the committees shall be conducted.

The Executive Council may delegate such powers as it possesses, subject to law, the Articles of Incorporation and the By-Laws, to any such committee, as provided in Article the Ninth, Section 7, of the Articles of Incorporation; but in the event any such committee votes to exercise such delegated powers over the opposition of one-half or more of the Councilmen serving on such committee, the Committee Chairman thereof shall so inform the Chairman, and the implementation of such a committee motion or resolution shall be put in abeyance for at least three business days pending Executive Council review. Failure of the Executive Council to meet and review such committee action shall be inferred as Executive Council approval thereof.

Should the Executive Council designate advisory or liaison committees to the Neighborhood Clubs, a majority of which committees consist of officers or Representatives of such Clubs, and should the Executive Council delegate any of its powers to such committees, such committees must exercise such powers subject to the three day review period described above.

SECTION 13: POWERS: The powers of the Exetutive Council shall be as set forth in the Articles of Incorporation and in these By-Laws.

SECTION 14: REMOVAL FROM OFFICE: Members of the Executive Council may be removed from office by the Neighborhood Assembly for cause, as provided in Article the Eighth, Section 2, of the Articles of Incorporation. "Cause" is hereby limited to the following offenses: conviction, in a court of law, of a felony after being elected to office: fiduciary irresponsibility regarding Corporation assets of such a nature as to deplete the Corporation's funds without express authorization either by the Executive Council or the Neighborhood Assembly, and to give the Neighborhood Assembly reason to believe that such unauthorized use of funds was made for the private benefit of the person so charged: or such a clear and purposeful dereliction of duty towards the responsibilities of office required by law, or the Articles of Incorporation, or by these By-Laws, or by a motion or resolution properly adopted by the Executive Council or by the Neighborhood Assembly, that the Corporation has been significantly thwarted or damaged in carrying out its lawful purposes. This section may not be amended except by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at a meeting of the Neighborhood Assembly, as regulated in these By-Laws.

SECTION 15. PROCEDURE FOR REMOVING A COUNCILMAN FROM OFFICE:

A petition signed by twenty members and five Members of the Executive Council calling for the removal of a member of the Executive Council shall be filed with the Secretary. Such petition must particularize the offense of the Councilman allegedly committed, and to this end, the Corporation Counsel must, if requested give legal counsel in drafting the petition. Upon receipt of such petition, the Secretary shall post it and cause copies thereof to be sent to all members of the Executive Council and all members of the Advisory Board. The Chairmen, or in the event that he is the Councilman thus charged, the Vice-Chairman shall meet promptly with the Advisory Board and set a date no earlier than fourteen days thereafter but no later than thirty days thereafter on which to hold a Special Meeting of the Neighborhood Assembly. The Advisory Board shall then meet separately with representatives of the complainants who signed the petition and with the Councilman thus charged and arrange for each side to be represented by counsel; but no such counsel may be a member of the Corporation. The Advisory Board shall further obtain the services of a member of the bench or bar in Ohio, not a Member of the Corporation, who shall do such independent fact finding prior to the Special Meeting as he deems advisable, and who shall preside over, and be the chief judicial officer at the Special Meeting. He, and he alone, may grant one postponement of the Special Meeting, but no more than one, not to exceed thirty days, to either party; and he shall, after notice of the Special Meeting has been sent out, consult with the attorneys for the complainants.

and the Councilman and establish such rules of procedure at the Special Meeting that he believes will fairly and effectively set forth the issues, the evidence and the contentions of both sides in the controversy.

At least ten days prior to the Special Meeting, the Secretary shall mail notice thereof to all the Members, particularizing the time and place of the Special Meeting, the purpose thereof, the particulars of the complaint, and the names,addresses and telephone numbers of the attorney for the complaintants, the attorney for the Councilman and the chief judicial officer. No other business shall be put on the agenda for such meeting.

The Special Meeting shall be opened by the Moderator who shall call for the reading of the minutes of the past meeting. He shall thereafter turn the meeting over to the chief judicial officer who shall explain the purpose of the meeting, and set forth the procedures decided on to govern said meeting, to the Members. The opposing parties shall thereafter present their views and evidence to the Members, as governed by the rules of procedure previously established, at the conclusion of which the chief judicial officer shall make such comments and recommendations to the Neighborhood Assembly as he sees fit. Thereafter, the Members present shall cast written votes, on ballots supplied by the

Moderator, to remove the Councilman from office or not to do so. The Moderator shall collect and tabulate the votes and announce the results. A two-thirds majority of those present and voting shall be necessary to thus remove the Councilman from office. Lacking such a majority, the Councilman may not again be subject to a vote to remove him from office upon the same charges during the remainder of his term in office, but shall continue therein until the expiration of his term. But a two-thirds majority to remove him having been obtained, he shall be declared no longer to hold office as Councilman as of that date.

If as many as a simple majority of the members present and voting, voted not to remove the Councilman from office, a motion to assign costs and attorneys fees, if there be any, to the complaintants may be in order. A simple majority may pass such a motion. These costs and fees shall only include those owing to the attorney representing the complainants' costs and fees, if there by any, owing to the attorney for the Councilman and to the Chief judicial officer shall be borne by the Corporation, as shall those owning to the complainants' attorney if a motion to assign such costs to the complainant is either not in order or not passed.

This Section may not be amended except by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting in the Neighborhood assembly.

SECTION 16. RESIGNATION: Any member of the Executive Council may resign at any time by giving written notice to the Executive Council. Any such resignation shall take effect at the date of the receipt of such notice, and the acceptance of such notice shall not be necessary to make it effective.

SECTION 17. VACANCIES: A vacancy in the Executive Council because of death, resignation, removal from office, or any other cause, shall be filled by affirmative majority vote of the then Members of the Executive Council, though not a quorum. Such appointments shall expire upon the holding of the next annual election

ARTICLE VI.

AMENDMENTS

SECTION 1. PETITION: Any committee of the Neighborhood Assembly, or the Executive Council, or any twenty Members, may file a petition with the Secretary requesting an amendment or amendments either to the Articles of Incorporation or to these By-Laws. The petition shall state the Articles and Sections sought to be changed, the language, if any, sought to be removed therefrom, and the language sought to be inserted therein. The petition may also set forth reason why such amendment or amendments is sought. The Secretary shall post such petition and, to the degree feasible, include its contents in the notice of the next Regular Meeting or Special Meeting including such business in its Agenda; but such notice must be given to the Members at least ten days in advance of such meeting.

SECTION 2. ADOPTING AMENDMENTS: All proposed amendments to the Articles of Incorporation or to these By-Laws properly brought before a meeting of the Neighborhood Assembly shall be discussed and disposed of in the manner called for in the Agenda or rules of procedure governing such meeting. A simple majority of those Members present and voting shall be required to amend these By-Laws; a two-thirds majority of those present and voting shall be required to amend the Articles of Incorporation. The Secretary shall duly file all such amendments of the Articles of Incorporation with the Secretary of the State of Ohio, as provided by law.

No amendment to these By-Laws which herein require a two-thirds vote shall be valid unless such a majority of those present and voting so amends the By-Laws.

ARTICLE VII: OFFICERS

SECTION 1. APPOINTMENT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OFFICERS, STAFF OFFICERS, AND SUBORDINATE OFFICERS: THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Executive Council shall appoint the officers of the Corporation, subject to applicable provisions in the Articles of Incorporation and the By-laws, and subject to the exercise of such authority as it vests in the Advisory Board.

There shall be two classes of officers, Executive Council Officers and Staff Officers. The Executive Council shall appoint, from its own members, (excluding the Chairman), the Treasurer, the Secretary and the Vice-Chairman, and such appointments shall be called Executive Council Officers. The Executive Council shall appoint such other full-time and part-time officers called Staff Officers, as they see fit, subject to the following provision: the Staff Officers shall at least include an Executive Director, a Program Director and a Corporation Counsel. Officers serving under Executive Council Officers and Staff Officers, may be appointed by such officers, as the Executive Council may authorize; but the Executive Director shall have the power without further authorization by the Executive Council to select personnel to fill such staff positions as are made available to him by the Executive Council.

SECTION 2. TERMS OF OFFICE.

The officers, except such officers as may be appointed in accordance with the provision of Section three of this Article, shall be chosen annually at the first meeting of the Executive Council after the Annual Meeting, and each shall hold his office for one year and until he shall resign or be removed from office or his successor shall be elected and qualified.

Officers chosen by the Executive Council or officers shall hold office for such period as the Executive Council or the duly authorized officer shall determine.

SECTION 3. REMOVAL AND RESIGNATION:

Any officer may be removed for cause by the Neighborhood Assembly in the manner set forth in Article V, Sections 14 and 15 hereof.

Any officer may resign at any time by giving written notice to the Chairman, or to the Executive Council, or to the Secretary. Any such resignation shall take effect at the date of the receipt of such notice or at any later time specified therein, or if the officer has a contract of employment with the Corporation such resignation shall take effect subject to the terms of said contract. The acceptance of all such resignations shall not be necessary to make them effective.

SECTION 4. VACANCIES: A vacancy in any office because of death, resignation, removal or any other cause shall be filled in the manner prescribed in these By-Laws for regular appointments to such office.

SECTION 5. THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman shall be the chief elected officer of the Corporation. He shall preside over all meetings of the Executive Council; appoint Councilmen to committees; and perform such duties, and exercise such powers, as are called for in the Articles of Incorporation, in these By-Laws, and, if not inconsistent with the Articles or the By-Laws, in motions and resolutions adopted by the Neighborhood Assembly and the Executive Council.

SECTION 6. VICE-CHAIRMAN: In the absence or disability of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman shall perform all the duties of the Chairman, and when so acting shall have all the powers of, and be subject to all the restrictions upon, the Chairman. The Vice-Chairman shall have such powers and perform such other duties as from time to time may be prescribed for him by the Executive Council or the By-Laws.

SECTION 7. SECRETARY. The Secretary shall keep or cause to be kept, at the principal office or such other place as the Executive Council may order a book of minutes of all meetings of the Executive Council, the Neighborhood Assembly, and committees thereof, with the time and place of holding, whether regular or special, and if special, how authorized and the proceedings thereof. The minutes of meetings of the Executive Council shall state the names of those present.

The Secretary shall give, or cause to be given, notice of all the meetings of the Executive Council and the Neighborhood Assembly required by law or the By-Laws to be given, and he shall keep the seal of the corporation in safe custody, and shall have such other powers and perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Council or by the By-Laws.

SECTION 8. TREASURER. The Treasurer shall keep and maintain, or cause to be kept and maintained, adequate and correct accounts of the properties and business transactions of the Corporation, liabilities, receipts, disbursements, gains, losses, capital and surplus. The books of account shall at all reasonable times be open to inspection by any Councilman.

The Treasurer shall deposit all moneys and other valuables in the name and to the credit of the Corporation with such depositories as may be designated by the Executive Council. He shall disburse the funds of the Corporation as may be ordered by the Executive Council, shall render to the Chairman and Councilmen, whenever they request it, an account of all his transactions as Treasurer and of the financial conditions of the Corporation, and shall have such other powers and perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the By-Laws.

SECTION 9. THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. The Executive Director shall be the chief administrative officer of the Corporation, and subject to powers vested in others by the Articles of Incorporation, or by the By-Laws, and subject to the control of the Executive Council, he shall have general supervision, direction and control of the business and officers of the Corporation. He shall from time to time make such reports to the Executive Council as it may desire.

ARTICLE VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. INSPECTION OF CORPORATE RECORDS. The books of account, minutes of proceedings of the Executive Council and the Neighborhood Assembly and of committees thereof shall be open to inspection at any reasonable time by any Councilman or Member upon request in writing presented to the Chairman or Secretary. Such inspection may be made in person or by an agent or attorney, and shall include the right to make extracts.

SECTION 2. CHECKS, DRAFTS, ETC. All checks, drafts, or other orders for payment of money, notes, or other evidence of indebtedness, issued in the name of or payable to the Corporation, shall be signed or endorsed by such person or persons and in such a manner as, from time to time, shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SECTION 3. CONTRACT, ETC., HOW EXECUTED.

The Executive Council, except as otherwise provided in the By-Laws, may authorize any officer or officers, or agent or agents, to enter into any contract or execute any instrument in the name of and on behalf of the Corporation, and such authority may be general or confined to specific instances; and, unless so authorized by the Executive Council, no officer, agent, or employee shall have any power or authority to bind the Corporation by any contract or engagement or to pledge its credit or to render it liable for any purpose or to any amount.

SECTION 4. CONSTRUCTION AND DEFINITIONS.

Unless the context otherwise requires, the general provisions, rules of construction, and definitions contained in Section 1701.01 et seq., Revised Code of Ohio, shall govern the construction of these

By-Laws. Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, the masculine gender includes the feminine and neuter, the singular includes the plural and the plural number includes the singular, and the term "person" includes a Corporation as well as a natural person.

SECTION 5. THE ADVISORY COUNCIL: The Executive Council shall adopt a code of regulations governing the powers, duties and regulations of the Advisory Council. Such code shall be adopted and amended by a majority of The Executive Council.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

OF

EAST CENTRAL CITIZENS ORGANIZATION (ECCO)

The undersigned, a majority of whom are citizens of the United States, desiring to form a corporation, not for profit, under Sections 107.01 et seq., Revised Code of Ohio, do hereby certify:

FIRST. The name of said corporation shall be EAST CENTRAL CITIZENS ORGANIZATION (ECCO).

SECOND. The place in Ohio where the principal office of the corporation is to be located is Columbus, Franklin County.

THIRD. The purposes for which said corporation is formed are:

To operate exclusively for charitable, scientific and educational purposes.

To put into action the good will of those who live and work in the Neighborhood.

To assist public and private agencies which seek to promote the welfare of the Neighborhood and its inhabitants.

To expand opportunities for, and benefits from, good education, good health, safety, human rights economic security and democratic self-government among the Members of the Corporation.

FOURTH. The Corporation shall have power to exercise power or authority granted to it under Sections 1702.01 et seq., Revised Code of Ohio, or otherwise, including but not limited to the power to accept donations of money or property, whether real or personal, or any interest therein, wherever situated.

FIFTH. In all events and under all circumstances, and notwithstanding merger, consolidation, reorganization, termination, dissolution, or winding up of this Corporation, voluntary or involuntary or by operation of law, or any other provisions hereof, the following provisions shall apply:

Section 1. This Corporation shall not have or exercise any power or authority either expressly, by interpretation or by operation of law, nor shall it directly or indirectly engage in any activity, that would prevent this Corporation from qualifying (and continuing to qualify) as a corporation described in Section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, contributions to which are deductible for federal income tax purposes.

Section 2. No substantial part of the activities of this Corporation shall consist of carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation; nor shall it in any manner or to any extent participate in or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office; nor shall it engage in any activities that are unlawful under the laws of the United States of America, or Ohio, or any other jurisdiction where such activities are carried on; nor shall it engage in any transaction defined at the time as "prohibited" under Section 503 of the said Code.

Section 3. This Corporation shall never be operated for the primary purpose of carrying on a trade or business for profit. Neither the whole, nor any part or portion, of the assets or net earnings of this Corporation shall be used, nor shall this Corporation ever be organized or operated, for purposes that are not exclusively charitable, scientific, or educational within the meaning of Section 501(c)(3) of the Code.

Section 4. No compensation of payment shall ever be paid or made to any officer, director, trustee, creator, or organizer of this Corporation, or substantial contributor to it, except as a reasonable allowance for actual expenditures or services actually made or rendered to or for this Corporation; and neither the whole nor any part or portion of the assets or net earnings, current or accumulated, of this Corporation shall ever be distributed to or divided among any such person; provided, further, that neither the whole nor any part or portion of such assets or net earnings shall ever be used for, accrue to, or inure to the benefit of any member or private individual within the meaning of Section 501(c)(3) of the Code.

Section 5. In the event of termination, dissolution or winding up of this Corporation in any manner or for any reason whatsoever, its remaining assets, if any, shall be distributed to (and only to) one or more organizations described in Section 501(c)(3) of the Code.

Section 6. Any references herein to any provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 shall be deemed to mean such provision as now or hereafter existing, amended, supplemented, or superseded, as the case may be.

Section 7. The private property of the members of The Executive Council, and officers of the Corporation shall not be subject to payment of corporate debts to any extent whatsoever.

SIXTH. Section 1. Articles Eight through Ten hereof shall come into effect March 1, 1966; provided that such Articles may become effective prior to March 1, 1966 by amendment to these Articles duly filed with the Secretary of State of Ohio.

Section 2. Prior to the effective date of Articles Eight through Ten hereof the powers of the Corporation shall be vested in the Board of Trustees of the Corporation, hereinafter called the Executive Council, consisting initially of persons with the following names and address:

Wilbur Taylor	2277 Nayland Road	Columbus, Ohio
Clifford Tyree	1066 Lilley Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Samuel Daykin	6560 Worthington-Galena Road	Columbus, Ohio
Leopold Bernhard	305 Cassady Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Linwood Walker	1430 Bryden Road	Columbus, Ohio
Howard Spiller	211 South Wayne Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Rufus Linville	427 S. 17th Street	Columbus, Ohio
Herbert Docken	2071 Argyle Drive	Columbus, Ohio
Helen Bowers	707 Sheridan	Columbus, Ohio
LaVerne Love	823 E. Mound Street	Columbus, Ohio
Milo M. Billman	386 Berkeley Road	Columbus, Ohio
Hilda Ellison	1080 McAllister Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Myrtle Haynes	953 E. Rich Street	Columbus, Ohio
Willis Whaley	739 E. Mount Street	Columbus, Ohio

Section 3. Any vacancies in the Executive Council prior to the adoption of Articles Eight through Ten hereof shall be filled by affirmative majority vote of the then members of the Executive Council.

SEVENTH. Section 1. Eligibility for membership in the Corporation shall extend to all residents 16 years of age or over in an area bounded by: West-Parsons Avenue; North-Bryden Road to Ohio Avenue to Main Street to Kimball Place Avenue; East- Kimball Place Avenue, and South - the east expressway, herein called the Neighborhood; to all who have regular employment in the Neighborhood or are employed by the Corporation; and to all others who support or participate in the activities of the Corporation or who are duly elected by the Neighborhood Assembly; all as provided for more specifically in the By-Laws.

Section 2. All those eligible for membership who have signed the Roster, and who have met such other conditions of membership as are provided in the By-Laws, shall be Members of the Corporation.

Section 3. The rights and privileges of membership shall be as set forth herein and in the By-Laws.

EIGHTH. Section 1. The Neighborhood Assembly shall consist of all Members of the Corporation.

Section 2. Consistent with the purposes of the Corporation, the powers of the Neighborhood Assembly shall include the power to investigate the problems and needs of the Neighborhood; to examine and evaluate the programs of the Corporation; to bring before its Members all matters of general concern; to debate various proposals put forth to promote the best interest of the Neighborhood; to adopt resolutions expressing the sense of the Assembly on topics of Neighborhood interest and concern; to elect the members of the Executive Council and the Chairman thereof from such members; to enlarge but not diminish the area of the Neighborhood; to authorize the objectives of policies and programs of the Corporation; to fix reasonable rates of compensation for attendance at meetings of the Assembly; to terminate programs previously initiated by the Executive Council; to adopt and amend the By-Laws; to amend the Articles of Incorporation; and to remove from office any member of the Executive Council, the Executive Director, or any other officer of the Corporation, for cause.

Section 3. The powers of the Neighborhood Assembly shall be exercised in accordance with procedures set forth in the By-Laws.

Section 4. In every instance, a majority of those present and voting shall be required to exercise the powers of the

Neighborhood Assembly; provided, however, that in votes to amend the Articles of Incorporation, to remove a person from office, or to reinstate rates of compensation for attendance at meetings of the Neighborhood Assembly disapproved by the Executive Council, a two-thirds majority of those present and voting shall be necessary and notice of the impending vote shall have been given to all Members at least 10 days prior to such voting; and provided further that in the event the By-Laws provide for amendments thereof by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting, such provision shall govern.

Section 5. The Assembly shall meet at least annually and shall hold such special meetings as are called by the Executive Council, or by the Members of the Corporation, as provided in the By-Laws. Notice to all Members shall be given at least ten days prior to all meetings. Ten percent of all Members shall constitute a quorum unless a larger quorum is called for in the By-Laws. If no quorum is present at any meeting discussion and debate may be allowed and advisory resolutions voted on, but no act binding on the Corporation or on its Members may be passed, and all business, including elections, shall be held over until the next meeting, with Council members continuing in office.

Section 6. Whenever notice is required hereunder, it shall be given in the manner set forth in the By-Laws.

NINTH. Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of at least 10, but not more than 30, Members of the Corporation elected by the Neighborhood Assembly as provided in the By-Laws.

Section 2. The President of the Executive Council shall be selected by such procedures as are set forth in the By-Laws. It shall thereafter meet from time to time at the call of the President, or upon the written request of one-third of its members, provided all members have been notified.

Section 3. Any vacancies in the Executive Council shall be filled as provided in the By-Laws.

Section 4. Consistent with the purposes of the Corporation, the powers of the Exetutive Council shall include the power to represent the Corporation in all matters; to make investigations to perform the ongoing administration of the Corporation; to initiate programs and policies, and to execute programs and policies authorized by the Neighborhood Assembly; to fix reasonable rates of compensation for attendance of meetings of the Executive Council and for such other duties as members of the Council shall perform; to fix reasonable rates of compensation for the Executive Director and other officers, employees, and consultants of the Corporation; to disapprove rates of compensation for attendance at meetings of the Neighborhood Assembly subject to reinstatement of such rates by a two-thirds majority of the Neighborhood Assembly as provided in Article Eight, Section 4, hereof; to appoint the officers of the Corporation, including, but not limited to, the Executive Director, the Secretary, the Corporation Counsel, and the Treasurer;

and to exercise all powers vested in the Corporation by Article 4 hereof to the extent such powers have not been granted to the Neighborhood Assembly and to the Executive Director by Articles 8 and 10 hereof, respectively.

Section 5. The Executive Council may appoint an Advisory Council of such membership and for such terms and to render such advice as the Executive Council shall determine.

Section 6. The Executive Council may appoint standing and special committees, on each of which at least two Council members shall serve. The Council may appoint others to these committees, not limited to Members of the Corporation.

Section 7. The Executive Council may delegate its powers, or any of them, to the Executive Director, to any other officer of the Corporation or to any committee appointed under Section 6 of this Article; provided it shall have veto power over any committee action of policy, shall have the right to review the exercise of all delegated powers and to revoke powers previously delegated.

Section 8. The Executive Council shall report at least annually to the Neighborhood Assembly on the affairs of the Corporation.

Section 9. The Executive Council shall submit the Articles of Incorporation for reconsideration and reapproval by the Neighborhood Assembly at least once every four years; provided that such Articles shall continue in full force and effect unless and until amended by two-thirds vote of the members of the Neighborhood Assembly present and voting, as provided in Article Eight, Section 4, hereof.

COMMUNITY FOUNDATION
MEMORANDUM # 1

FROM: MILTON KOTLER

SUBJECT: COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AS POLITICAL GOVERNMENT: FROM PARISH TO NEIGHBORHOOD FOUNDATION

I. The Assumption underlying community organization.
Strong attention has been given to "community organization" as a major instrument for combating urban poverty. Its supporting argument follows:

A. Poverty rests on:

1. an absence of jobs

2. an absence of the requisites of employment -- training

    a. motivation
    (That is to say, there are available jobs for which the poor are not trained. Their training is impeded by lack of work and achievement motivation.)

B. This dimunition of jobs and absence of motivation for training to fill existing job demands is related to the widespread powerlessness of urban dissociation among the poor and the frustration and hopelessness of their alienation.

C. It is essential to combat alienation and develop urban community through community organization for the following reasons related to A (1) and (2) above.

1. Community organization can create new political pressures for more jobs and better conditions of welfare and social life.

2. New community through community organization can restore social health and spirit among the poor to motivate them for training and job aspiration, to fill existing and expanding job demands.
(Thus, new community among the poor is important for objective reasons (jobs) and subjective reasons (spirit and motivation)).

D. Such urban community must be "of the people." It cannot be created from top, but must reflect and express the people and the reality of their condition.

II. The contradiction of community organization

It is essential to relate this logic of community organization to its current approaches as seen in UPO and the Gray Areas projects.

The general form of community organization developed to date is the following. Foundations and government organize the different existing internal institutions (e.g. neighborhood, churches, business associations, political action groups, charities, settlement houses, etc.) of the lower-class neighborhood into a united organization. The thinking is that since such institutions represent the people, their united organization will strengthen the popular basis of neighborhood, -- such an organizational method can lead to real popular community, which can both express the people, mobilize expression and organize their interests and power effectively.

There may be a contradiction in this argument. While on the one hand, the alienation of the urban impoverished is accepted; on the other hand, the existing neighborhood groups and organization are considered as "popular" bodies.

My point is that these neighborhood organizations or institutions cannot be presumed to be "popular" or "representative". The very disorganization of lower-class neighborhood, means the absence of real "communal" institutions truly reflecting the people. Indeed, I would rather suggest that these existing neighborhood organizations (which the united planning organization uses as a representative body), instead represent "outside" middle-class interests which play their role in the lower class community for the sake of their own interest,--whether redemption or social control, etc.

The problem of the current model of community organization rests on the possible fallacy of "existing-in-the-neighborhood" organizations as really being the "representative" and popular organizations of the people in the neighborhoods. If this is not the case, then these groups in a united body for community organization (which though inside the neighborhood really represent the "outside") cannot serve to politicize, communalize and motivate the lower-class neighborhood people. It is no popular structure for building community and effectively combating poverty.

III. Community organization "By the People"

Let's start from the beginning. The crucial question in promoting community organization is this: what is the "representative" body of the neighborhood,- that is, what group can express the people, and get the people to express themselves? The only real answer may be that only the people of the neighborhood can reveal this body. It may be the delinquent gang leader more than the preacher; it may be the old solitary negro unemployed sage, who has watched the passage of things and time, more than the businessman's association. The point is that the carriers of the people's feelings and interests and views in the lower-class community may not be group organization, but persons "who have been around a long time," who have the hearts and carry the trust of the people, etc.

If it is the representatives of the people we want to find, and their representative body, then we must go to the people. One traditional, and it seems in this case appropriate method, is the vote of the people of the neighborhood for their own representatives. (Nor need voting by the middle-class method necessarily fit the lower class community. Voting publicly or by assembly and acclamation as among the ancient plebs, might be a better method. In lower class communites, the representatives may be a source of strength that can only be determined by public communion and acclamation rather than the secret, individual voting of the middle class who have internalized social interest structures.)

The point here is that the proper instrument or structure for the organization of lower class true community along real lines of popular value and need is popular election. (We leave aside what the unit of elector or type of vote should be.)

IV. The Community Foundation

The Community Foundation is here suggested as a model for the organization of the urban neighborhood into effective and vital communities. While suggested in connection with lower class communities, the structure is applicable to all urban neighborhoods that have community aspirations, or "natural" proclivities to community.

The Foundation, as a tax-exempt legal, corporate structure is appropriate for use as the structural instrument for community organization.

A. Neighborhoods can incorporate themselves as foundations devoted to the support of public projects within the neighborhood.

B. The people living within the community can elect a board of x number of trustees, who carry out the decisions of the foundation in what projects to undertake and how to do it.

1. Suffrage can be universal. The Foundation may decide its own age qualifications for voting and office nomination and election can be by functional groups, sex, age, group, etc.; or it may be general.

2. The x number of elected trustees can serve for any constituted term; they in turn, can elect an executive committee among themselves. Or a method of such direct election can be developed.

C. Any and all residents of the neighborhood can contribute tax-exempt money or donation to the neighborhood foundation. A tax-exempt contribution of any amount decided among the corporate residents can be the prerequisite of suffrage. Thus all the residents of the neighborhood can contribute to its "treasury",the monies of which will be used for neighborhood community projects. Though this is not an autonomous "tax" system, it can still build a treasury. Historically, contribution pre-dates assessment as a method of communal funding.

D. The salaried board can then get tax-exempt matching funds from other sources, -- government, foundations, private industry and individuals, etc., for support of its projects.

E. The initiation of projects and their administration under this method will be subject through election to the review and judgment of all the residents of the neighborhood community, acting through its corporate government.

By this method of organization, projects will be subject to popular rule and approval. The community populace can democratically decide its own projects and thereupon seek financial assistance. Conversely, grants offered from the "outside" for particular programs cannot be imposed, but must be accepted by people through their foundation government.

F. What the instrument of foundation structure results in is in effect, - a democratic government. It is based on money and political power. Furthermore, it is likely that a political party structure will develop. The basis of money salaried office and power over projects and activities is present. The importance of this development is evident for the lower class community in training it to better handle and promote its interests politically in the larger political context of city, state, and national government. Further, it is hoped that the development of two party system at the local, or neighborhood community level, will promote the redevelopment of a two-party system in our city government.

V. The Strategy for Developing the Community Foundation

It is evident that such a structure of organization as the Community Foundation would be viewed as a threat, if seen in its ramifications, to the larger political organizations as well as to established "external" interests and organizations operating in lower-class communities. The problem of promoting, or working toward this kind of structure then becomes one of step-by-step planning and development. A groundwork must be laid which would lead or promote the fulfillment of the Foundation structure.

The following steps in a strategy of creating the Community Foundation are suggested by one general approach.

A. In X neighborhood in Y city, the community organization may begin under a "UPO" type method, that is, uniting the so-called represenative institutions in the neighborhood or area into a unified body. The government and the foundations that is, funding sources, would deal with this body and its staff. Thus it is possible to start with a typical safe beginning.

B. Then it can be suggested that the residents should AS A SHOW OF SELF-HELP contribute a donation to the joint or united organization. This program would be welcomed since it fits into the American Way. Further, communal contribution is familiar to the lower-class community, particularly through church donations. Thus the church might be asked to get donations from all directly to the United Community organization.

C. The next stage would be the popular demand that since all the residents are contributing donations, they would also "SIT-IN" on the deliberations or decisions. The model of their demand may be the CONSUMER interest argument. At first they can ask for an OBSERVER role for their representatives.

1. At first, the resident or citizen representatives need not be elected. That might appear as too dangerous a precedent. They might instead be appointed by some of the more popular organizations, in the neighborhood drawn by lot, etc.

2. This selection method would soon, by protest of inadequacy or being non-democratic, be replaced by an elective method of "citizen" observers.

D. The next stage can be the protest of the citizen group for more capacity than merely observation,--for participation in the decisions or right of advice to the United Organizations Planning Body. The basis of disagreement between the elected or citizen group, and the governing united organizations' body, goes back to the supposition that the "existing" organizations may not be representative of the real community in its desires or at least not as representative as the elected citizen group.

At this point the battle will be between the United Organizations goup and the democratically elected citizen's group for joint rule with the funding sources (federal government or private foundations).

The victory will go to the citizen's group for political reasons. Since they represent the Votes in municipal, state, and federal elections; and thus possibly more electoral power than the institutional organizations in the lower class community. The weight of political support may go to the Citizen's group to run the community organization.

E. At this point of ascendency, the citizen group will establish the COMMUNITY FOUNDATION, - write its corporate charter, laws and by-laws, and submit it to the community for referendum. The funding sources, government and private foundations, will help the elected citizen body to write the Community Foundation Charter. The local structure of the community organization at this point will favor the FOUNDATION form in order to operate in the same way and under the same benefits as the preceding united community organization group. Thus, the further ramifications of what the Foundation structure can yield in terms of political government and economic power are hidden by the "naturalness" of this corporate form. Its use of the foundation form will seem instead a status quo endeavor to preserve existing conditions and benefits of operations, rather than as a sign of desire for new and broader community powers.

In addition, the funding source, for example the Ford Foundation of federal government will view the new citizen rule and foundation structure as favorable, since it contains a basis for collecting community money and matching their contributions from a variety of other sources. Thereby they will see a clear way of eventually moving out, while the community foundation can continue the work with its own new basis of support. In this behalf the already instituted method of universal tax-exempt donations by all the residents will have shown good example of popular support and commitment.

F. Beyond this point the Community Foundation can develop politically as well as economically.

1. Politically it can develop a party structure to vitalize democratic and responsible community government action.

2. Economically, it can develop tax-free profit enterprises to build the communal "treasury," as well as create salaried employment for its residents.

Thus the Foundation structure can build real political community and real political government at the local neighborhood, or urban community level. A new level of local government can be established, as it must if democracy is to adapt to modern urban society. The neighborhood government, through the Community Foundation will be small enough for political life and important enough to make its participation satisfying and relevant, -- particularly since its decision will intimately affect the everyday living conditions and activities of the citizens.

This eventual new level of government will attempt to keep government close to the people, in a highly organizational society. This new political community and government will create numerous new political roles for our expanding population of the leisured (employed or unemployed).

Maintaining the pervasiveness of relevant political roles is a democratic necessity. And the urban community, based on its Foundation government indeed serves this function. It is such a development as this which is necessary for the flowering of public life and healthy social life through the possibility it creates for expanding public service for real purposes and objectives. In our new, emerging society, neither "private" occupation, nor consumption are any longer totally sufficient ground for personal reward in life. A new foundation of social status must be public service and performance, - truly the growing area in which men can distinguish themselves and prove their value. And the resurrection of truly local government through the Community Foundation can now do what once the parish and town governments formerly did. It can create new purposes which all men can serve and the new roles for such service.

COMMUNITY FOUNDATION
MEMORANDUM # 2

FROM: MILTON KOTLER

SUBJECT: ASPECTS OF THE ENGLISH PARISH RELEVANT TO THE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION

1. In the 16th & 17th centuries the parish was the basic unit of the English political structure. Originally an ecclesiastical unit it became, as the result of Tudor legislation, not less political than ecclesiastical. There were more than 8,000 parishes in England. The parish was built around the church. We might view the Community Foundation as being built around "the Community House" (not to be confused with the Settlement House). Just as the parish was responsible for the upkeep of the church, so too will the Community Foundation maintain and administer the Community House as the center of all community projects and activities.*

2. The boundaries of the parish were annually "peramublated" at Rogation Tide. The elders led in this procession because of their memory of the parish boundaries. Young boys walked with them to learn these boundaries. Today the procession in the urban Community Foundation might well take the reverse order. The adolescents of today demonstrate greater knowledge and commitment to neighborhood boundaries, through standards of club or gang memerships and organization, as well as gang fights over "territory."

3. The parish was a legally corporate body. It could sue and be sued for moveable goods. So too with the Community Foundation. As a corporate body, it has use and rights over the things it owns. It can use the adjudication and enforcement of city and state government to establish its power.

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* Could the Community House play a sufficient role to involve and focus the participation of all? Indeed, for what value as compelling as salvation? I argue yes. Its goal can be the compact of generations, and the shared values of the young and old. The war of generations is a major, if not the major conflict, in urban society today. Cultural unity and new tradition could be the community goal warranting the political organization operating through the institutional framework of education. The Community House proposed here as the center of the Community Foundation, would be an educational structure much fuller than our present and familiar education systems. More on this in a later memorandum.

4. With the Reformation, the parish came into possession of much property formerly owned by the church. The rents and fees accruing from this property was a major source of income to the parish government. By analogy, I think the Community Foundation could likely come into possession of property appropriated "for neglect" by the slum landlords. The rent strikes seek such transfer and indeed such a source of deposit. The Community Foundation can operate this property for public, community purposes or use it as a source of revenue through rents or fees.

Further, as a legal corporate body, the Foundation can come into possession of property through wills. As a matter of fact, many cities have a municipal trust serving this purpose (e.g. the Chicago Trust). Why not the same capacity for neighborhood communities? Possession through wills was a major method of property acquisition for the parish.

5. The parish, through the churchwardens administered laws about the poor and apprentices. This later function emerged because of the heavy bastardy in the parish. Supporting illegitimate children led to the obvious role of finding them employment through apprenticeships. The Community Foundation in the urban setting would be an interesting structure through which to work out apprentice programs for its member residents.

6. Related to the preceeding item is another feature in the Community Foundation. Under Elizabeth I, the monies of the parish were gained through donations and economic enterprises. (It was not until later, I believe James I, that this proved inadequate and the parish was forced to make assessments, - a taxation system.) A major form of income for the parish was derived from the brewing of beer, renting of pews, etc. Similarly the Community Foundation can establish various businesses in the community e.g. laundries, restaurants, movie houses, etc. Not only is this a way for the Community Foundation to get tax-exempt money through community type activities, but it is also a way to employ people in the community with salaries and build the community treasury for investment, matching and public use.

7. We might think of creating a public role in the Community Foundation similar to the role played by the Justice of the Peace and jury in the parish. It would be important to develop some kind of legal system for the neighborhood community foundation, to check and insure the responsibility and proprieties of Foundation officials, i.e. the Trustees and other salaried functionaries.

8. It is interesting to note that the English parishes used to help out one another. If one parish had a serious fire, other parishes would vote public funds to help the stricken parish. Wealthy parishes generally supported poor ones; as well as the Virginia plantations in the new world. Appropo, community foundations in middle-class neighborhoods could help lower-class community foundations. Sister-community relationships might be established.

9. If we think about it there are probably numerous community functions (public roles and functions) which the Community Foundations could create. I think of the parish which paid people to perform such functions as: (2) shepherd caring for the sheep in the Commons; (b) swineherds looking after the pigs in the woods; (c) poundkeepers gathering up stray animals; and above all (d) the dograppers who kept the dogs out of church, etc. These were all legitimate employment and functions. In addition, the parish gave bounties for certain occasional activities, such as killing foxes, polecats and sparrows. There are probably endless analogies that could be developed in the neighborhood community, once regarded as political communities, as thus subject to "social" and "political", if not "natural" dangers. For example, one has only to look at the city political patronage jobs to find the far limits of functional obscurity, with no cost to their personal dignity, at that.

The next memorandum will deal with the colonial corporation in America and the influence of its form on our political government.

MISCELLANEOUS

The middle class property protective associations should be studied as corporate structures for Community activity. Can their function and structure be shifted to more "generous" alternatives, - from property protection to new and communally shared property use.

COMMUNITY FOUNDATION
MEMORANDUM # 3

FROM: MILTON KOTLER

SUBJECT: FROM COLONIAL COMPANY TO COMMUNITY FOUNDATION: THE CORPORATE BASIS OF GOVERNMENT

A major step in the development of colonial government was the transfer of the corporation charter of the Company of Massachusetts Bay from London to America. This fact brought the government of the company to the body of shareholders holding ultimate authority. This transfer enabled the practical participation of the membership in the government of the company.

While authority to make and establish "all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders and ordinances" was bestowed upon the company, officers of the corporation, - governor, deputy-governor, and 18 assistants, (the president, vice-president, and board of directors in the modern corporation), were assigned the duty of caring for the general interests of the company. Main authority was in the members (shareholders) of the company meeting four times a year in a "general court." At first, the company was governed by the officers, who composed the general court as well. The major break came with the increase in membership. In 1634 certain freemen (non-officer shareholders) who were deputed "to meet and consider of such matters as they were to take order in at the same general court", desired to see the charter. There they found that the laws should be made by the general court, that is, the main body of freemen meeting together.* Later that year the officers and freemen met together in a general court to enact legislation. It was decided thereafter that the general court be composed of "deputies" chosen by the freeman of every plantation. Thus a representative body emerged in this gathering of deputies. The subsequent dispute between the deputy body and the governor and assistants of the corporation, and its institutional accommodation was a major source of the development of the bicameral system.

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* McLaughlin argues that political liberty must be seen as having its "positive" source in the corporate granting of ultimate authority to the memberships of the company, i.e. the freemen. Liberty was a demand for a legal right under the charter of the corporation, fulfilling itself institutionally through a representative system. This historic argument by McLaughlin is an important criticism to the "natural law" basis of liberty.

As early as 1634, the freemen had begun to think of themselves as citizens in a commonwealth; for the enlargement of the company membership and other influences probably marked for them, the silent transformation of the technically legal system of the corporation into something more; it marked the fact of the public character of the commonwealth. What began as an economic enterprise became a political government.*

Charles Francis Adams argued this case of transformation in his historical studies seeking to establish the "charter origin of the New England town." Adams contended that the town was essentially indiginous, not a copy of English local system (parish and town) or an inheritance from remote and shadowy ancestors. About the New England town McLaughlin says: "The New England town was a business enterprise, connected of course in some measure with religion; the town-meeting does bear a resemblance to the general court of the corporation; the proprietors, to whom the land was granted by the general court, constituted in miniature, a land company, not dissimilar in its outward seeming to the larger formerly constituted corporation." He says that while these similarities don't prove the charter, or corporation origin of the town, he does insist that our much-lauded system of local government shows the influence of corporate forms and practices, and above all, the business character of their undertaking.

From this general review several points should be drawn:

1. After 1634, membership in the colonial company shifted from shareholding to membership in the church. Freemen status rested on church identification and less directly on ownership of shares in economic enterprise. This is natural, since enterprise in becoming private, rather than common profit, required another institutional foundation of community membership. It found it in the church, as taxation or assessment replaced "public profit" as the principal means of repaying corporate investment.

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* In this connection, let me jump ahead and relate this transformation to Jefferson's notions of the "elementary republics", - the necessity of developing the WARD republic as the basic political unit of government in America. His major difficulty in this connection according to Arendt was determining what the specific functions of the ward government could be. Although he suggested that one of the advantages of ward divisions was that it would offer a better way to collect the voice of the people than the mechanics of representative government, his main point about functions was that if one would "begin them (ward governments) only for a single purpose (they would) soon show for what others they (were) the best instruments." More on the concept of the ward system later. The important point here is that both colonial fact and Revolutionary thought agree on transformational and organic possibilities of political organization. The important thing is a functional basis from which it can begin and change and grow.

2. McLaughlin makes an interesting point about voting. At the outset, the Massachusetts company did not use the ballot in its elections, but rather "the erection of hands". It was first used in the election of governor in Massachusetts in 1634. The fundamental orders of Connecticut also provided for paper ballots. Nontheless, with the Virginia exception, the larger trading-companies used the method of raising hands.*

3. I point to the emergence of deputies representing the freeman; their claimed authority; eventual dispute with the officers of the corporate; institutional accommodation in bicameralism; and their eventual political victory and establishment of election of officers for executive power as well as deputies for legislative power. My interest here is to relate this development to the outline of strategy in Memorandum # 1 on the development of the Community Foundation structure. There I saw the possibility of starting out with the "UPO type" representative body of the community organizations, to be followed, on the basis of universal donation, by a citizen group to challenge their power, and the eventual success of the citizen body in gaining the government of the community.

4. I am leaving out reference to McLaughlin's interest in tracing the development of representative government from its corporation courses. At this point the representative function doesn't interest me as much as the possibility of fulfilling in the Urban community, through the Foundation structure as its basis of government, the Jefferson ideal of ward government built on direct assembly rather than representation. But we will discuss this later.**

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* Relate this to my comment on the methods of voting in the Community Foundation, and the possibility of voice vote or public vote as possibly fitting. As a corporation system, such viva-voce voting would have a basis in historic corporate practice.

** I admit the conflict in this memo between possibilities of democratic representation and direct assembly in the Community Foundation. I originally thought in terms of representation and its practical structure in the Community. Now I am beginning to think of the more ideal possibility of direct participation in fulfilling the ward ideal.

5. Considering McLaughlin's analysis of the source of bicameralism in the dispute between the deputies and the corporation officers, it is well to consider the possibility of bicameral structure in the community organization, with the agencies and groups, as currently united in UPO constituting one house; and the citizens of the community electing representatives to, or indeed directly constituting, a second house. Final decisions could require concurrence, or some method of agreement between the two houses. My point here is only that bicameralism may be an institutionally adaptive feature of the community foundation in certain urban areas, while not in others, - just as it did emerge in Massachusetts, but not in Connecticut. Bicameralism, as McLaughlin points out is an adaptive institutional function rather than a theoretical condition of democratic government.

6. The big question here is whether we have reached the point where there is an obvious function and role for "enterprise", public, rather than private, in the neighborhood community. The existence of such enterprise is fundamental to the reasonableness of the corporate organization of the neighborhood as a basis for its development into a political community. It is because the "new enterprise" is public rather than private, that the corporate basis can take the form of the Foundation, rather than the business company or private corporation. That is to say, I speak of Community Foundation in a manner analogous to the Colonial company, or corporation. Returning to the big question, What is the nature of the urban community "enterprise", in which interest the citizens can corporately share? I suspect, by the signs of the generational war now being waged, that this enterprise is the reapproachment of the generations and the enrichment of the young. Its institutional framework is education.

COMMUNITY FOUNDATION
MEMORANDUM # 4

FROM: MILTON KOTLER

SUBJECT: THE ENTERPRISE OF THE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION

I closed the last memo with the crucial question of what "enterprise" can ground the Community Foundation. What common interest can focus the energies and enlist the participation of the citizens of the urban community (in representative body or direct assembly)? It must be a necessary task which can only be fulfilled locally, so as to rest authority in the urban community and legitimate its corporate structure.

It was a shared, local interest, namely material increase and religious communion, that the colonial corporation, and later, the township, served. The need to get and repay investment for colonial settlement required the common organization of the community for productive enterprise. This organization took the corporate form, and it was from this structure that political government grew. As investment was gradually repayed, economic enterprise became private and the common "enterprise" shifted to religious communion, and dissipated thereafter. By this time however, the form of political government was already set, reflecting the influence of the orginal corporate structure for economic enterprise.

Granted, economic enterprise continued as the basis of town government, but with this important difference: the free men, once corporately bound by common economic enterprise for personal material increase now came to be joined by taxation, for necessary "services". Further, the bond of the general body narrowed, and special interests interlocked (business or land, politics and church) for power gain and economic interest through the use of the instrument of town government. That is to say, whereas before public power was used for public enterprise, now it was devoted to private gain.

It is in this ironic sense that the basis of the town and its government remained economic enterprise. This only supports the old rule that power governs "politics". As the original common enterprise passed so to did the principle of its organization, interest, and exchange. Political structure became abstracted from common public enterprise. With public enterprise no longer present, government came to be mechanically conceived, and used as an instrument for power in behalf of private interest.*

The freemen of the old colonial plantation were all assembled by virtue of the relevance of their interreleated roles for the common economic enterprise. As economic enterprise became private, and later as religion became less cogent, less central, and diversified, government lost its civic foundation for general assembly,- which must ultimately rest on an equality of interdependent roles in common public enterprise.**

The priority of liberty,- principally the protection of private property, severly limits public power and inhibits bases of common public enterprise (as opposed to "service"); and thereby the basis of assembly by the participation of all. Nothing is left to public power for which all can have a common interest and incentive to participate.

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* It is in this sense that the problem of democratic, responsible government is never settled mechanically, e.g. as it was so thought in the system of checks and balances and division of power, etc. Fundamentally it must rest on the intimate reality to all of the common enterprise which the political organization must serve for the community, through the community, and by the community.

** This notion of political equality resting on interdependent roles is an essential issue. It is not the same thing as political equality resting on "persons". The interdependence of roles in community requires a public commitment to a public purpose. Thus, it is a foundation for assembly. Equality merely of "persons" bases community on private purposes or no public purpose. There is no common focus or standard for general assembly. This is an old paradox of democratic community. Can you have privacy and assembly at once? The ancient Greeks loved public scandal and personal attack. Do we love privacy more than assembly?

Thus abstracted from public enterprise government becomes professionalized. Between the privatization of public power and the professionalization of government, the public space contracts to fit only a few, and exclude the many. Or if not exclude, then at least deflect the many by its narrow or boring possibilities.

The Jeffersonian ideal of the "elementary republic" for the participation of all in public assembly, requires an ample public space. But such public space cannot exist without a publicly empowered common enterprise. What that public purpose could be, Jefferson could not quite determine. By his time the private structure was too strong and constitutionally protected to acknowledge the proper public capacity for any important "internal" common enterprise. While he mentioned occasionally "as one of the advantages of the ward divisions I have proposed" that it (ward government) would offer "a better way to collect the voice of the people than the mechanics of representative government", he was convinced that if one would "begin them (the ward divisions) only for a single purpose" they would "soon show for what other they were the best instruments."

Jefferson's problem of the "elementary republic" is the modern dilemna of democratic revolution. The significance of the general court of freemen of the colonial corporation, and later, the town meeting, was that it established the modern possibility of local government by direct assembly in the course of peace and even sustained it through war (even though it could not last the course of social and economic change). The achievement of this American precedent is fully appreciated when we realize that the only other direct assemblies in modern times, namely the commune, the council, the Soviet, etc., - all arose out of war and revolution, only to dissolve by state repression and the restoration of civil peace.

The problem of realizing today the American precedent in local government based on "the participation of all" is whether there is some new common enterprise in which the community can share and which can become the proper subject of public community authority. And whether such an enterprise is of a continuing nature to sustain the institution of local assembly for more than the moment of its initiation. Several bases for such public enterprise seemed to have been eliminated by the process of time. Certainly in American society it is no longer material increase, as in the days of the colonial plantation. Nor is it religious salvation. Where indeed is that purpose upon which to build local assembly?

Here it is important to first go back to Jefferson for his hints; and then return to today's reality for signs. To Jefferson, the plan of the "elementary republic" based on ward government was the "salvation of the Republic." Such a warning deserves a clue as to what "the specific purposes of the elementary Republic "the ward government should be." A function is not a "purpose". It is not enough that the ward could have authority over "those portions of self government for which they are best qualified, confiding to them, the care of the poor, their roads, police, elections, . . . ".* Instead we best look to the primary object of the ward concept in a Jefferson's thinking.

> "At the first session of our legislature after the Declaration of Independence, we passed a law abolishing entails . . . Primogeniture . . . these laws, drawn by myself, laid the axe to the root of Pseudo-Aristocrace. And had another for which I prepared been adopted by the legislature, our work would have been compleat. It was a bill for the more general diffusion of learning. This proposed to divide every county into wards of five or six mile square, like your townships; to establish in each ward a free school for reading, writing and common arithmetic: . . . worth and genius would thus have been sought out from every condition of life, and completely prepared by education for defeating the competition of wealth and birth for public trusts. Education would have raised the mass of the people to the high ground of moral respectability necessary to their own safety and to orderly government; and would have compleated the great object of qualifing them to select the veritable aristoi, for the trusts of government, . . . I have great hope that some patriotic spirit will, at a favorable moment, call it up, and make it the key stone of the arch of our government." **

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* Letter to John Adams from Jefferson, October 28, 1813.

** Ibid

> "Divide the counties into wards. Begin them only for a single purpose; they will soon show for what others are the best instruments." *

Here Jefferson gets to the heart of the matter. He realizes two important things. First, the transformational nature of political organization, - from "single purpose", or enterprise to government. Second, he saw education as the public enterprise from which war government could grow, and "save the Republic".

The question for us today is whether such a basis, or any basis for public enterprise exists now, which could ground the "elementary Republic" and fulfill the ward concept. This depends on the signs of reality around us and "in the air". I think such an "enterprise" does exist and I suggest its nature is the rapprochment of the generations. And this means the education of all the ages, and the upbringing of the young by new common meanings. Looking around at the urban condition today the most dominant phenomena is the war of the generations and estrangement of age groups. Its expressions are many: from private analysis to public violence; - in thought, action and passion. Its manifestations are more: generational discontinuities of social behavior and cultural norms. Its verification rests on the universalization of generation styles in the Western world (e.g. from the Wild Ones to the English Modes and Rockets); the closed system of the generations world (the independence of adolescents heroes from adult heroes and absence of any transition from one to the other, etc.,); the rejection of institutions of socialization and maturity (absence of family counsel, drop-out problem etc.); and also the break-down of generational distinctions and the competition between generations for common styles (for example, everybody's twistin', the fifty year old crew cut, etc.). Rejection, distance, antipathy, mockery, violence, mark the interaction of the generations; and thereby mar the social and cultural continuity which an on going society requires.

The family system has become structurally incapable of performing a healthy, sufficient parental function. The urban home, in so many instances can no longer train the young for adequate social roles and personal being. By structural incapability I mean, that the social forces of technology and automation, disemployment, race prejudice, the constriction of status mobility, career anxiety, sexual differentiation in the context of cultural asexuality, etc., - incapacitates the mother and father from fully being parents. By what perscription shall we train our children? And do our social necessities and requirements allow this? So many of the young cannot be trained through the family system in its present form of private organization. This incapacity is not accidental but a function of the social imperatives and pay-offs in the social system. The problem of

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* Letter to Joseph C. Cabell from Jefferson, Monticello, Feb. 2, 1816.

the young and the warring of the generations therefore is not only public by virtue of its effects but also by virtue of the required public responsibility and function necessary to its solution.

By evidence of public projects, government and private, concern for the youth is a major objective of public attention. Urban violence, educational experiments, manpower training, community organization, etc., is the center of today's political innovation. The public consensus is that the problem of youth training and education and the rapprochment of the generations are not only public responsibilities, but indeed can only be fulfilled through public capacity and public enterprise.

As for the intimacy and personal involvement of this interest on the part of all citizens the case is obvious. It is no less a gound in personal interest and motivation than were material increases and religious salvation in an earlier day.

The problem of the young and the integration of the generations, for the sake of social and cultural continuity, is indeed the "common enterprise" today of local community. Upon the basis of this enterprise the community can be bound by common organization and function through corporate structure, and act in behalf of this enterprise by direct assembly or a truly representative body. Further, because of the local nature of this public problem, due to family residence, it crucially accommodates to the conditions and capacities of the "elementary Republic". Like land ownership and religious communion, so to is education and generational integration a local function. It is essentially a face to face, or as-far-as-the-eye-can-see, function. The new local community based on assembly, direct representative, can operate through the organization of the community foundation around an institutional structure of education. Such an educational structure as I am considering would not be as limited as we are familiar with today. It would be a school of tomorrow; with a scope as rich as public life can be.

It is this single purpose around which community structure can develop, and grow from public enterprise into fully ward government. Beginning through the corporate structure of the community foundation, its enterprise can enlist the economic, social, cultural, intellectual, and religious resources of the urban neighborhood and community. It can generate endless public roles, common interest, and power, to set the political foundations of local community and build new political roles for each citizen. Out of this beginning, through the public enterprise of education and the sharing of values between generations, the urban neighborhood can move to community and the urban community develop into truly local, and hopefully ward government.

I will develop this organization of the Community Foundation around the enterprise of community education in the next memo.

COMMUNITY FOUNDATION
MEMORANDUM # 5

FROM: MILTON KOTLER

SUBJECT: COMMUNITY LAW THROUGH THE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION

This is a brief memo to raise the issue of community law and the possible basis for its regeneration through the structure of the Community Foundation. Let me begin with an illuminating incident that occured a month ago in New York City.

1. The New York Times reported that Mr. M., an Italian landlord assaulted a local Puerto Rican restaurant owner, Mr. B. The details follow: M owned the only partially restored building on a dilapidated East Side block. He had six tenants and received good rents. To his displeasure the Puerto Rican kids on the street always played in front of his building. M would chase them away, but to no avail. This practice made him unpopular on the block, both among the kids and their parents.

B. owned a little restaurant in the neighborhood. He was a leader in the Puerto Rican community and became the center of the neighbors hostility toward M. One day M, as usual, tried to chase the kids away; but then he snapped. He sought out B in his restaurant and assaulted him. As a result B was critically injured and hospitalized; the neighbors fell to fury; and M was arrested. In the midst of these events, all six tenants moved out of M's building. They felt that in view of the neighbor's fury there might be destruction on the building and injury to themselves. Even the Progressive Labor Movement got into the act. They picketed M's building protesting his "white only" policy.

2. The main point of the story is that, in basic form, it happens every day in our cities. There are endless incidents of local irritation which often erupt in assault and violence. And one has only to think of the thousand unresolved occasions of his own irritation which he has restrained and the violent feelings which he has repressed.

Our practice of restraint is strengthened by the common attitude that these local irritations are "petty" issues. So established is this habit of thought that substantive grievances even escape our consciousness; while their specific psychological impacts, nonetheless, strongly effect our emotions and help fuild the anxieties of urban life.

3. Violence about such matters suggests there are no other "normal" ways to express and settle these local grievances; and that they are indeed powerful enough despite the attitude of "pettiness" to impel expression and demand resolution.

Structurally, this practice of repression is supported by the absence of a local forum of "social authority" for the adjudication of these local grievances. This absence of local forum does not mean that these grievances are not or even should not be felt; but only that their feeling has no legal right or legitimate power. It follows that these feelings had best be repressed for their expression in violence would be outside the law and culpable.* This wiser course of restraint is not easy. To serve its practice we have developed along with the attitude, a local ethic or liberalism, with its corresponding technique of pettiness, "human relations." Add to this our presuppositions about man's inevitable improvement through education and good temper, and we have the kind of a pill we can swallow. In short, the absence of forum supports the practice of repression; and the practice of repression in tern, denies the role of local forum.

4. It is important to recognize the essentially local nature of "felt" justice. For the average man, "justice" is the right relationship of himself to some person face to face or object, near at hand. As its issue is local, the dynamic structure of "felt" justice is local community. Yet, the denigration of local grievance as a serious issue or rightful cause cannot but adversely effect the citizen's personal relationship to the State, casting it as a psychological instrument rather than an ethical union. Consider his view of the law, expressed in the phrase, "machinery of justice."

5. Let me quickly list a catalog of local grievances that come to mind, which can not in any effective way be settled by existing legal jurisdictions.

1. Excessive noise from a neighbor's apartment

2. Indiscriminate chopping down of trees and destruction of lawns and landscapes

3. Stores closing too early at night and closed on Sunday

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* Indeed there are other ways of acting out these grievances through substitutions, for example, scandal mongering, local intimidation, personal sabotage, deceits, etc., which the agrieved victim can return upon the violator. Unfortunately these alternative methods have their own dynamic and are rarely limited to the issue in dispute. They are often pernicious and self-perpetuating substitutes which may adversely affect the style and structure of the neighborhood community.

4. Zoning laws that restrict businesses in your vicinity and exclude certain kinds of activity and place from being locally established, for example, outdoor cafes

5. No library within walking distance

6. No public place to meet and talk to the people in the neighborhood

7. Dirty streets and poor garbage service

8. No free public place in the neighborhood for adult physical exercise

9. No place to walk to, the dullness of the outdoors (Jane Jacobs' point about urban renewal and housing developments)

10. Ridiculous traffic regulations and pointless ticketing (e.g. 20 feet from alley, forty feet from the corner.

11. Cars blocking your driveway; or no way to guarantee your parking space on the public street in front of your house

12. Neighbor's failure to keep up the appearance of his building and property

13. The absence of good entertainment in walking distance

14. Bad transportation from your house to destination, work or play

15. Lack of sufficient safety in the streets.

The list could go on indefinitely. My point is that these are all issues and complaints that people _feel_ about. Why should any one of these items be outside of a public forum for expression, argument and settlement? Consider item 11, why isn't the feeling that your parking space should be reserved on the public street in front of your house, a reasonable issue for public argument. After all, there are other instances in which public space is related or privileged, according to private position. Why is it so obvious that the public space in one's own community in which he lives, acts and serves should be no more a right to him than to a stranger from another place? Should public space bare a special status to social community wherein it lies? Or is community to develop from indifferent ground?

6. Because of a fussion of positive and natural law views of sovereignty and liberty, our thought has been geared to the relationship of the individual to the state. Accordingly, the role of associations and the concept of social authority has never gained serious political thought. This, in spite of our pluralistic assumptions, which by now seem clearly to have been only impressionistic phrasing. Our pluralistic rhetoric has referred more to the tune of ethnicity than to an appreciation of the political function of association and community structure, as authoritative bodies of some measure of rule and initiation within the state.

Absence in thought however is not absence in fact. For we have lived with the fundamental role of power played by corporate structures in business and industry. Why have we failed to carry our effective and articulated corporate organization from the realm of private gain into the political realm of community power and public purpose? Can this be due to the effective beginnings of our political form through colonial corporation and the corporate structure of the colonial church. This objective structural foundation for pluralism in our American experience has never been assimilated into one political thought. Theory overlooks what facts make possible.

7. If we look at the New England town, we would still find a political unit that corresponded to community; and whose law or local ordinance expressed the real kinds of community grievances that existed. The kind seriousness of legal attention to the felt justice of local community was reflected in such political roles as that of the elected fence-sitter, - a public official whose job it was to sit upon the fence and watch to see who crossed whose boundary. So whereas at the beginning, law did reflect community, the problem of discontinuity between community and law came about through population increase, migration, urban concentration, etc., - and the rigidification of legal jurisdictions at the level of constituted political units.

Even Jefferson began too see the dislocation in the inadequacy of county divisions, as being too big for republican government; and the need to develop the smaller ward republic. Today the smallest unit of political government is the city, even though it may include the 4 million residents of Chicago. Furthermore, since the city exists by charter, its power is often severly limited by state government. Its codes and ordinances (of municipal government) will likely reflect only the "essential" relationships of individuals to the city and the special problems of social relationship only insofar as they effect the the municipal organization, rather than as they reflect the diverse social character and relationships of its many inclusive communities.

So it is that existing community does not correspond to any political unit and legal jurisdiction; hence, cannot develop its characteristic civil relations and communal norms. Conversely, local or municipal political government, - its size exceeding community, has become an administrative organization of office for mere service and plain safety. It is no longer political government in any sense of democratic assembly, enriching the citizenry through creative participation in relevant public decisions. Our atrophy of democratic government rests on the absence of local government corresponding to the boundaries of the real community.

As government and law have become alienated from community, civil relations in society have correspondingly deteriorated. Real civility has its foundation in community, and requires for its creation an authoritative forum for definition and a court for enforcement. Real civility is more than the blank indifference of passing strangers; it is fundamentally the impulse of public initiative, responsibility and public identity toward fellow citizens. Where community has no forum of social authority then the law of general jurisdication defines only the relationships between strangers (see the law of omission). The effect of our "civility" is to isolate the individual from other's of familiar appearance; * rather than bringing them into relationship. Our "civility" of strangers and its commitment to a concept of liberty based on power and scarcity, and therefore preoccupied with the relationship of individual to the state, is not unrelated to our condition of alienation, - a condition sociologists must also realize has political roots.

8. What are the effects on personal and public life when law fails to define, express, and support civil relations based on the social realities and issues of particular locality? How does repression and person irresolution of matters of felt justice effect the social and political structure of local community and its style of activity? Can there be real "community" without community law? (This issue is generally overlooked in community organization and local government studies.) How is the potential and reality of "community" affected by a legal system of general jurisdiction tying the individual to the State, rather than establishing his relation to associations and then associations

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* The real crisis of anomie is the inability, the lack of a basis or common structure for one to meet another, who, by interest in appearance, or word, one wants to meet.

to the state.* What special interests, e.g. property and national industrial corporation and union organizations, are served by this neglect of community law and a social authority?

9. Community law and jurisdiction is essential for "effective" community, that is, relevant to the actual interests and organization of values and benefits to men. If the community is unable to govern and sanction values, what is the point of its being. It would be no different than a grade school student council.

But from where can community derive authority and power; and thereby, establish law and civil character over its membership? It requires a structural instrument derived right. The failure in the past to conceive of this instrument has been an essential shortcoming of community organization efforts. Incorporation through the Community Foundation is here suggested as that instrument. Operationally, it embodies the convergence of legal capacity, historic precedent of our original political development out of corporate forms or organization, and the pervasive private corporate structure today in business and philanthropy.

The industrial corporation has its law over membership by state grant charter, and by-laws. Officers are chosen to govern and decide business policy. Management policy and its profit value controls the action and flow of membership. By its effect on market conditions, it can control the actions of outsiders. The shareholding membership can (theoretically) choose the leadership. And finally, corporate business policy has through its powers wide scope for diversity and initiative. It has wide powers and ambit of policy, even though the state reserves regulatory powers for its control.

Indeed our industrial organization and power owes its life to corporate structure. Could corporate structure do the same for community organization?

10. The incorporation of locality or neighborhood into the Community Foundation around a charter of non-profit public activity and investment into public objects and purposes can confer upon the community and its member "shareholders", or general body, the same capacity of derived power and sanction from state law. Notwithstanding the reserved power of the State over the regulation of the Community Foundation its essential power that is,

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* In the actual practice of national effort and emergency, the community or association is often activated as a unit into the common enterprise, e.g. war, flood, etc. rather than individually. For example, the first soldiers to be shipped overseas during World War II were National Guard units. Mobilization by associations and localities is thought to favor morale.

initiative and rule will be left to the Community Foundation "shareholders" with the extended arm of State and federal policy protection and court jurisdiction to secure corporate community government and its decisions and policy. By its charter and by-laws it can make its substantial and distinct government.* That is to say, incorporation rights are sufficiently flexible as to the structure and purpose of the foundation as to permit great variety in constituting and fulfilling distinct community identity.**

11. The power and sanctions of corporate structure relate to their created values which draw man's interest. If for the industrial corporation that value is money profit, what is the value corporately created and controlled by the Community Foundation? It is envisioned that the Community Foundation will be the seat and center of public life in urban neighborhoods or rural communities (its rural application is related to impoverished rural areas, like the Mississippi Delta and other rural Pockets of Poverty. It will build and govern community welfare benefits and salaried activities and operate social and entertainment benefits. It will educate, as its central concern. Its local structure will be a school of tommorrow for all ages. The school will be the center of skill training, intellectual and cultural activity of the community, political education, etc. The school may even be the face-to-face institution of local assembly. It will control through its democratic government the distribution,

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* In a subsequent memo, I'll take up the problem of the chartering of the Community Foundation. In this connection we will consider the relvance of America's tradition of association and corporations by covenant, both as expressed in the colonial trading company and the colonial church. What can the Community Foundation gain by its constitution through social compact.

Furthermore, there is no obvious conflict between the positive and natural law foundation of corporations. Granted, the Community Foundation will derive its power and sanction by charter from the State. In exchange the State will reserve specific powers over it. Nonetheless, this still leaves ample and flexible areas for structure, organization, and purpose, out of which it can fashion by compact and assembly (or representative body) a constitution and system of values and rewards in exchange for commitment and obligation to duties and responsibilities designated. This is an appropriate field and subject of compact.

** As to the structural flexibility and range of corporate forms available around which to organize, there is the possibility of incorporating the Community Foundation in a State other than its state of location. In addition, consider the corporate capacity to conduct its business and enterprise outside its own state, where ever, indeed the non-profit, tax-exempt economic enterprise of the Community Foundation will best carry it. Thus, for example, a Mississippi Delta Community Foundation may establish a small factory for making rope. Paying its citizen-employees salaries and re-investing the profit or putting it into public purpose. The Delta Community Foundation can then set up a distribution outfit in Chicago for its Mississippi manufactured rope. They may employ their own emigrant residents, relatives who have moved to Chicago, etc.

placement and advancement of salaried positions in its public roles and supporting economic enterprises. Its assembly can develop rules of civility, that is, communal norms as well as liberties. Its courts will define and resolve issues of felt justice, based on actual social relations.

This is a rough sense of the totality of its benefits, values and rewards. With these, the democratic assembly of the Community Foundation can legislate abiding rules and by its communit law and community courts can hear disputes and rendered their settlement into law and a community ethic.*

12. Through community by corporate organization and its derived state power we find the possibility of creating an ample forum local grievances and real civil relations. Through expression, argument and settlement in a community law forum there can be a great step toward the resolution of justice and thereby towards political education and a basis of an ethical order in modern urban life. Irritation will not continue repressed to disease public life by substitute and surrogate expression thereby damaging public structures and public credit.

Law by assembly decree and a judicial action through the community court will raise a code of right public conduct. This will condition disputes and their caalm avoidance. Decree and trial will by the power of their norm, define and sanction certain kinds of offensive behaviors (possibly, by the method of fine, which industrial corporations sometimes use). New actions will always emerge, as the Community Foundations takes new shape, new activities and projects, and expands its field. The assembly will always be busy and the court will always meet.

13. As the assembly, or general body's public function is to make the law, the courts' function is to apply its rule to the adjudication of disputes over which its jurisdiction extends. Basically, its effective function will be to determine the contested claims of citizens. Constiutionally such a court can be empowered to interpret the Community Assembly decrees (its legislation); and interpret its constitution or Charter and by-laws (judicial review). Precedent,

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* There is no reason why every Community Foundation has to chose a democratic assembly constitution. Indeed, the flexibility of corporate organization and structure, and the decision of the general body through compact of charter and by-laws can determine and chose its own constitution, - aristocratic, monarchial, mixed constitution, democratic, etc. Local difference should be reflected by constitutional variations.

usage, community tradition, code, etc. may be principles of judgment. In this connection, let me close with a relevant note on the structure of the Athenian courts.

The jurors were elected for a year by proportional representation from each deme, according to its population, - to the number of 6,000 under Cleisthenes. They were paid to serve, and cam each day to the court from the countryside. The number needed for the days load were selected by lot, never less than 201 jurymen to sit in a given case. The court would not meet on festivals and on those days when parliment met and their attendance was required.

The point of this description is to indicate the Athenian view that the structure of trial for adjudication must basically correspond in organization to the structure of legislation. Otherwise, - and this goes to the heart of Greek justice, - there would be no assurance that the law and decrees were applied in the same meaning and interest by which they were "discovered". The meaning of the "discovered" decree and its application in adjudicating individual disputes must correspond. The same interest must govern and this is only secured by the similar organizational structure of these two functions. Otherwise, there is the danger of corruption, - that decrees of a certain "discovered" meaning will be applied by others for the sake of an entirely different, and possibly selfish interest.

They realized, as none after them, that the best way to maintain this correspondence is by structural continuity of people, roles, and functions. Thus, just as the assembly was large, so too was the court, As political officers were chosen by lot, so to were the juries. As the council was elected for one year, so too the 6,000 jurymen. When the parliment sat, the jurymen were often obliged to join the parliment and postpone court day. So the jurymen during their year continued to be legislators, were paid city officials, representatives of their deme, etc., -- all this at the same time. Only this intermixing, or interpenetration of many political roles can maintain good, sound judgment and wide perspective; and sensitivity to the necessary workings and harmonies of all the parts of the State. It avoids the narrow, special view; and its inherent partiality. Similar structure for different functions means shared judgment, personal wisdom from familiar practice in common method, setting and procedure and continuity and relating of experience into judgment.

Is our own system of an independent judiciary any better suited for wise and honest judgment?* As Alfred Zimmern, notes, no charge of jury corruption or bias comes down to us from the records of Athens. Its basic jury and trial system, established by Solon and modified only slightly thereafter, continued to function well and honestly down to Pericles.

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* The result is the device of legislative judicial power and the "historic" interests of the courts. Further independent judicial power leads to the centralization of law as its divorce from the social community.

I spent this time describing the Athenian jury and system and court, because of my interest in seeing that widely varied court and trial system models be developed in different Community Foundations. With all its capacity for flexible structuring and organization, the testing out of various court and trail models can play an important part in remaking our own present trial structure and jury systems at the level of municipality, State courts, and federal courts.

COMMUNITY FOUNDATION
MEMORANDUM #6

FROM : MILTON KOTLER

SUBJECT: THE URBAN POLITY*

Political thought selects its preferred realities. That makes politics worth thinking about and credible enough for personal action. So I will indulge my taste.

The first reality is that Americans live an urban life, 70 per cent of us more than others. The social issue then is how we can fulfill urban life as a political society. For only polity can shape our association for the greater quality of our lives in public character and private order. Without polity our associations are too often mere entanglements. Our political task then begins with confronting the city confidently as the place of our lives, and to seek its political foundations.

The second reality is that the major contests of interests are taking place in our cities. It is the ground of new power drawn from old regions, and of shifting power from old urban sources to new ones. The city is the political terrain of the nation and its power is in fast motion.

Its major interest formation is the new middle class. Technology, corporate consolidation, and public economy are transforming that class from a property to wage base. It is a college educated class of salaried administrators, whose primary interest is to secure more objects and persons for service, management, and control. For this purpose the middle class needs a permanently expanding dependent clientele and enough organizational power to protect its function and expanding ranks. Service and expertise are its occupational principles. So the new class seeks to enlarge service programs; refine the qualifications of performance; and control their operation through professional organization. From whom has this new class won its power and what kind of power is it? With what other interest groups is it allied? And what, if any, is the character and organization of resistance?

Correspondingly, the lower class has been transformed from production to permanent unemployment. Its value is no longer labor, but dependency. Will it resist its caste subordination into clientelism, by the new middle class? Both groups and allied interests are in daily battle, which is manifested in the recurring disorders that surround housing, education, and welfare administration.

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* Remarks introducing a staff discussion on Community Foundations at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, January 8, 1965.

A related urban contest is racial conflict and the move towards integration and equality in the society. This has been taking political shape as it involves new exchanges of power for mutual interest support. These exchanges have established new associations; not only in political party consolidations, but also in social fields of understanding and action.

Fundamentally related to this contest is the violence of the war of generations taking place in the society. There is not only a numerical imbalance of age groups in the society, but a structural imbalance as well. Because of technological unemployment, rapid changes in education, the consolidation of media and consumption etc., today's youth cannot match the prescriptions of their parents about property, income, marriage, religious practice, stability, advancement, etc. This totality of difference between age groups expresses more than typical generational tension. For there are the additional factors of urban concentration, youth organization, and reinforcement of popular culture, which have established the heroic figure and posture of youth. Youth is articulated as the romantic ideal, while failing all traditional values.

Generational exchange has been clearly ruptured. There is an ethical and moral divide. The expression of youth protest has been excluded from the political arena, while middle age has employed the political apparatus for the domestication and pacification of youth. The Job Corps of the Poverty Program is a case in point. To these political control measures, the response of youth can only be violence. This rupture, rather than racial conflict, is the basic foundation of urban violence.

Corporate power has moved its structure and influence to the cities, after a historic collusion with state governments. No longer do public land grabs and privileged tax structures suffice for corporate power. Instead, they require centralization, intellect and skill for the administration of its productive technology. For these and other reasons, the corporation has come full force to the city. Their procession requires favorable opinion to withstand public misgiving. Thus, they have come to control the media, the schools, the press, the university--either by way of ownership, contract, or public service.

How are corporations relating to other forces within the city, like the professions and political machines, and for what exchange of interest? Who do they oppose and seek to weaken? How are they winning the institutional support to develop and establish a durable rhetoric to protect their private power? Which institutions and sectors of the public will object and resist?

Federalism is also moving to the city, through the growth of direct federal-local relations in education, housing, transportation, public welfare, etc. A nation of urban federalism is emerging, while the states gradually become regional administrations of the national government. What new governmental authority will the city get to fulfill this partnership in government, and how will it struggle with the states toward this end? What will happen to national policy when federal-urban relations and reapportionment make the national government more responsive to urban interests, power, and temperament?

The crucial issue of the public control of technology rests in the city. Here the felt effects of technology meet the popular power to question, resist, and even possibly, to democratically guide automation to better purpose. Whether democratic decision can prevail over the private control of technology is questionable. But the issue will have to be met in the city. Only there, within its visible public, can its benefits be tried. Only in the city can its issue gain fire and its judgment be assumed.

These are just some of the contests which make the city the volatile political center of the nation. Yet where is its sufficient public authority to democratically govern these resolutions? Its authority from state government is woefully inadequate to nourish the amity of new exchanges and associations which urban harmony and order require. Even more fearfully, its power is insufficient to control the tempest of power change, and mitigate the inflammations of new class domination. Social judgment is unable to govern these contests of power because there is no municipal authority sufficient to rule and compose the dimensions of these conflicts. In the absence of sufficient authority there can be no pragmatic of social judgment to achieve consensus and govern for the common interest.

From where will the city gain the necessary authority to rule its conflict and establish its peace? Hopefully, from the Federal Government, as the Executive succeeds in furthering federal-urban relations in legislation and administrative practice. The Court will help, no doubt, by identifying constitutional law with urban rights and rule, against state government domination.

Until this trend is achieved the municipal government will remain a mere administrative structure. Its slight authorities today amount to no more than the scope of discretionary power given any administrative bureaucracy. This denigration of the city as a seat of rule has been with us since the federal constitution.

The very forms of corruption typically chronicalled about the political machines resemble classical varieties, not of political, but of bureaucratic corruption,--nepotism, graft, police protection, certificates of exception, purchase of privilege and office. Political corruption, on the other hand, turns more on issues of suspension of civil liberties and personal rights, restriction of votes and office, denial of judicial appeal, etc. These corruptions have been more characteristic of state governments than the city. Thus, even its corruption manifests the inadequate authority of the city to rule, rather than its degenerate capacity to do so.

Yet, so long as we fail to credit the political existence of the city, we will correspondingly fail to enhance its authority to rule. Its government will continue to exist in fact and in mind merely as an administration. In consequence, its operations will be considered technical.

The municipal reform and civil service movement in the 20's was an earlier expression of this technical view of city government. That movement failed to achieve the aspirations it sought, because the technical view of municipal government never comprehended the political problems of urban society which require political rule. With the reform movement behind us, the new program of technical administration, favoring area social planning and expertise, stands as the current version of an old misperception. It is against this new technical mission that the task of fulfilling the city as a political society must struggle.

There is both a strong and weak reason for this persistent technical view of municipal government. Taking the weak excuse first, the fervor for technical expertise and area social planning expresses our kind sentiment of mass help for the vast numbers of poor, the unemployed, the helpless aged, delinquents, the Negroes, and others. We argue that speedy help for such larger numbers requires the systematic programming, administration, and expert management of a technical service organization. In failing to recognize that area social planning is more responsive to our own occupational and political interests, we also fail to credit the political nature of the resistance of the poor to the clientelism which we effect.

Turning to the stronger reason for the technical views of the problems of the city, we find that the city is not politically credited in our classic political thought of Founding Fathers, their adopted sons, the Constitution, and Supreme Court judges. The city was never a term of our classical political thought, although it has been dealt with extensively in our traditional literature of social criticism, like Steffens, Veblen, Adams, and Park. The difference that counts is that our classic political thought has a constitutional foundation.

Two features of our political classicism work to exclude the city from its attention. First, the doctrine of limited governmental authority and specific powers relegates the city to state government. Second, the political perspective of our classic thought contemplates the nation as a federal union from which the cities have been excised. Constitutional authority has been the primary issue of our political thought. To that extent, accordingly, the city has neither a place in our classic thought, nor a sufficient standing in our political process.

Liberty of private property was dear to the Constitutional framers. Accordingly, the locus of opposition, namely the cities of the populace, could not be granted legitimate political status or rule. Being certain of the democratic attack of the urban populace on property, the framers propounded what they were less certain of, namely, the inalienability of liberty and the limitation of government. Democracy and the city were left unmentioned in the argument, for the framers had little interest in preparing the historic assault of democracy of property by negative denunciations. And since law must re-enact the constitution, democracy slowly proceeds by a distended and contorted rhetoric of property.

The silence of the city also rests on the nationalism of our classic political thought, for all its federal protestations. Our constitution is national, for it designed the structure of national government. The cities, under state sovereignty, were thus omitted from its attention. Hence, the Idea of the American nation grew without reference to the city and place of the populace. The Idea of our nation grew without a political idea of democracy. The connection of nation and city was lost. The conception of Nation became idealized, abstracted from the "Social Shapes," which Democritus said "men form." Conversely, the city became more sordid by political neglect. Thereafter the two terms moved from simple disassociation to real antithesis: the Nation vs. the City.

So we see how hard it has been in thought and fact to fulfill the existential polity of the city, as a real political society. As to why we should, --the nation is our cities! Our cities are as big as the nation. I recall Scott Greer saying that the important thing about the space-time ratio of modern technology is that because you can get from Los Angeles to San Francisco faster than from downtown L.A. to its airport, then Los Angeles and San Francisco are so close and the Nation is just a short shuttle. For me the significance instead is that it is harder to get to the airport from downtown L.A., than from L.A. to S.F. This means that while the nation may be getting smaller, the city is becoming immense beyond familiar conception. Its enormity far exceeds the distance between cities.

What can we make and must we make of the enormity of urban society? A rich polity of ample authority and democratic rule. For the sake of that taste of democracy, how do we fulfill the city's authority and the people's rule? What kind of government must it have? Should there be one government in the city or many? Can the neighborhoods govern and the city be a common body of ward republics? Johnson of Connecticut at the Constitutional Convention said that what everyone was really arguing about was whether the state is a district of people composing one political society, or as composing many political societies? He was talking about the states. We can ask the same question of the city and rediscover all the meaning that comes with finding new facts about many polities.

I'll stop with that question, which is a good place to start. There is a final note I wish to add. If we agree that the city is our existential polity, albeit today politically uncredited and functionally unformed, then it must become more consciously credited as the real pragmatic forum of our social judgment and political knowledge. So long as what parades as our competent political knowledge about our Nation and the world has no conscious reference to the city as our existential polity, then our opinion will continue to be divorced from practical political foundations in knowledge and experience of our lives. If we do not honor and politically fulfill the terrain of our daily life, we cannot build practical political "judgment" for the common interest from real experience. Our national opinions and intents will then stand as abstractions and attitudes. How badly might we then render a nation. How unwise we could be? How dangerous our misadventure if we continue to govern ourselves and the world by idealizations and abstractions and attitudes. How badly might we then render a nation. How unwise we could be? How dangerous our misadventure if we continue to govern ourselves and the world by idealizations and abstractions, instead of practical social judgment. How will the misconduct of national idealism spoil our future, as the more exciting possibilities of democratic urban polity, through informed opinion and common judgment instead dim into the background?

COMMUNITY FOUNDATION
MEMORANCUM #7

FROM : MILTON KOTLER, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington

SUBJECT: COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN A CLIENTELE SOCIETY*

What I wish to suggest to returning Peace Corps volunteers about the work of service in local community rests on a view of our transforming society, the sources of its current violence and pathology, and the emerging directions toward adjustment and social peace.

Community organization, if properly understood, is central to current conflict and change. Your understanding of its expression and possibilities, and your commitment to its service, can contribute to a difference in outcome. Let me explain.

The principal basis of social exchange in American society is shifting from production to service. The middle class is becoming an administrative class of service professionals. Wage, not property, is the basis of its reward. Correspondingly, the lower class is being transformed into a class of permanent dependents. The basis of their reward is the value of their dependency. Clientelism is becoming the major exchange principle of social interactions in the society.

The current violence and social pathology in the society is essentially related to the inequities of current exchange distributions in our service system. The poor are made to give more than they receive. For the despair of permanent dependency, the expropriation of its land or turf in the core city (for the sake of housing and universities for the middle class professionals that serve them) they receive a miserly dole and moral abuse.

In return for client service the middle class service professional receives secure position, income, control, city space, and improved public facilities. For these pleasures received he gives less than full value, for he is constantly reinforcing the benefits of his position by defining new depths of dependency for expanded and continuing service. His return is exploitative.

This fundamental inequity of exchange in the clientele system is an important basis of protest and violence in the society. Community organization not only expresses these inequities, but it also pressures for correction. Such protest through the form of community organization responds to the social basis of service exploitation. In order to understand the vitality and emerging social form of community organization, we must examine the severity of that basis.

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*Prepared for Washington Conference on the Returned Peace Corps Volunteers, State Department, March 6, 1965.

The basis of service exploitation is: (1) Corporate organization of professional association; (2) State-granted monopoly privileges to professional organization for governing and controlling public institutions and public service (licensing powers, certification, accreditation, disbarment, corporate immunity from civil actions, etc.); (3) Failure to develop corporate responsibilities for this exercise of monopoly privilege. For example, if the medical association has monopoly power to set standards and certify doctors, why should the association not be liable in actions for medical negligence? (4) Since professional corporate monopolies are not restrained by corporate liabilities, they use monopoly powers and privilege to aggrandize power on the backs of the clientele.

Thus the basis of service inequity rests on corporate organization, its legal monopoly relation to the state, and the absence of legal relationship between client and professional corporate bodies. In the absence of a basis of liability, what passes is not service, but power and domination.

It is to the monopoly power of professional corporatism that community organization is responding. The interest of the poor is not to eliminate service exchange and client status but rather to articulate and develop its greater equity. The service must become more real and pertinent to their needs. Its performance must principally benefit them rather than the professionals. There must be new kinds of service, responsive to their own understanding of their problems. Such expansion and variety of service requires the expansion and enrichment of public institutions. Necessarily the poor must participate through their own expression and decision in these new social inventions, along with the professionals. Community organization can serve this creative purpose.

Community action, through community organization, performs these two functions. On the one hand, protest identifies the inequities; on the other hand, community enterprise invents and points the way to new kinds of real service and new types of public institution.

The effective form for these activities of protest and social invention is community association. From community forum to developing group life, community association will ready the community for decision and action. Action on decisions for community enterprise then will move community organization naturally closer to a corporate form. Thus, community organization, through talk and action, gradually develops into Community Foundation, as self-governing corporate polities of community with expanding capacities, social powers, and state priveleges.

Community organization, properly understood, is the democratic emergence through equality of corporate polities, as the only basis of defense against the privileged corporate bodies of professional service. So long as the clients remain isolated and atomized, they are defenseless against professional corporatism. As individuals they cannot bargain and pressure them; as individuals they cannot sue such bodies. The dynamics of the growth and action of Community Foundations holds the possibility of equitable exchange and amity in the society.

To those familiar with Galbraith's theory of countervailing power, such development is not original. The problem of inequitable privilege and the process toward countervailence has simply shifted from production to service exchange. Its success in the present case rests on the strength of the internal relationships and social power within community organizations. In this strength lie the possibilities of direct legal relation to the state, matching the privileges of professional corporatism. Only under such a balanced condition can the state act to mediate the corporate disputes of territorial community and occupational class.

This is the basis today, as well as the future hope, for amity in the society. While service inequity is today's problem, there is no necessary deterrent to its equitable adjustment in a society of product abundance and public starvation. The great needs of public life do not raise any limit short of involving everyone in the course of equalizing service and benefit. People today are seeking association for the value and utility of group life. The strength of this group search is for equalization, not domination. And there is no evidence of teleological fictions of class warfare to obstruct the process of enlarging and intensifying amity in our national society.

There are big and obvious questions I come to before stopping. Namely, what kinds of privileges can community foundations, as corporate bodies of client community, get from the state? How can community organization develop a stable and important basis of enterprise and benefit, in order to enlarge its social power and prepare for corporate relation to the state? Let alone the simple question, How should it begin? What is the right way to start community organization?

I've been working on such questions in thought and practice in the field, gradually augmenting the idea and process of Community Foundation by thoughts of strategy, theory, counsel, vision, rhetoric, etc. But today, my interest is only in extending a perspective, or meaning of community organization, as it continues to accelerate each year into a corporate movement seeking to equalize and fulfill the service exchange system which promises to further civilize American society.

This perspective is enough to make sensible a suggestion to the returning Peace Corps volunteers as they examine their continuing service role in the society. I could begin by asking you to pick your side. Will you, as middle class people, throw in your lot with professional corporatism, or help nurture the growth of democratic, self-governing corporate polities among the poor? If you should choose the latter, not only for good sentiment, but also with good sense to realize that only countervailing power can bring peace and pleasure to a clientele society--then I ask: How are you to help, as an outsider? What boss of yours would make the poor invite or welcome your presence into their group life; effectively, that is, not from fear or polite sufferance. This is no easy problem, because at the heart of the matter the community organization movement is antithetic to central social planning by any agency or directive--just as management could not plan labor organization.

But there are things that the poor need, and which you might be able to offer, unencumbered by a boss. They need money. But that, I hope, the Church will give, in return for re-discovering parish community. They also need technical advice and social judgment to help build the new kinds of services which they decide upon themselves--with your comment if invited. As they grow to trust you, in your time of great patience, who knows but that they may grow to love you and, like the Indians, feel you a blood brother--a person they would miss when meeting together. To achieve this status of personal service would be not only a personal success, but the very height of character in a society of service exchange. In short, to reach this point is the very exemplary act which could set the norms of political culture for the coming society.

Your next obvious step could be the job of then wisely guiding the corporate articulation of community foundation, bringing to it further legal, associative, financial, ownership, etc. capacities. Not to mention tax exemption of its property ownership, just like the Church, University and Educational Foundation. With the articulation of the corporate form of the community foundation, and its further empowerment through new capacities, you can help lead its group life and internal relations into a richer social enterprise--community foundation schools, corporate housing, a self-governing community foundation health center, and maybe a zoo. As corporate community enterprises, rather than professional contrivances, rest assured that these institutions will be different kinds of health centers than our public hospitals. For a hospital is, who owns it. They will be different kinds of schools than today's standard public fare. Look at the Mississippi Freedom Schools, and their great possibilities through political education. And why not a school for all ages? Or think also of possibilities of education on community-owned property, which the kids could actually touch, move, change, and form. It could be education as a plastic art.

Think then of the alliances and association of community foundations, and the endless varieties of activity which their different mutual relationships could develop. Not mere alliance, but association strengthened by the compounding of social powers and legal capacities.

As things grow and associations of community foundations develop, exchange between community corporatism and professional corporatism will build. Then community foundation will be ready for state privileges, legal equivalence, and state mediation. The process can continue to furthering the equalization of exchange and enrichment of the social world through public enterprise and public institution. With your own nearness to government from past service, rather than any current embrace, you can serve the poor to get those privileged relationships with state.

Enough of this problem, the emerging process, and your possible role. I will end with a simple project recommendation.

Whether you are young or old, start a non-profit corporation among your likeminded, and become Opportunity Associates, expert in the techniques of different services. Be either specialists in hospital care, or fill out your corporation with different talents in carpentry, education, film-making, cooking, construction, etc. Get your money or grants from the Poverty Program. Your purpose, as in the Peace Corps abroad would be to act as a third force, not tied to the professional monopoly structure, nor resident in the client community. Your interest would be to build the peace, by doing the necessary job of helping community organization independently build its powers and privilege into countervailing power for state mediation. Develop a corporate code and standard so that you can kick out the opportunists among you. Though as for career and future, you needn't worry. If you do your job well, you are preparing for a continuing role in the future as a social impressario of equitable exchange and social harmony. If you should return to the University, start student corporations with sympathetic faculty to assist community organization by personal and group service. In doing this and learning as a student of social practice, you may even serve to transform the university into a publicly responsible institution with a good imprint on society rather than its current mark of bulldozed devastation. There are many possibilities if you put your work to where it's needed--for your own joy and the sake of our tranquillity.

COMMUNITY FOUNDATION
MEMORANDUM #8
30 April 1965

FROM: MILTON KOTLER, Institute for Policy Studies
Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT: ACTION PROJECTS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY FOUNDATIONS

The fourteen items of this memorandum describe a set of action projects proposed as community foundation enterprises. They fill out the image of new institution building, discussed in earlier memoes, which neighborhood community organization must initiate in the task of urban reconstruction.

These projects are advanced for application in lower class urban communities. They were developed for a Columbus settlement house agency preparing to incorporate as a neighborhood community foundation governed by a board of elected representatives of a community membership of 6000.

1. Legal Training in the Community
2. Day Care Program
3. Pre-school, Retarded Children Program
4. Parole Program
5. Neighborhood Zoo
6. Student Ombudsman Program
7. Neighborhood Health Center
8. Tutorial Training Service
9. Academy of Community Arts
10. House Rehabilitation Program and Redesign Project
11. The Student Hostelry
12. Community Owned Housing
13. Neighborhood Community Insurance Policy
14. Model Charter Development Project

1. Legal Training in the Community

A program in community law and legal training is being developed between the Law School of Ohio State University and the Neighborhood Center of the First English Lutheran Church. A group of third-year students, under the direction of Professor Messerman, will hold a legal clinic twice weekly in the neighborhood center for residents of the community. Through their legal assistance, the poor in need of legal service will gain assistance; while the students develop training skills in the general practice of law. Such a community framework of training practice will expose them to all areas of practice: domestic relations, criminal law, contracts, administrative law, property, etc.

Further training benefits will come from law student and professional social work exchange. Through the professional staff the students will learn about the problems and functions of social welfare and their relation to law and legal practice. This familiarity with agencies, programs and procedure will be a helpful asset in their future professional practice.

The work of the student group will be supported by a panel of law professors, practicing attorneys, professional social workers, etc. The panel will further guide the students to explore areas of research in law and community problems. Work in legal redefinition may proceed in such fields as landlord tenant law, administrative law, etc.

In our fast changing society it is imperative that law and court grow to meet the problems of poverty so that the people retain their faith in the justice of law, rather than the force of the streets. Law school students can creatively assist this progress.

A further field of legal development which the students and panel will explore is the creation of new community forums of arbitration and mediation aimed at peaceably confronting and resolving the many current disputes of man and man in the urban community.

2. Day Care Program

The Neighborhood Center seeks to expand its existing intercultural, interracial day care center, which is now operated by the local chapter of the American Association of University Women. Currently the program serves 13 children.

The children in the community can benefit through this program for which facilities for expansion are available. Furthermore, there is strong interest in developing sub-professional training in teaching and day care assistance through this expanded operating program.

Unemployed as well as under-fulfilled employed people in the neighborhood area can be brought into this training and day care role. The role of these AAUW women in the operation of the program is a current key resource for training and curriculum development in this new occupational direction of teaching assistance in day care.

3. Pre-School Retarded Children Program

The Neighborhood Center wishes to expand its existing preschool retarded children program, now operating on a small grant from the Columbus Council for Retarded Children. The current program serves a small number of children for three mornings a week.

1) There is interest in a five day program; 2) enlarging the number of participating children to 20; 3) adding another professional, and developing sub-professional training for 10 positions.

The greater possibilities of successfully training the retarded on a regular basis within the familiarity of the community is the key interest of the professional staff of the Center. This is consistent with the general direction of mental health and rehabilitation toward a community framework for program development and practice.

The sub-professional facet of the expanded program responds to the acknowledged need for intimate and constant staff-student attention and supervision. The Center is seeking an ideal 2-1 ratio of students to sub-professional teaching assistant. Two professionals will guide the teaching program, as well as develop the sub-professional role and occupational training.

Certainly in the area of retardation, the sub-professional concept makes real sense, answering an acknowledged need which professionals alone cannot adequately serve. While the professional is able to guide a retarded children teaching program, he cannot provide the constant attention and supervision required. His effort can be best realized through the help of trained sub-professionals.

Ohio State University and relevant professional associations and public institutions will participate in this program.

4. Parole Program

The current one-to-one youth parole program of the Center will be further developed. This project relates youth parolees to members of the congregation and residents of the neighborhood community in a guidance project, with the Center as institutional guardian.

The direction of further program development will be to enlarge and diversify the project activities around which the parolee and related family can jointly work.

The interest is in bringing the parolees into the variety of community projects of the Center, around craft functions and sub-professional service training. Such projects as the day care program, neighborhood zoo, Academy of Community Arts, house rehabilitation and redesign projects, retarded children training, etc., involve work and service roles for these parolees. The Center will pay for this work in return for project assistance, thereby establishing a good community work alternative for parolees, school dropouts, etc. unwilling or unable to return to school. Such community occupation will be a valuable work therapy for rehabilitation through community work responsibility.

This approach to parolee rehabilitation is an application of the community framework approach in mental health. More than a mere term, community framework in the context of the Center's projects means the actual tasks of new institution building in community and society.

The Ohio Corrections System, Ohio State University, Parole Board, and other relevant agencies will participate in developing this expanded program.

5. The Neighborhood Zoo

The Center will develop a Neighborhood Zoo, corporately owned by the residents of the area. The zoo will be a place of pleasure for young and old in the community; as well as a center for education in life sciences and animal care training.

The USDA Extension Service and Ohio State University School of Agriculture will develop a curriculum in life sciences. 4-H will staff the animal care training. Extension will provide animals, veterinary inspection, and other services. A farm in the area surrounding Columbus will be developed as a year-round life science education in association with the neighborhood zoo program.

(SEE APPENDED DRAFT PROPOSAL.)

6. Student Ombudsman Program

An Administrative Agent, or ombudsman program will be developed in the community with Ohio State University and Antioch College.

Students will gain academic credit through a program of social practice in community. The general direction of the intended program is to develop student specialists in different governmental social welfare and social control programs. He will concentrate his semester work in one field; for example, public housing, public assistance, etc.--learning the law and administrative regulations and procedures in depth. The two purposes of this concentration will be to serve residents in the community who have difficulties relating to these programs and their full benefits; as well as to understand for critical analysis and examination the nature, operation, and quality of the governmental programs.

7. Neighborhood Health Center

The interest here is to develop a community-governed health center. There are many health functions that city and private hospitals do not provide for the poor. Good examples are convalescence, rehabilitation, hygiene instruction and mental health. Can these functions be developed and served through a community-governed health center?

In these health programs, new training and occupation roles for sub-professionals can be developed for the unemployed in the neighborhood. The doctors or nurses in the program, through associations with the medical and nursing associations, will develop curriculum and training programs. As in the legal training program, the medical school of OSU will assist in exploring these new approaches and functions in community medicine. Can the Army Medical Corps model of half doctor-half nurse be applied to developing a new occupation for the poor in community health?

8. Tutorial Training Program

It is important to shift the perspective of tutorial programs from volunteer charitable service to pre-professional teacher training. Middle class students who tutor the uneducated should pay for that apprentice teaching experience. Tutorial experience for high school students is a strong recommendation for college admissions and professional opportunity.

Currently the Jewish Community Center provides a number of tutors for supplementary instruction at the Neighborhood Center. The Center seeks to re-focus this program as a pre-professional teacher training program, funded by the Jewish Community Center in whole or through matching funds.

In redesigning the program, strong attention will be given to increasing the benefit of this pre-professional teacher training. Training of tutors by professionals in new teaching methods, machine instruction, educational psychology, etc. will be included.

In effect the tutor is today a sub-professional, but without thorough training. New tutorial teaching methods and curriculum will be developed with the cooperation of University, Office of Education-HEW, and the Columbus Board of Education.

9. Academy of Community Arts

In poor urban communities the problems of home economics are rats, pest control, collective bargaining in apartment rent, etc. The problems of architecture are redesigning apartments and buildings to accomodate the structure of existing family units. The problems of engineering are the development of cheaper materials for the structural improvement of dwellings, as well as simpler methods of do-it-yourself improvements for the poor. The problems of public health include the ecological control of rats. Since control is neither effective city-wide or by the single dwelling, there may be possibilities of neighborhood community control. Can engineering add features to existing physical boundaries of rivers, expressways, etc. to make them impassable for rats? The problem of medical rehabilitation for the poor requires that rehabilitation techniques be developed with reference to cracked sidewalks, linoleum instead of carpeting, etc.

The general issue raised here is that there are many directions of research and development in the fields of industry, trades, and professions which the University can explore within a community framework. The Neighborhood Center seeks to establish, with University, Professional, Industrial, and Trade associations, such a community framework for research and development within the neighborhood community. This work will be centered in a separate structure called the Academy of Community Arts.

In pursuit of this work, unemployed or under-fulfilled residents will be employed in staff research assistant capacities. Many new sub-professional possibilities lay in this direction of bringing university research into the field.

The academy will also be a center of fine arts in the community. Paintings in the municipal museum cold storage will be brought into the community. The community can purchase, display, and commission new art by young artists. An artist in residence will be established at the Academy for fine arts instruction. Providing him with a studio and two room apartment in a community building could bring inexpensive instruction to the community.

The Academy will also be a center of craft training and production serving the material needs of the other community projects--zoo, house rehabilitation, hostelry, etc. Young and old, retired skilled artisan and school kids, neighborhood poor and middle class suburban members of the church congregation--all can join together in common tasks of community art and invention.

Home arts, fine arts, and community arts will be the subject of the Academy program.

10. House Rehabilitation and Redesign Project

A project will be developed with five pilot structures for the rehabilitation and interior redesign of existing multiple dwelling structures which house the neighborhood poor. Most existing apartment units were built with the middle class assumption of a large living room, small bedrooms and kitchen. In terms of poor

Negro family units of single parent and 4-7 children, the project will examine the possibility of redesigning the interior units according to different models more consistent with low-income family structures.

For example, two models can be considered:

(a) Radial bunks around center play room for children, with connecting passage to efficiency sitting room-kitchenette for adults.

(b) Kibbutz principle in three story apartment building. Conversion of basement and first floor into play-sleep-study dormitory for the children of parents living in the building. Redesign of second and third floor into one room efficiency apartments for parents or single mother. A new den leader for children would be required.

The School of Architecture of Ohio State University will be brought into the Academy of Community Arts to work with the community on this redesign project. This project development conveys a fuller image of the community research and development function of the Academy as it will seek to explore new products and trades for industry and labor through a community framework. The labor unions will participate in this housing project on the basis of its contribution to construction trade innovation.

11. The Student Hostelry

Currently the Neighborhood Center has a student staff of 62. As a settlement house agency it is playing a critical training role in the field of social welfare for students of National University and Ohio State University in Columbus. In addition, a work/study association with Antioch College is now being arranged.

In return for this practice training, supervised by joint university faculty and Center professional staff panels, the students contribute valuable service to the community. They are an important and inexpensive staff resource.

There is a strong interest in developing a more continuous and regular program of student project work. Instead of coming to the Center one or two evenings a week, it would often be desirable in terms of project development to have students contribute a continuous weekend, or even, during vacations, week long work period. Yet, as desirable as this is, there are currently no facilities and provisions for such extended periods of work-study and project participation.

Additional students from Antioch and Wilberforce College would like to come to the Center for community work. Indeed, students all over the country are seeking communities in which to work. Children of the suburban congregation members of the Lutheran Church would also like to involve themselves on weekends in community efforts. Through this interest of the younger church people there is a basis of relating the suburbs to the core city. Yet there is no local accommodation for a weekend effort, while a discontinuous one-day-a-week contribution leaves the student too foreign to the community.

The Neighborhood Center aims to try a solution to this problem of providing room and board facilities for continuous student work in community by building a Student Hostelry. This student hostelry will be developed by the people in the neighborhood, through professional advice and help in the Academy of Community Arts. It is important that the neighborhood people develop the hostelry as their own invitation of welcome to outsiders.

A building will be found and redesigned as a community inn. The National Student Association and the colleges and universities related to the Center's program will be involved in this effort.

12. Community Owned Housing

With the development of the Academy of Community Arts, the Neighborhood Zoo, and five rehabilitated pilot multiple dwellings, and the Student Hostelry as additional physical structures owned by the Neighborhood Center, the Center will develop a program of research and development in the field of community owned property and real estate management.

Incorporated as a non-profit, tax-exempt community foundation, the Center and its anticipated 6000 membership will support research in the Academy and at universities on new directions of public property management by tax-exempt foundations. Can extended mortgage programs for purchase of structures and rehabilitation be developed with FHA and private banks for this corporate community ownership effort? Can lower interest payments be advanced through FHA financing or can metropolitan community trusts and national foundations advance 2% of a 4½% interest loan? Can the incorporated neighborhood borrow interest-free loans for housing and general public facility purchase from national foundations under extended mortgage plans? Can the Center, incorporated as a neighborhood community foundation, hold housing under its trust powers for a definite duration of use? Are federal rebates of local property tax to community foundations possible? These and many other inquiries into the economic feasibility of community foundation real estate will be advanced through research and development.

13. Neighborhood Community Insurance Policy

The Center will explore with Nationwide Insurance Company in Columbus the feasibility of developing a group insurance plan covering the territorial membership, 6000, of the Neighborhood Center. Currently, auto, life, health, etc. insurance all embody actuarial variables that are community based. Can the Center then move to advance this adaptation of the group principle, so well developed by business firms, to territorial corporate community?

Such a plan, managed by the Center, might hold substantial insurance savings for the individual families of the community, as well as save them, with the reliable insurance program of a dependable company, from the fly-by-night firms that currently exploit the poor for high premiums and instant cancellations.

14. Model Charter Development Project

Currently the Neighborhood Center is preparing to incorporate as a non-profit, tax-exempt community foundation. A democratic, self-governing charter for the community of 6000 residents built on direct membership is currently being developed. This Constitution will have model value for community organizations and private settlement house conversion all over the country.

The Neighborhood Center will change from a professional settlement house agency into the social, educational, and governmental center of a community polity. The Center, in short, seeks to become the center of urban community settlement. The districts of this ward republic will be the block organizations and residents surrounding the Center. Two-thirds of the board of directors will be elected from the community, with one-third board membership appointed from various public and private institutions of the city. The professional staff will work for and be responsible to the membership of this self-governing community. The projects of the settlement house will then become the projects of the community, tapping the creative imagination and thought of democratic polity.

The Community Foundation instrumentality is adaptable for this purpose. It can fulfill the funding, investment, and financial distribution capacities required by self-governing community for project financing and operation cost. Through the freedom of by-law construction, this instrument can be written and ratified as a democratic constitution for direct participation of the membership of community in foundation decisions. Finally, this instrument can provide for necessary associations with other institutions of the city, the University, Community Trust, Public Agencies, etc.

The new charter will be developed by September, 1965, in time for the funding of the proposals described in this memorandum. It will be the receiving, non-profit tax-exempt corporation for grants from government, foundations, and private contributions.

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NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY FOUNDATIONS

MEMORANDUM #9 *

FROM: MILTON KOTLER

SUBJECT: FUNDING NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY FOUNDATIONS

This is a brief comment on the problem of funding the program operations of neighborhood community foundations. In terms of the many projects (see Memo #8) of new institution building that could be creatively pursued, the funding issue is no less than the problem of how to finance a ward polity without the power of direct taxation.

There are essentially four sources of capitalizing neighborhood community organization:

1. Membership contribution or assessment
2. Federal government grants
3. Philanthropic contribution, particularly foundations and community trusts
4. Community corporate capitalization

I. Direct Membership Contribution or Assessment

The direct payment by membership is the traditional approach to funding voluntary associations. Yet in the context of the incorporation of communities of the poor, it is not likely that this

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* The title of these memoranda is changed to Neighborhood Community Foundations. My interest is to avoid confusion between what is proposed as a tax-exempt non-profit foundation structure for neighborhood corporate organization in our cities and the current metropolitan community foundations, established under incorporation or trust.

approach would be effective in raising the required capital for community action programs. In this case, the real function of direct membership payment is symbolic. Membership fees and annual payments can be kept nominal and function to establish continuing membership and rights to the benefits and duties of the community corporate activity.

Another appropriate use of direct membership funds would be to serve a matching function in grant proposals to national foundations, community trusts, and federal government grants. This can serve to express the community's commitment and responsibility to the proposed projects. It is a form of community action ratification.

Another method of direct membership fund raising would be through payments for particular community services for highly individual use, like health care, legal services, etc. Once again, this is not a substantial source of revenue. Rather such payments can serve to control use as a reasonable exchange for received benefits, within the income of members.

II. Federal Government Grants

1. With the current legislative movement toward direct federal program funding to non-profit private organizations, there are increasing possibilities of federal support of neighborhood community foundations. This trend has been advanced under the Poverty Program, but also covers other federal programs, e.g. cooperative

research in education, Hill-Burton, etc. Under the Poverty Program, neighborhood foundation project development should take the form of community action submission under Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act.

In terms of OEO's provision of representation of the poor, this program submission by neighborhood foundations, whose directors are elected by the membership, is of particular interest. Furthermore, under the recent policy of Sargent Shriver, neighborhood community action programs can be submitted to the Poverty Office notwithstanding a metropolitan community action agency.

The federal government is the major source for funding community foundation activities. Community action grants to representative polities of the poor within the city is a realistic approach to the equitable distribution of social benefits in the society. Funding thereby will respond to corporate community representatives and publicly supported projects, rather than to professional and political organization, which only ends up serving middle class occupational interests.

2. A further direction of federal funding should be considered, as reflected in the Heller Plan of federal rebates of tax surplus to state governments. Here the surplus of federal taxes could be rebated to neighborhood community foundations on the basis of their tax-exempt status. It is conceivable to develop new legislation for federal rebates of local property tax to community foundations, thereby reducing the costs of community owned

housing, and permitting rehabilitation at low rentals. Under such an arrangement, the state will still gain the property tax; the federal government will achieve its interest in distributing its surplus, and the community will gain the advantage of improved housing at low cost. A whole series of federal tax rebates can be developed to support the community action of neighborhood foundations.

3. It is important to review the whole federal grant-in-aid structure, with an eye to developing a grant-in-aid system of federal matching funds to neighborhood community foundations. Currently grants-in-aid relate the federal government principally to state governments. But there are new directions of federal matching to municipalities and public purpose institutions, like universities. What we are looking forward to is a grant-in-aid structure relating the federal government to non-profit organizations engaged in para-governmental community social services. This program could be worked out with equalization formulas, and be helpful in raising a serious review of the whole approach of grants-in-aid structure. Related to this direction there are possibilities of working out matching neighborhood community foundation grants with the state government, bypassing the municipality. Can neighborhood foundations be tax-exempt non-profit organizations recipient of state matched federal grant-in-aid money?

III. Philanthropic Contribution

1. The national foundations and community trusts are a growing source of support for community action and public service improvement. Today, this source of funds is not much less than federal funding for social welfare purposes. Hopefully the federal budget will step up welfare expenditure to outstrip charitable contribution, so that, in the long run, we can look at foundations and community trusts as the principal sources for innovating new approaches to community service rather than continue as sources of operational support. As community organizations proliferate all over the country, it is hard to see private foundations and trusts sustaining the operational costs of thousands of community foundations. Their use, therefore, should be fashioned to support the social innovations of neighborhood community foundation. The national foundations and trusts should stand as patrons of community creativity, rather than as sugar daddies.

2. An interesting possibility of stretching the supportive capacities of national foundations and trusts to neighborhood foundations is the development of interest-free loans. Neighborhood community organization, by borrowing $100,000 on a twenty year interest free loan for a national foundation, could gain during the first year $5,000 in non-taxable interest, returning at the end of the year $5,000 from its capital to the linking foundation. In the second year it could gain $4,750, and return again another $5,000

in its third year, $4,500, returning another $5,000. Thus, each time it reduces its capital by $5,000, it still gains 5%, which could go toward staff and project operation. The foundations might be interested in this method of funding community action.

3. An important source of support for neighborhood foundations would be through metropolitan community foundations, or community trust funding. These trusts, in the past 50 years, have been receiving and distributing charitable contributions for metropolitan social welfare. They have been principal supporters of private agency welfare work.

There is great importance in relating the neighborhood foundation to the metropolitan community trusts in a kind of federated financial arrangement. This conduit of money and advice from community trusts to neighborhood community foundations can open a floodgate of private charitable contribution, now locked by specific trust arrangements and the absence of strong public accountability. Further, financial distribution and professional assistance and guidance from community trusts to neighborhood polities can give trust administrators a public backing useful for more creative persuasion on private wealth for increased contribution to social purposes within our cities. The community trusts would enjoy expansion of their purpose and effectiveness in bringing them into a more public position. This new source of public support would be helpful for their own dealings with private wealth. Neighborhood foundations can enhance the importance of the community trust structure.

In this connection, it's important to work out the trust capacities of neighborhood foundations, just as those trust capacities have been so well used by metropolitan community trusts. For example, the neighborhood foundations, through trust powers, can receive property use for limited durations. In the case of housing held in 20 year trust, the neighborhood could enjoy the rents while the owner achieves the advantages of 20 year cost free market appreciation. Private wealth may have a strong interest in giving property in trust to neighborhood foundations, especially in depreciating markets, for their own use and financial benefit during the limited periods. With the foundation paying a small carrying charge to the private donor, who in turn writes off the loss of income of the limited duration, there may be many possibilities of strong financial interest by private wealth in this kind of limited transfer. In short, there is a whole range of tax benefits that can be explored for funding application to neighborhood community foundations. The neighborhood foundation should work to develop its maximum financial receiving and distribution capacities, just as community trusts have done.

IV. Community Corporate Capitalization

A further approach to capital funding of neighborhood community foundations lies in the just cause of class suits, run by the foundations, for damages to membership suffered in slum housing or by the negligent picture of public service agencies. The neighborhood corporation, by contract with damaged members, could run these suits under the agreement that the neighborhood foundation will be beneficiary to the judgment. This has particular application in the field of landlord-tenant law. Can the community foundation run damage suits for classes of slum tenants against slumlords for failure or warranty of fitness in slum property? Can the principles of warranty, so well established today in the field of personal property, be applied in the field of landlord-tenant? Can the principle of suing for the psychic damage of the mouse in the coke bottle be applied to a civil suit for damage for a rat in the apartment? The neighborhood foundation can run a suit for ten slum tenants who are members of the foundation against a slum landlord for rats, falling beams, and other damages common to all tenants in the dwelling structure. This suit can be brought on failure of warranty. In this behalf, a "Brandeis" brief establishing physical and psychic damage would have to be developed. It is conceivable that such suits can succeed to substantial judgments--possibly $80,000 in the case of ten tenants--against the landlord. If this succeeds, then settlement solutions of transfer of the slum property to the neighborhood foundation can be worked out. Thus, the outcome of the suit could result in community-owned housing, a substantial approach to capital accumulation by the neighborhood corporation.

On the matter of class suits in landlord-tenant law, Richard J. Barnet, of the Institute for Policy Studies, has prepared a seminal memorandum which will follow in this series.

Another example of capitalization by class suits can be cited. In a neighborhood community in Chicago, the elementary school children suffer the nuisance of elevated tracks right next to the building, moving fast subway cars every two minutes past the windows of the school. It is estimated that the students suffer a million interruptions a year. The question is to what extent is their education impaired and their future income damaged by this nuisance. What is of particular interest in this case is that technologically there is a positive solution in a $9,000 soundproofing job. Currently, the Board of Education refuses to make substantial repairs on old school structures in anticipation of new construction. In the meantime, however, the children must suffer damage. The suit against the Chicago Transit Authority could be run by the community foundation under contract agreement with the class of parents of the children in that school. $9,000 of the judgment could be used to soundproof the building. Indeed, this should be interpreted as the cost to the C.T.A. for right of way or easement. There are further claims for damages beyond the $9,000, on the basis of already lost value of education, notwithstanding the subsequent soundproofing of the building. That soundproofing can only prevent future damage, but not repair past loss. If a judgment beyond $9,000 can be gained by the neighborhood foundation, that further amount could be invested in a playground adjoining the school, which the school does not currently have. A further portion of the judgment could be distributed to the plaintiffs, and the surplus of the judgment could be retained by the neighborhood foundation as a source of capital either for investment in supplementary education or capital investment.

These and other class damage suits are possible for the neighborhood community foundation as beneficiary to run for its membership. This approach holds substantial hope for capitalizing the foundation by just law through the courts. This damage approach has its parallels in 19th Century American industrial growth. During that century of small depressions and bankruptcy, Americans repurchased depreciated English and French investment, particularly in railroads. Thus, American capital accumulated by bankruptcy and transfer from foreign to domestic sources. What is suggested, then, is that neighborhood foundations could capitalize under the damage principle just as finance capitalized under bankruptcy in the 19th Century.

NEIGHBORHOOD FOUNDATIONS
MEMORANDUM #10

FROM: MILTON KOTLER, INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES, WASHINGTON, D.C.

DATE: OCTOBER 18, 1965

SUBJECT: REVIEW OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD FOUNDATION PROJECT: COLUMBUS, OHIO

The Neighborhood Foundation development of the First English Lutheran Church, Columbus, Ohio, has been proceeding for the past five months. The aim of the project is to turn the government of an existing church settlement house agency over to the people of the neighborhood it serves. The local neighborhood of 6,500 residents in the East Central area of Columbus, Ohio, is now incorporated as the East Central Citizens Organization. ECCO is a direct membership neighborhood foundation set up to legally receive the existing physical facility of the Neighborhood Center, develop and decide service programs, receive funding, and govern and manage program operation. The aim of this neighborhood foundation project is to further, in a poverty area of Columbus, Ohio the social service life of the settlement in the direction of neighborhood decision and total community service and general welfare. The settlement is governed by the incorporated neighborhood as its self-governing community service agency. With the transfer of the settlement agency to the people and neighborhood corporate charter we are laying the foundations of a democratically governed community of service.

A demonstration grant is being sought from the Office of Economic Opportunity under Title II, Section 207, to fund the operation of the governing structure of the Neighborhood Foundation for a period of two years, within which time service program proposals will be developed by the people and submitted for funding to various sources, metropolitan and national.

Membership in the foundation rests on residence or regular employment in the bounded area of the expressway on the south and west; Bryden to the north; east to Ohio; south to Main, then east to Wilson; and Wilson on the east. The Neighborhood Center, which is the existing church settlement agency being transferred to the East Central Citizens Organization, is centered in this bounded locality. For the past years, this area has been the circumference of Center activities, membership and participation. Within thie neighborhood of 6,500 people, anyone age 16 and over is eligible for membership in the corporation. Membership involves simple declaration and signing the membershipproster. The body of members constitute the Assembly of the Foundation, which will meet twice annually and for special meetings, in order to elect the Executive Council and transact other business within its constituted powers -- i.e., authorization and termination of programs, hearings on neighborhood problems and Foundation operation, removal of officers and executive council staff for cause in accordance with By-law provisions, etc. As such, the Assembly is a governing authority, holding certain major powers of decision.

The annually elected Executive Council is the seat of executive authority and policy decision in the Foundation. Its chairman, or president, is directly elected from among the Council membership by the Assembly. The Executive Council in turn elects an executive director, chief administrative officer of the Foundation, and a program director and corporation counsel.

The Council will appoint an Advisory Board, to advise them on professional qualifications and on matters of financial management and capital development. The power of decision of the Foundation rests solely in the Executive Council and Assembly.

The day to day business of the Council and its elected staff will be to fulfill the purposes of this Neighborhood Foundation: namely, to operate for charitable, scientific, and educational purposes in order to promote and further the welfare of the neighborhood community through its good will operating in democratic, self-governing action. For these ends, the Council and Assembly shall exercise the power and authority of this neighborhood service foundation, develop self-determined programs and receive and manage funds granted to the Foundation for those purposes.

The Neighborhood Center of the First English Lutheran Church, which is the settlement agency now transferred to the East Central Citizens Organization, began its full scale settlement program in 1961, after seven years of parish house service programming. Since 1961, the settlement agency has grown in programming, professional staff, neighborhood involvement and extended use of services, and of great importance, volunteer neighborhood participation in program development and operation.

At the present time, there is a professional program director and secretarial staff, as well as a part-time program staff of volunteer professionals and neighborhood resident. A number of local residents who became interested in the variety of programs offered have contributed their efforts in program development and operation. Where money was available out of a very limited budget, neighborhood workers were added to the paid staff. Further, many students from Ohio State University participated voluntarily in tutorial projects, as well as the legal services program. While the program staff and neighborhood use of the settlement service programs was extensive last year, budget expenditures for 1964 totaled only $24,300.13, financed by private contributions and appropriation from the Church Council of the First English Lutheran Church, the Board of American Missions of the Lutheran Church of America, and the First Community Church, Columbus, Ohio.

The programs of the Neighborhood Center include afternoon workshops and friendship groups held for girls and boys in the 3rd through 6th grades. A day camp is conducted three days a week. Junior High boys and girls meet once a week; Senior High teenagers have dances twice a week, and a Teen Council meets once a week. For adults, there is a Monday Afternoon Club, affording neighborhood mothers an afternoon "break;" Senior Citizens and Golden Agers have their groups. Tutoring arrangements are made with high school and college students from all over Columbus. The Columbus Chapter of the American Association of University Women conducts a day care program. There is also a pre-school program for retarded children during the school year. Ohio State University Law School runs a neighborhood legal services program at the Center with law students, a faculty adviser and volunteer attorneys.

Other special services include a Planned Parenthood Clinic and emergency welfare referral services, psychiatric counselling, a job placement unit, first aid classes held in cooperation with the American Red Cross, and AFSC work camp programs. As of July 12, there were 574 paid and registered members.

A major factor permitting this wide range of service programming in the settlement on a limited budget is attributable to the volunteer city-wide professional help, as well as to the volunteer and part-time paid service of the neighborhood residents in program development and operation. The people have been running a substantial part of the settlement actively with the strong encouragement and assistance of the permanent and volunteer professional staff. The importance of these past years of local participation is that today there is in this poor area a neighborhood service and welfare leadership. This leadership developed around and exists today in the context of the settlement.

In March, 1965, the Operating Committee and staff of the Neighborhood Center of the First English Lutheran Church undertook a long run review of the future of the settlement. It was clear that the current budget was inadequate to fulfill the growing welfare and service needs of the south east central area of Columbus which the Center had been serving. All program areas had to be expanded, and new services devised. Growing neighborhood need and desire for day care, health aid, legal services, pre-school education, assistance to the retarded, youth job training and placement, adult basic education and teen programming had to be confronted. At the same time, there was no prospect for increasing the budget from church sources for meeting these expanding needs of poverty. Nor could the church be certain that the anticipated programs of the Columbus Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization could meet all of the expanding needs in the neighborhood with the sensitivity and flexibility needed for intensely local creativity and participation. It was clear the Neighborhood Center had to continue and grow, notwithstanding other welcomed social service and welfare developments in the city.

At this point, the Center took the position of seeking funding support from the Columbus United Community Council, for the expansion of its operating budget. The response of the United Community Council was negative. The argument was that the limited funds of the Columbus Federation of Settlements would necessitate the transfer of responsibility for the services of the Neighborhood Center to a United Appeal agency recently displaced by urban renewal and relocated near, yet outside of the area served, instead of funding another agency. At the same time, the Council made it clear that their rejection of the proposal did not reflect a negative judgment of the quality of Neighborhood Center activities, due to the physical distance and particularly due to the practical and necessary introduction of general rules and regulations.

This inability to obtain additional funds through community organization channels made it clear to the Neighborhood Center that metropolitan funds were inadequate to meet neighborhood needs and that the Center remained the best prospect for serving these needs. It was necessary to explore new directions of settlement development and funding, in order to continue the life of the neighborhood settlement and promote its new institutional growth.

The Neighborhood Foundation Project for self-governing settlement was the plan of action decided. It has been since pursued. The major principle which directed this current development was the judgment of the Center's staff and operating committee that whatever the approach taken towards the continued growth of the settlement, it would have to advance and fulfill one principle: Namely, the settlement growth must rest on enlarged and reinforced participation of the neighborhood residents in the development and operation of social service and welfare programs; and that growth must assume legal and self-governing form. It was considered important to more strongly and completely identify the settlement agency with the total neighborhood community, as the social unit it served. The strengthening of the participation principle had to move in the direction of the people's actual legal decision on service program development and management, above and beyond their past informal assistance in program operation. In short, how could the settlement develop in the direction of its actual control and government by the neighborhood people? How could the Neighborhood Center become a self-governing settlement?

This direction of the self-determining service principle rested on firm experience. The major element of programming success over the years related more to the fact of neighborhood participation in program development and operation, than to the excellence of professional social planning and control. The future direction of settlement growth would have to be based on neighborhood decisettlement maximally reflect the people's needs, as expressed by them in discussion and as decided by them through a neighborhood corporate structure of democratic self-government. It was contemplated that service programs arising on this self-determining basis would be different in character and value than programs derived from professional decision and control. It was felt that this difference could be evidenced in new indices of program success, and that this experiment in program difference was worth pursuing and putting to the test. This principle is the basis of our demonstration proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In exploring this direction of settlement development in April, it became clear to the church that in order to fully examine the kind of service programs that could come out of self-determination by the people, and the implications of such difference for the future of the settlement, it was incumbent on the church to legally transfer the control of the agency to the neighborhood it serves and initiate a corporate development in the neighborhood to receive and govern the settlement. The strategy of this development was conceived to involve three stages, First, the church had to transfer the agency to the neighborhood community. Second, the neighborhood community had to be corporatively organized on a direct membership constituent basis to receive, govern and administer the settlement; and finally, the self-governing structure of the neighborhood foundation had to be funded with sufficient resources to develop and finance their own conceived and decided social service programs.

These three stages represent the organizational efforts that have taken place over the past five months, and bring us to the present time of proposal for a demonstration grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity to fund the self-governing structure of the Neighborhood Foundation, named the East Central Citizens Organization (ECCO). In the course of this project to date, considerable personal and institutional support has been developed and stands as a strong foundation of available resources for future service program development and funding from community service institutions and agencies, metropolitan and national. A review of these organization developments in the project to date will be helpful to introduce the basis for the demonstration grant being sought from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

A. The first stage of development, beginning in April, involved discussions between the Neighborhood Center staff, the Church Pastor, Leopold Bernhard and Assistant Pastor, Milo Billman, members of the Operating Committee Center, neighborhood residents and leaders, and Milton Kotler of the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D. C. It was out of this group discussion that the course of neighborhood foundation development emerged. The strategy involved two initial steps. First, it was necessary to gain the interest and approval of the church council and board of the Neighborhood Center to transfer the settlement agency to an incorporated Neighborhood Foundation. At the same time, discussions on this development for the settlement were held with a larger number of people in the neighborhood to see if they were interested in receiving the settlement for their own government and administration.

Both of these early inquiries produced an affirmative response. The Church Council passed enabling resolutions approving the project development and resolving to transfer the agency to the neighborhood people in the proper course of the community organizing and charter development. In short, the Church Council committed itself to getting out the neighborhood social service business, and to turn its settlement agency over to the people for their own control, government, and administration. In the process of this decision, strong personal commitment for the development came from particular church members in the city's professional, business and civic leadership.

Concurrent with the Church Council action, the Operating Committee of the Neighborhood Center, which has served as its board, composed of five church members, five social service professionals, and five neighborhood residents, endorsed the neighborhood foundation development for self-governing settlement and favored the transfer of agency control to an elected neighborhood board. Today, this operating committee, with five additional resident members selected from the four component neighborhood clubs in the foundation area, comprise the interim Executive Council of the Neighborhood Foundation, pending elections of the new Executive Council from the Neighborhood Membership Assembly. The church professional, and resident members of this Operating Committee have been very helpful resources in the past months in furthering the community organizing efforts, as well as in gaining citywide civic, professional and business support.

At the same time that the Church Council and Operating Committee were consulted, the people of the neighborhood, independently as well as through the four existing neighborhood clubs in the foundation area, were contacted for their views and interest in the project. Through a series of near 100 house meetings, neighborhood club meetings, and personal conversations, the residents expressed overwhelming support for the project, and offered their time and effort in organizing the Neighborhood Foundation. The four neighborhood clubs in the settlement area -- the Blackburn, the First Neighborhood, Clover Lead, and Wilson clubs -- voted support and membership in the Foundation. Beyond this supporting decision and neighborhood resident organizing effort, neighborhood people began meeting in a regular project council to review the developing charter as well as plan organization strategy. This group, now meeting regularly, numbers about forty resident

B. With the endorsement and organizing effort of the residents, as well as the affirmative resolution of the Church Council and the Operating Committee, the project development entered a second stage of legal charter construction and its circulating neighborhood review and revision, in order to build a firmly based democratic constitution of direct resident membership which would enable the neighborhood community to receive the settlement and to devide and manage its self-determined service programs with professional advice of their own choosing.

There were numerous aspects of this chartering stage once church and neighborhood commitment was affirmed: (1) funding for the initial project development; (2) legal assistance for the charter development; (3) interest and support of the Federal government and the Office of Economic Opportunity in the merits of this approach to the participation of local residents of a poor area in the development of their own self-determined programs of social service and neighborhood welfare; (4) cooperation of the Columbus Metropolitan Community Action Organization in the project development; (5) support from the Columbus civic and business leadership; (6) the understanding and good will of the Metropolitan Community Organization; (7) local and Federal agency interest in direct program funding and technical assistance to the Foundation; (8) national and community foundation support (9) the interest of the national social work professional structures and social work education leadership; and above all; (10) community organizing for enlarging local support of the Foundation by a project leadership council, composed of neighborhood club officers and other committed residents. They would play an important role in the review and revision of the charter development, membership organization, as well as the initiation of a community dialogue on the kinds of services needed in the neighborhood and the ways they should be set up. This began an ongoing indigenous community effort which continues today in building the foundation and promoting social service education in the neighborhood.

The following discussion reviews the developments of this second stage of the project and the enlarging circles of support from different sectors of society which have grown over the past five months. Its review leads us to the current stage of project development, namely, the submission of this grant proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity to support the realization and advancement of the self-governing service structure of the Neighborhood Foundation.

1. A research and development proposal for the neighborhood foundation project was prepared by Milton Kotler, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D. C. Pastor Leopold Bernhard, of the First English Lutheran Church, submitted this proposed budget to the Lutheran Church of America, requesting necessary funds to initiate the project.

Concurrently, other project development funding support was sought. The Stern Family Fund gave a grant of $3,000 for the project. The National Council of Churches was helpful in bringing in an additional $3,000 for support from the Columbus, Ohio Area Council of Churches.

2. Robert Herzstein of the law firm of Arnold, Fortas and Porter, Washington, D. C. volunteered his services to draft the Neighborhood Foundation charter. He further enlisted the service of George Coburn, of Vom Bauer, Beresford and Coburn, Washington, D. C. in this task. Together with the drafting assistance of John Stein of George Washington University Law School, the charter development proceeded.

At each stage of charter development, the draft went back to Columbus for discussion and review. The Project Leadership Council, the Operating Committee of the Center, Pasters Bernhard and Billman, the Center staff, Mr. Kotler and Andrew White of Knepper, White, Richards and Miller, Columbus, participated in this ongoing charter review and revision. The attached final and approved Articles of Incorporation represents the successful outcome of this circulating process. Mr. White is acting agent for the corporation while Mr. Herzstein has applied for tax-exemption for the corporation from the Internal Revenue Service. A draft of the By-Laws of the East Central Citizens Organization is also attached. The attorneys are continuing to assist the Neighborhood Leadership Council and interim Executive Council of ECCO in this by-law development.

The signing of the final Articles occurred on August 16 and was recorded and approved by the State of Ohio on September 7, 1965. The signatories represent the existing Operating Committee of the Neighborhood Center as well as five additional local residents, representing the elected leadership of the four constituent neighborhood clubs. This Executive Council will serve as the government of the foundation until elections of a new Executive Council from the Foundation membership, which will take place three months after the grant is awarded from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

3. The Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D. C., was informed of this development in its early stages. Interest was expressed from the Program Development Staff of the Community Act Program with a view of the Neighborhood Foundation Charter development a hopeful new approach to the resident participation of the poor in anti-poverty program development.

Since June, Mr. Kotler has continued his discussions with O.E.O. staff members and has gained helpful advice in the preparation of this demonstration proposal for funding the operation of the Neighborhood Foundation governing structure.

4. An important factor for the success of this demonstration project will be the cooperation of the Metropolitan Area Columbus Community Organization. Although this proposal seeks a direct demonstration grant under the Title II, Section 207 of the Economic Opportunity Act, endorsement of this project development by the Columbus CAP would be helpful for several reasons. First, while the cost of the governing structure of the foundation will be funded from Washington, the Foundation will be seeking funds from Columbus CAP, among other sources, for the self-determined programs it develops. Endorsement of the project will favor cooperative proposal consideration and support in program funding to the Foundation from that organization. Second, endorsement by the Columbus CAP of the Neighborhood Foundation project would favor adequate testing of the self-determining principle advanced in this demonstration. The

principle for which the demonstration grant will be awarded is that anti-poverty programs of service and economic opportunity when developed, decided on, and managed by the people themselves, legally incorporated to so act, and directly funded for that purpose, will be different from the service programs developed by professional organization and decision, either under a CAP model or traditional settlement house concept. The cooperation of the Metropolitan Area Columbus Community Organization to make available a comparable CAP area for testing differences in professional and self-determining program decision and management would favor good evaluation of this demonstration principle.

Currently constructive efforts are under way to gain this interest and agreement from the Columbus CAP. A petition to this effect has been prepared in the neighborhood -- notifying the CMACAO of neighborhood membership in ECCO and their interest in CAP endorsement of this project. 1,000 members have already signed. At the same time, Mr. Kotler, Pastor Bernhard and others are developing support for the Columbus CAP agreement from friends of the foundation in the Columbus civic leadership who strongly support the approach of self-governing service. With these efforts on both fronts, as well as continuing discussion of the project with Columbus CAP staff, it is hoped agreement will be reached.

5. This brings us to the good understanding and wide interest in the Neighborhood Foundation project by civic, church and business leaders in Columbus. Discussions began in July and have since grown into strong support for this church and community initiative in self-help service organization among the poor. Some reasons for this civic interest include the chance this project provides for the people to decide what services they need and develop them along real lines. It is a way to put social service on the marketplace. Further, it presents the possibility of a direct working relationship and dialogue between rich and poor on the ECCO Advisory Board composed of civic leaders and elected neighborhood residents, as well as between the Executive Council and its Advisory Board. The circle of civic support is growing each week, and has resulted in real assistance.

Pastor Bernhard and Mr. Kotler have met with the Board presidents of Columbus settlement house agencies; the Board presidents of the United Community Council and Columbus Federation of Settlements; with the Chamber of Commerce and business leaders in the community representing major financial, retail, and insurance enterprises which long have been active in improving community welfare. From these meetings there has grown a general expression of support for the project and a keen interest in seeing what direction the Neighborhood Foundation holds for future developments in community organization. This civic support is an important source for Executive Council development of an ECCO Advisory Board.

Considerable assistance has come from the Columbus Area Council of Churches, which funded part of the initial development grant, though local denominational contribution. There is continuing observation of the project by local and national ministry and a growing dialogue on project implications for church social action strategy.

6. At the present stage of project development, strong attention is being given to the community organization and professional service structure of the city. Now that neighborhood support is at a high level, and good understanding and favor have developed among civic leaders, discussion with the officers of the United Community Council, the Federation of Settlements of Columbus, and the Columbus Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization (CMACAO), will prove more effective. At the current level of project development, with neighborhood strength, civic support, the positive interest of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the enlarging involvement of the National Council of Churches and national foundations, the interest of national settlement leaders like Margaret Berry, as well as leaders in social work education, like Dr. Alfred Kahn, New York University School of Social Work, constructive discussion can be held with the Columbus Community Organization structure and agencies.

The project staff has met with Ralph Pidcock, Director of the Columbus Community Action Program, and Homer Bishop, Director of the Columbus Federation of Settlements. The discussions have been constructive and point to a likelihood of endorsement of this project by the Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization. Continuing discussion will be held to further strengthen cooperation, aiming toward their positive program development and funding assistance to the elected Executive Council of ECCO.

7. In this connection, growing national and metropolitan public and private social agency interest in the ECCO development in Columbus is laying a good resource foundation for professional assistance and program funding support for ECCO programs. Efforts have been made in Columbus to explore cooperative training and evaluation roles for local agencies in ECCO self-determined program development. The present interest of the Columbus Council of Retarded Children, the Department of Public Health, as well as Ohio State University in subprofessional training contracts under ECCO funded programs represents an important resource to the Neighborhood Foundation in deciding which way to move in the program field.

At the same time, Federal government program funding support for self-governing ECCO program developments have been discussed by the project staff with agencies and departments in the fields of housing, small business development, job training, crime and delinquency prevention, education, etc. Direct grants from these agencies to ECCO could provide for training sub-contracts to appropriate local service agencies. The interest of this aspect of project activity has been to introduce Federal agencies and departments to the Neighborhood Foundation concept of self-governing service and pave the way for future program application.

8. Discussions have begun with national foundations in the community action field to develop a grant for free funds to the East Central Citizens Organization for service program use. Such a program "kitty" could provide the Foundation with a reserve for service programs not otherwise fundable through Federal or local welfare funding and social planning structures. It will permit a fuller examination of the self-determining program principle of the demonstration.

Discussion will also proceed with leaders in the Metropolitan Community Foundation field to explore the problem of capital development for neighborhood foundations. How can neighborhood foundations develop their own endowments in order to cover the costs of self-governing administration? Can the metropolitan community foundations of our cities assist the neighborhood foundations in their financial development and management? The Columbus Foundation could be of great assistance to ECCO in making available its organizational capacities and professional skills to ECCO for effective financial management and capital development. This could lay a financial basis for the support of the ECCO structure after the grant period of the demonstration.

9. At the national service profession level, there has been discussion about the implications of the Neighborhood Foundation for the future of the private settlement house agency. The self-governing settlement could be a new direction of the agency, recapturing its earlier spirit as a social movement. The settlement house has often become too professional and building-bound, and has lost much of its identification with the neighborhood as a social community, as well as with the poor as a social unit in the community. Settlement services may have become too individual. The case and group work emphasis has proceeded so far that the concept of neighborhood community as a unit of social behavior has receded. Since the neighborhood as a community no longer centers in the settlement, the settlement has lost much of its old excitement as a place of community action and self-help. Correspondingly, its funding has fallen behind the primary attention to new kinds of metropolitan wide specialized service agencies. It has become less central than in the past to the imagination and support of private donors. The self-governing settlement as a structure of neighborhood service might recapture this image of social movement and the sense of neighborhood self-help in new constructive social action.

Further, professional management of settlements has tended to separate the settlement boards from the neighborhood people. The Advisory Board concept of the Neighborhood Foundation, a civic group working directly with the elected Executive Council, can recapture that relationship and dialogue of rich and poor.

To the extent that settlement professionals have been hired by the boards instead of by the people of the neighborhood served, the staff has developed a suburban, rather than local neighborhood constituency. The elective foundation of professional staff in the self-governing regains the popular constituency for the Social Work profession, as well as the maximum involvement of the neighborhood people in service program decision and utilization.

The East Central Citizens Organization (ECCO), a neighborhood foundation for self-governing settlement, holds an exciting direction for the social work profession. With further self-governing developments around the country and their new possibilities of leadership and real service by the people and for the people, the profession can gain a new breed of personnel, such as Peace Corps returnees and the talented organizers from the Civil Rights and Community Action movements. At the same time, the Foundation can give new life and possibility to the settlement agency, where self-governing neighborhood and social agency are one. Margaret Barry, Director of the National Federation of Settlements, has expressed strong interest in this Columbus project, and a Federation interest in actively associating in the project whereever its services might be useful.

Mr. Kotler and Dr. Alfred Kahn, of the New York University School of Social Work, are discussing the implications of the Neighborhood Foundation for new departures in Social Work education. Dr. Kahn is Chairman of the Advisory Council of a new community organization curriculum development, funded by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. Promising possibilities are ahead for updating the concept and dimensions of Social Work education to furnish the wide-ranging knowledge required for professional assistance to neighborhood self-governing communities of service. The Neighborhood Foundation development, in its conception of democratizing social service, can catalyze this direction of curriculum change in Social Work education.

It is expected that this involvement of the National Federation of Settlements, as well as support of leaders in Social Work education, will favor further local support in Columbus from professional community organization structure and the Columbus CAP, and help assure effective cooperation.

10. At the neighborhood level, resident effort and understanding have grown rapidly since April. The neighborhood clubs have voted membership in the Foundation. The Project Leadership Council grows in number at each week's Council meetings. And of great importance, the men are showing up and taking helm of organization leadership. There have been neighborhood club picnics and membership assemblies on problems of the neighborhood and

what the foundation can do to solve them. On August 29, a celebration of the Charter was held, organized by the people with 300 membership signatures gained that day. Each week the residents continue their organization drive. Each week their hopes and ideas of the self-governing settlement grow into greater reality.

The First English Lutheran Church of Columbus has initiated the promise of a self-governing community service. This issue of church and community in this neighborhood area of Columbus has, over the past months, grown into an exciting reality and major endeavor in community organization in urban life.

The people are excited by the chance of legally deciding what meets their needs and governing a legitimate institution of social service for that purpose. The civic leadership of Columbus is sincerely committed to self-government and putting service on the market place by letting the people of poverty who need service decide what that service should be. Leaders in the Social Work profession see new life for the settlement agency and a new breed of Social Work professional working for the corporate neighborhood community, as a legal entity, to assist their expression and decision of service needs. The metropolitan community foundations see possibilities of financial relationship for service development directly to the people incorporated as a self--governing service agency. We hope that the Office of Economic Opportunity will look with interest to this project as a new model of democratic involvement and real program development of what the poor really need, decided by the people with their own choice of professional assistance.

This church and community initiative toward the self-governing settlement has united many elements of the community -- neighborhood, citywide, and national, in a new social mission. The courage of the church in transferring its legitimate institution of service to the neighborhood, as their own corporate, self-governing organization, points to an exciting path for a future strategy of community action, which can bring together the dynamic forces of social change in the positive task of building new self-governing communities of service in urban society, new polities of service, new "ward republics."

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NEIGHBORHOOD FOUNDATIONS
MEMORANDUM 10A

FROM : Leopold W. Bernhard, Pastor, First English Lutheran Church, Columbus, Ohio

SUBJECT: Community Foundation and the Church

DATE : June, 1965

Since the beginning of this year I have attended a one-month course at the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission in Chicago where I heard two presentations by Milton Kotler of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. I consulted with Mr. Kotler for three full days in Columbus; had a conference with Mr. Kotler, Miss Janet Langen, an Animal Behaviorist from Washington, and with Mr. Messerman, Director of the Legal Clinic of the Law School of Ohio State University, and I spent a full day in consultation with Milton Kotler, Mr. Herzstein of the Law firm, Arnold, Fortas and Porter and the Co-Directors of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. A course I teach on Urban Ministry at the Methodist Theological School in Delaware, Ohio, gave me the opportunity to re-study several books on the Church in modern urban society - among them those by Martin Marty, Gibson Winters, William Stringfellow, Hans Rudi Weber, and others.

At the moment I am in the process of requesting the Institute for Policy Studies to create a charter for a Community Foundation to be established in the geographic area in which First English Lutheran Church is located, and to prepare proposals for the establishment of vital community service for submission to agencies of the Federal government and to several large Foundations with the request to finance these services.

In connection with all of this, some very basic considerations of great urgency have arisen which I shall attempt to present in this paper. These considerations are my chief concern but their evaluation must also determine whether or not an application for a research grant to facilitate arrangements with the Institute for Policy Studies should be made.

THE CHURCH'S PROBLEM

For several decades the Church has been wrestling with the problem of its role in the emerging urban society. For nearly 25 years I have been engaged in dealing with many of its complexities.

For the Church, the major challenge remains to make the Gospel relevant to men in modern society. How can the Church make the life-giving Word of God understandable, audible, effective? It is clear that this question involves first the matter of semantics, the translation of Biblical and theological language into the language of the people, and the re-stating of religious concepts in ways which are meaningful to modern man. This is, of course, a perennial challenge which the Church has had to meet throughout her history. It involves mainly the worship of the Church, which is the heart of her life, with particular reference to liturgy and preaching. It seems to me that the Church has tremendous experience and expertise in these areas, even if she may find it difficult to achieve satisfactory (from the Church's point of view) results, because the Church's worship can never be fully guarded from distortion by the fragile human factor, namely the insight, the capacity, and flexibility of her clergy.

It has also been clear since the Church's earliest history that her preaching and its effectiveness and indeed the very essence of the Word of God are inseparably related to her effectual care for human beings in their physical and material needs and to her active concern for the corporate existence of men in society. That is to say that the ministry of the Church is inseparable from social action in the most inclusive sense of the word. Church history tells of the many developments of the diakonia of the Early Church, of their theologically legitimate and illegitimate expressions, and of the countless dangers which even today continue to pervert these developments.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

It is of course clear that the worship life of the Church and her social action endeavors are closely interrelated, even if at least in the beginning of this paper I have to deal with them separately and must now concentrate on the area of social action.

In passing, I simply mention the fact of liturgical renewal, its rather pathetic degeneration to the largely irrelevant controversy over "high" and "low" church performances, its forays into "folk-liturgies," Its recapturing of ancient traditional forms and concepts with more or less happy results, its renewed discovery of the great value of communication by way of symbols, its essential function in the reviving of family and private devotions and its inestimable benefit as a teaching instrument.

In the area of social action the care of the individual has led to the most concentrated efforts in pastoral counseling, although one can hardly overlook the threat of certain misdevelopments in this area which could easily prove dangerous.

It is quite evident that a congregation located like the First English Lutheran Church can become relevant only as it proves its concern for the people of the community by offering them needed services as token and expression of that love which it proclaims. Yet it is exactly in this context that knotty problems continue to arise.

DIFFICULTIES

One very practical question is how far can and may the congregation go in offering social services to a community. Social services are costly. Yet they must be offered in sufficient measure to be effective enough to make the concern of the congregation credible. It is of course also mandatory that these social services are not misused as evangelism tools. Their success may not be measured by the number of new members the congregation gains. Social services rendered by the Church are expressions of that divine love which compels the believers and may not look to any predetermined benefits desired by the Church. The problem is that the Church-at-large must provide the funds for these social services. As such services are effective and are being accepted by the community, they expand and require increasingly larger grants by the Church. How long can the Church provide sufficient funds for that kind of operation? What happens when funds are cut off and needed services hitherto provided are curtailed or entirely discontinued? It is safe to say that, in this case, community residents would conclude that the services provided had been nothing but a "come-on," a kind of bribe to induce people to "join" the Church. Once such an impression takes hold, further work with unchurched community residents would become practically impossible. Yet, since the expense of social services is so great that the Church-at-large could meet it only for a few scattered congregations, an effective urban ministry throughout the Church on the scale required in modern society would be impossible.

Realities of this kind together with the theological problems which arise when the Gospel becomes "Social Gospel" in the historical sense, and when a congregation develops an actual social service agency whose clientele is larger than its membership, have led to grave doubts and sharp criticisms of this approach. There are those who declare that the Church must dare to be poor among the poor, that social action as an expression of Christian love must be restricted to the personal activities of each believer, that the congregation must go among the poor with nothing but the Gospel, that the current form of the parish church is outmoded, that the Church must develop new kinds of ministries which are entirely separate from any congregational structure, that the local church, needing only the barest skeletons of organization, buildings, and staff, has no other function than to provide Word and Sacraments for the scattered believers as they briefly gather on Sunday mornings. It is said that the ministry of the clergy in urban society must be directed chiefly, if not exclusively, toward the faithful and their religious needs, etc.

Without reflecting on the value and validity of these propositions it can be stated that the varying current suggestions for a proper urban ministry agree in the judgment that the traditional congregation neither can nor should be maintained, since it no longer serves as the vehicle for the Gospel. The large edifices of many congregations in the inner city and in changing neighborhoods are regarded as white elephants and as reprehensible monuments to misconceptions about the "place" in the world which the Church covets for herself.

A NEW DEPARTURE

Within the last few years community organization has developed into a kind of movement which offers the hope and the most viable possibility for the renewal of society on the basis of justice and human rights. The social revolution which is in progress finds in community organization the most promising tool to achieve its ends. The freedom movement of the Negroes, which is the most visible factor in the current revolution, is proceeding from demonstrations to community organization. The rapid emergence of cybernetics which appears to make inescapable the most profound changes in values as well as in mode of living, seems to demand urgently that drastic measures be taken to prevent a complete breakdown of society. Community organization seems more likely than anything else to meet this need. Community organization therefore seems to be the impelling necessity of the hour and the new instrument for the re-establishment of the new society with justice, respect for human dignity, rights, and well-being.

The Church can hardly stand aloof from this movement which often courageously and effectively advances many of the ideals which she preaches. Practically, the situation is simply that the Church has proclaimed the demands of justice and the promise of God's healing love in such broad general terms that the so-called power structures have rarely heard what the Church said, and even more seldom felt obliged to apply the Church's declared principles to their actions. The injured, neglected, and deprived multitudes have grown tired of words, even of the pious, high sounding words of the Church. Now that community organization is going about the business of making justice, human rights, and welfare reality, the broadly general preachments of the Church sound hollow and hypocritical. If the Church believes what she says and means what she professes, the Church must be involved in the establishment of justice and healing through community organization or the Church will lose her last tenuous hold on modern man.

Theologically the situation is complicated by the renewed recognition that God accomplishes His loving will through many means and agencies, not just through the Church but quite conceivably and apparently through such movements as community organization. The divine truth, pronounced by the Church so vaguely and unrealistically as to cease to be truth, is expressed directly, unequivocally, starkly, realistically by other means - by the people, by the poor, by the outcast. The Church must listen to these voices. The Church must repent and join forces with the despised and their efforts. That is to say, the Church must identify with the deprived, and be vitally involved in community organization.

As one considers the total situation, it seems that, while on the one hand a very real and desirable and indeed absolutely necessary renewal of the Church is thus in the making, on the other hand the Church is burdened with crushing liabilities. Her structure, her congregational life, her piety, her worship, her preaching, her possessions, her buildings, all are hindrances to be overcome, liabilities to be shaken, errors to be corrected, even offenses to be removed.

It is not my purpose to examine the validity of these insights. That they contain a great deal of truth is common knowledge. But a danger which is very real must be pointed out.

DANGER

It seems to me that, after nearly two decades of very serious and conscious efforts to develop a legitimate, effective urban ministry, the Church has not made any appreciable progress. The endeavors of the Church come too late and remain too few. They hitch on to movements and instruments that have come into being without her and threaten to obscure her essential character. The too late and too little of the Church's efforts is perhaps most obvious. Most blatantly and most ominously this fact is revealed in regard to the struggle for racial justice. Now that at long last the commitment of the Church to racial justice is clearly established, the battle is practically won. Its saints and heroes who will be long remembered and celebrated did not represent the Church. Some may be church members and professing Christians, but they acted out of personal conviction and daring. They were not supported by their Church; they were not inspired by the Church's life and message. Worst of all, even now when the racial issue is actually settled, many congregations, hiding behind their privileges as private, charitable religious corporations, maintain racial barriers which no other institutions are permitted to maintain under the law, and many simply do nothing to remove such barriers, while other institutions are enjoined by law to do so.

The role which the Church has played in the struggle for racial justice has contributed nothing to her relevance or to her acceptability in modern society. Men Like Louis Lomax express this fact in the most unmistakable words; and a Negro police sergeant in Chicago made that fact clear to me in the most radical fashion, with his cool, very polite and sincerely puzzled inquiry: "May I ask why the Churches are suddenly so interested in Negroes? Are they trying to jump on the band wagon?" I foresee over the next decades increasing difficulties in the Church's efforts to minister to Negroes; and, since the core cities of our nation are increasingly inhabited by Negroes, that augurs ill for the urban congregations and their ministries.

The persistent tendency of the Church to be too late seems to me confirmed by the fact that no decisive expressions of the Church's awareness of the effects of cybernation have penetrated to the parish level, so that I am inclined to believe that the Church has not yet come to grips with the problem. If, as I have heard it expressed by scientists of many different disciplines, our whole economy will be cybernated within 5 years' time, radical changes will come upon us. Certainly not the least of these but the most shocking and potentially most dangerous one will be the necessity for the re-appraisal of the value of man. Cybernation will call for decisive action on the part of the Church, especially in the inner city congregation. Nothing indicates that the Church is ready for such action or is making serious preparations for it.

Another example of the too late-ness of the Church is the new Parish Education material, especially its 3 year course for confirmation instructions. Twenty years ago the material would have been sensational, but today its middle class concepts and its picturizations of all-white, comfortable suburbanites are offensive in urban congregations with large percentages of Negro teachers and pupils and with growing numbers of poor whites. It seems imperative that the Church devise completely new materials and the often creative materials of the Freedom Schools. Unless this is done the amateurish efforts of individual urban ministers to create their own material will do more harm than good.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

At the moment the Church appears to be on the verge of hitching on to community organization in an effort to participate in the motion of modern life. This is my chief concern here.

It is undoubtedly right that the Church cannot possibly ignore the community organization movement. My question is if the Church must once again ally with a social movement in a form that belongs to the past.

I understand community organization somewhat as follows: Community organization seeks to unite the people of a given area who, due to their poverty and because of social prejudices, are helpless pawns in the hands of the power structures. The focus of community organization is power. Its aim is to seize power for the deprived in order to free them from the consequences of the actions of the power structures which pursue their self-willed aims without regard for the needs, the rights, and the wishes of the deprived.

The method of community organization is "creative conflict." To arouse the deprived and to convince them that they are able to resist wilful manipulation and to obtain their demands, community organizers rally the helpless, hopeless deprived against anyone who would be readily defeated by group pressure. Boycott of some merchant for some alleged offense may force him to sell his business. His offense may have been wholly imaginary and his disappearance from the scene may in no way change the lot of the deprived. But community organizers have successfully demonstrated to the hopeless that, organized, they have power. That this demonstration entailed the deliberate destruction of an innocent man and his business concerns no one. Community organization then proceeds to go after bigger game.

In general, community organization seeks to create sufficient power for the deprived to obtain certain improvements, alleviations, and rights in contests with the power structures. These contests may include negotiations, demonstrations, strikes, and similar means. Community organizers choose the goals to be obtained and the means to obtain them. That in the deplorably neglected and abused communities of the deprived community organization of this kind brings much very real relief, rights many intolerable wrongs, heals many appalling wounds cannot be denied for a moment. That the Church cannot be different to the distress of the deprived and cannot stand aloof from their efforts to win relief and justice is self-evident.

I understand that, in some quarters, among them UTC, serious thought is being given to the possibility of making ministers effective community organizers. Others wonder if theological seminaries should introduce obligatory courses in community organization. Others again consider the feasibility of requiring theological students to take such courses at a school of social work. It seems indeed desirable and necessary for ministers to have a working knowledge of community organization; just as it cannot be doubted that the Church must be involved in this movement.

There are, however, some very serious questions. They have been raised all along but no fully satisfactory answers have been given. One of the most difficult questions is, of course, whether or not the Church can legitimately be a participant in or supporter of activities which involve "creative conflict" as a principle of procedure. Community organization's principle of "creative conflict" avers that the end justifies the means. Can the Church live with that?

Furthermore, in this kind of community organization the Church becomes one of the weapons in the arsenal of the community organization in its struggle for power. In this struggle the Church is asked to aid the methods of community organization by which power is to be grasped. That is to say the participation of the Church in community organization is in no way distinct; it is exactly like that of any other group. It seems to me highly questionable that the Church could place herself into such a position for it could all too easily appear that the Church, by participating in community organization, actually seeks the favor of the deprived, and expects that, in return for the Church's help, they will support the Church, if only by "joining." This would make the Church's involvement in community organization in turn a means to an end. In this instance clearly indefensible and theologically offensive. Of course, there is sufficient beautiful and persuasive rhetoric available to reject such insinuations: "The Church must identify with the community and its deprived. She must share their plight and their aspirations and must be involved in their struggles which seek to bring justice and healing for God's beloved creation."

That the truth which may be contained in such rhetoric will become discernible to those who have learned that the end justifies the means seems doubtful. The uncomfortable fact remains that when community organization of this kind enlists the support of the Church, it does not accept the Church's principles nor her message but only the Church's muscle.

How a minister can function as a community organizer of this type is something I cannot readily see. That a community organizer of this type can also function as a minister I find nearly impossible to envision.

COMMUNITY FOUNDATION

Milton Kotler has in this connection raised consistently the question: "Should not the Church be the Church?" His plan for community organization seems to me not only uniquely creative but also appears to confront the Church with the particular challenge to which the Church must rise.

Milton Kotler calls his approach "Community Foundation." Its nature is political and economic. Its orientation is gratitude requiring celebration. Its fundamental method is self-government empowered by law. In it the Church functioning as the Church, is essential.

For a detailed explanation of Community Foundation I refer to Milton Kotler's Memoranda Nos. 1 through 7. Here, the briefest sketch of this possibility must suffice. Kotler's Community Foundation is an effort to recapture something of the Jeffersonian "ward republic." A comparatively small section of the inner city, defined by such natural bounderies as highways, main streets, viaducts, etc. is the area covered by a Community Foundation. The Community Foundation is chartered - a highly complex and creative endeavor - as a tax exempt corporation. Members of the Foundation are the residents in the defined geographical area. Preferably the residents would be somewhat organized in block clubs and would, through these, also participate in the Community Foundation. The board of governors of the Community Foundation would be a certain number of community residents, elected either directly by the annual assembly and/or by the block clubs. Block clubs and/or annual assembly determine the needs of the community residents and the Community Foundation programs services to meet these needs. The proposals for these services with staff requirements and budgets are submitted to government agencies and foundations with a request for grants.

Needed services would include basic services but would by no means be restricted to them. They would also include new educational endeavors, the development of legal services with the possibility of arbitration for non-adjudicable disputes, the development of "sub-professionals" from among the unemployed in the area, etc. The services would be so structured as to offer important training and research opportunities for universities in the fields of social work, medicine, law, education, architecture, art, home economics, political science, and many others.

Universities would be asked to participate in the services, offering their particular skills to the Community Foundation, while finding here the urgently needed opportunity for field experience and experimentation. (That this approach is not a matter of wishful thinking is evident from the fact that the current limited programs of the Neighborhood Center of First English Lutheran Church have in fact attracted Ohio State University and Capital University and Seminary as educational opportunities for their students. Social work students of Capital University are doing their field work for credit at the Neighborhood Center of First Church. Seminarians of Capital University are doing their required field work in pastoral counseling in the congregation. Ohio State University students from the School of Social Work are doing pilot research projects; so are students from the Colleges of Education, Medicine, and Law. In addition other agencies are engaged in experimental programs at the Center, among them the American Association of University Women, with a pre-school for culturally deprived children; the Jewish Community Center is sending high school seniors from privileged areas to the Center to find here the opportunity for extracurricular activities which will enhance their chances for being accepted at college; Roman Catholic students for the priesthood are to participate in the summer activities of the Center to receive their first vital exposure to an inner city ministry. And there are others. This whole aspect of the ministry of First English Lutheran Church may be examined in another paper if it should seem to be helpful. My personal conviction is that the Lutheran Church in America ought to make its own intensive examination of what has been happening in our congregation.)

The local congregation would also be invited to share in these services, offering its particular talents and resources to the Community Foundation and finding here the opportunity to demonstrate God's loving concern and healing for men in their misery and lostness.

Particularly at the beginning, the Community Foundation would depend very definitely on the cooperation of the Church and of the University. Government agencies and Foundations ready to finance Community Foundation projects would look to Church and University to give stability to the Community Foundation. It may therefore prove necessary to include in the board of governors of the Community Foundation a representative from the Church and from the University whose seats would be permanent for the first 3 years.

Church and University would encourage grants from government agencies and Foundations by offering "matching funds" for the proposed services. This would, however, not involve actual expenditure of money, since the grants for these services would include expenses of Church and University due to their participation in them.

The whole arrangement would make large sums of money available for needed community services, sums of money which the Church could not begin to raise on her own.

THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN THE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION

In the Kotler plan, the existing external and internal structure of the congregation becomes a positive asset. That in itself is new in the by now traditional lament that the Church's structure is a hindrance to a relevant urban ministry.

The buildings of local congregations become the focal point, the center of the new community. In the case of First English Lutheran Church, as in fact of the majority of core-city Churches, the buildings of the congregation are the only substantial, large edifices in which community life can take place. From these buildings many of the needed services quite naturally have to emanate if they are to be rendered at all. For, it appears that government agencies and Foundations are in a position to make funds available for programs, while they would not be able to give money for the erection of buildings.

Most important is the congregation's relationship to the community and its residents. Like no other institution or agency, the congregation knows the community in which it is located. The congregation is familiar with and intimately related to the sociological development of the community, and has positively or negatively shared in its experiences. The congregation knows the people of the community and their problems. This intimate knowledge of the congregation is of irreplaceable value in any attempt to institute such community services as will be of the greatest value to the people.

The presence in the community of a structure with organizational experience and with the ability to engage in action through committees and groups is another crucial value of the congregation. For, the hopeless plight of the people in the deprived areas of the inner city is due largely to the absence of community. The people's sense of complete isolation, not only from the total community and especially from its privileged areas but also from each other, leads to frustration and despair, sets people against each other in suspicion and hatred, and drives them into ever deeper isolation. The only actions which seem possible to them appear to be those inspired by spite, resentment, and revenge, expressed in delinquency, crime, violence, and destructiveness.

The congregation, organized for action, committed to positive goals to be attained through a variety of approaches which are coordinated and which supplement each other, constitutes the most positive force in the community.

On the other hand, the congregation remains the Church in Kotler's plan of the Community Foundation. While it contributes to and participates in needed community services, the congregation does neither determine what services are to be offered nor how the services are to be administered; nor is the congregation the source from which these services flow and through which alone they become available. While it is involved in needed community services, the congregation is not the recipient of government or Foundation grants for the enactment of such programs and services under the congregation's auspices for possible ecclesiastical benefits.

The Community Foundation is the tax exempt corporation which programs and budgets services deemed necessary by it. The Community Foundation applies for subsidies and grants, and is their recipient. The Community Foundation administers and expends these funds, and agrees to conditions and rules laid down by the donors of the grants. The Community Foundation submits its operations for inspection, criticism, and possible re-direction to the agencies and Foundations which fund its activities. The congregation, however valuable and necessary for the Community Foundation and however involved in its services, does not become an arm of the government or a laboratory for the experiments of Foundations.

In my judgment, the critical point here is that the Church does not seek and accept guarantees and securities for the existence of the congregation. Support for the congregation is not drawn from government subsidies nor from Foundation grants. Nevertheless in the early years of the Community Foundation subsidies and grants for community services may be forthcoming only on condition that the Church participate in the Community Foundation in order to give it stability. Yet even if the Community Foundation initially has to "rent" the congregation's physical facilities and to "buy" staff time for consultation, there is no guarantee that such arrangements would or should be continued. As the Community Foundation gains strength and experience, it may be able and prefer to acquire or rent unused buildings in the community and to employ professionals not connected with the congregation. Whether or not the congregation plays its proper role in the Community Foundation depends entirely on the congregation's willingness and ability to relate its message and its life to the community. This area of concern is to be pursued later in this paper. Suffice it here to make the point that the congregation's participation in the Community Foundation does not give the congregation any kind of security, guarantee of "outside" support, or any non-evangelical means for making converts.

In another very practical way this kind of detachment is of very real importance for the Church. Our own involvement in community services through the Neighborhood Center of First Church has raised several grave difficulties. While I believe that we may claim to have avoided the danger of misusing the social services we render as an evangelism tool, in the sense that beneficiaries of our services would have been made to feel that they were expected to "join" the Church in return for benefits received, we may have been so scrupulous in our concern to evade this danger that we did not always present the call to faith and commitment to Christ as clearly and compellingly as we should have done. The extremely slow growth of our membership may indicate this. Personally, I am convinced that this is not what has happened. There are other factors which make it particularly difficult to win deprived people and especially Negroes for the Church. But the possibility must be conceded that evangelistic efforts may be toned down in order to preserve the integrity of the Gospel in the face of social services rendered by the congregation.

An undeniable difficulty which arises when effective social services are rendered through the congregation itself is that of supervising and coordinating a large, professionally and denominationally diverse staff. Genuine social services which are more than ineffectual pious notions, which anger rather than help people, bring sociologists, social workers, physicians, and other professionals either directly into the staff of the congregation or relate them intimately to it. Basic principles of these professionals and their religious orientation, especially if they are not Lutherans, are by no means as a matter of course in harmony with the theology of the congregation, not to speak of that of the senior pastor who is responsible head of the staff. We have found the interaction of diverse professionals most stimulating and greatly enriching but also extremely time and energy consuming. In a setup like ours, the senior pastor must spend increasing amounts of time with staff members. Additional time is required for the pastor to keep abreast of development of services, especially when other professionals on the staff are, as they must be, creative. Still more time must be spent in briefing large numbers of frequently changing student and volunteer personnel from non-congregational groups and associations. The latter is mandatory not only in order to assure the necessary orientation of these workers but also in order to give, particularly to students, the educational opportunities which are the pre-requisite for their participation as agreed upon with the colleges which send them. These large claims on the senior pastor inevitably cut down his ability to serve his congregation as he should. To make matters worse, the senior pastor's concentration on these matters causes the members of the congregation to feel that they must learn more about the social services rendered and about their meaning.

Quite naturally the members of the congregation expect their pastor to supply them with that kind of information. Thus, in his less frequent contacts with the members of the church, the pastor finds himself stressing, interpreting, explaining the social services of the congregation with the result that the church members get the impression that social services are the heart of the Gospel, at least as far as their pastor is concerned.

It would be of inestimable value if the supervision and coordination of professional and non-professional staff were the responsibility of the Community Foundation. Such an arrangement would not preclude professional interaction nor the giving of such courses of orientation for professionals, students, and volunteers as the Community Foundation would request occasionally from the pastor or other staff members of the congregation. The fact that the pastor would not bear full and final responsibility for the operation of the social services, their staff, and programs is decisive. The Kotler plan would make involvement of the congregation in the community possible, while the Church remains the Church.

THE CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCH

The Kotler plan is a matter of community organization which, in comparison with others has values important to the Church. That the Kotler type of community organization is not based on the principle of "creative conflict" in which the end justifies the means can hardly be a matter of indifference to the Church. That, in the Kotler plan, the Church is not reduced to a tool of the community organization but is free and a sought-after participant in the life of the community seems to me a vital concern to the Church.

The point here is not for the Church to judge the moral qualities of one type of community organization over against another. In a different context such moral judgment may be incumbent upon the Church. Nor may it be assumed that in the Kotler type of community organization conflict is excluded. On the contrary! The Kotler plan not only leads to conflict quite naturally and unavoidably but also views the "natural" conflicts which ensue, due to the Foundation's legal and legitimate activities as a positive factor to be used judiciously and creatively. The point here is rather to recognize the relationship of the Church to community organization. It seems to me that in the Kotler plan the Church, although genuinely involved in community, preserves her essential freedom. She does not become one among many other factors and forces serving the aims of community organization; nor does she participate in community organization in order to secure her position or to maintain her existence.

The other crucial point is this: the Kotler community organization does create local community in the fullest sense of the word. To do so is its primary aim. One of the greatest problems for the effective proclamation of the Gospel, especially in the deprived areas of our growing metropolitan centers is the loss of local community. In mass society the individual no longer has identity as a responsible person. He becomes a pawn, the isolated, unidentifiable, ineffectual particle of the crowd, the mass, which is used, pushed, shoved by infinitely remote power structures. Of course, all men are facing that predicament in mass society but the culturally deprived are much more threatened than others. Their lack of education, of financial ability, and political expertise makes any kind of effectual participation in the ordering of mass society completely unthinkable. That is one of the chief reasons why, in the core city, there is no community but only mass; only the crowd of resigned, frustrated, totally isolated persons without identity, incapable of envisioning any kind of responsibility for others. The problems of these people are centered in each lonely, hopeless, unrelated, tormented self. To make matters worse, the efforts of the power structures to improve the lot of the deprived through benefits such as urban renewal, public housing, and most of all, through welfare programs only serve to destroy the halting, tentative efforts of the deprived to build some kind of community.

When old, delapidated neighborhoods in which the poor have fashioned some kind of relationship to each other are torn down, the people are simply dispersed or corralled in housing projects. There they become subject to regulations which are foreign to them and prevent the building of community. Because aid to dependent children is given only to women whose husbands have deserted them, men who cannot find work pretend to leave their families in order to make it possible for their wives to receive ADC. Welfare departments, in order to protect public funds against fraudulent claims, are given authority to inspect, unannounced, the living quarters of ADC recipients. Investigators may and do break into tenements day or night in order to trap any husband who may not really have deserted his family. Thus even the basic community of the family is deliberately destroyed.

Since there is no community in the core cities, and since therefore people have no identity and bear no responsibility, it becomes almost impossible to proclaim the Gospel effectually. "Relevant" preaching, which speaks to the actual conditions of life, deals, as far as the deprived are concerned, with generalities, with conditions over which they have no control. Nothing becomes specific, nothing a challenge, nothing a call to which they could respond, for there is no community in which the people bear responsibility.

The Kotler Community Foundation envisions the creation of local community with local responsibility, in which individuals have the ability and the duty to participate. In this setting, whatever its other strengths or weaknesses, the Gospel may be proclaimed effectually.

On the basis of what has been said about the relationship of the Church to the Community Foundation, and granting that the Community Foundation is indeed capable of creating local community, it is clear that the task of the Church in such a setting is the perennial, ever new and ever old hermeneutical task. The question is: can the Church discern and believe in God acting in history, namely in the evolving local community, and can the Church find the symbols, both in word and action, to communicate God's will and grace to the people of the local community.

This hermeneutical task is the eternal calling of the Church. In the setting of the Community Foundation, this calling is in no way altered but is precisely the challenge confronting the Church. In its own terminology the Community Foundation urges the Church to meet exactly that challenge. In fact then, the task of the Church in the Community Foundation is the traditional task of the Church in the world.

Only her relationship to the Community Foundation may present a new opportunity for the Church. For many reasons Church and world have grown so far apart that communication between them has nearly ceased. Rightly or wrongly the Church has been identified with special interests and groups, particularly with power structures and privileged class. As a result the Church has alienated the deprived and is in their eyes often identical with exploitive oppressors. The Church has become a class institution and has for all practical purposes lost access to the masses of the outcasts. It took First Church over 4 years to overcome that attitude at least partially. To be sure, the Church is keenly aware of this situation and is making numerous sincere and valiant efforts to create a new image and to recapture her mission. Yet, many prophetic voices claim that these efforts have little if any chance of success, and require no less than the tearing down of all the traditional forms of the Church, especially the discarding of the congregational structure.

The Community Foundation views the Church and particularly her parochial structure as a great potential for the building of genuine local community which in principle and intent is humane, just, and respectful of the rights of the individual. A congregation which, like First Church, over several years of community services rendered at great cost and with utmost integrity, has won the confidence of the people living in its neighborhood and has come to be regarded as trustworthy friend, confidante, and sincere helper, would be able to relate to the Community Foundation on the basis of friendship and trust, and could begin to communicate the Gospel to its people.

In that sense the Community Foundation presents a new opportunity for the Church to relate to the world in fulfillment of her traditional hermeneutical task, through her God-given means and through the structures developed during the course of history, ever purified by His Spirit. The Church would act as "patron" in initiating the Community Foundation. Mr. Kotler claims that when a congregation which has won the confidence of the people acts that role with integrity, that is sincerely concerned for the welfare of the people and not for its own position, security, and maintainance, the congregation meets a very real need legitimately. Be that as it may. This much seems clear: when a concerned and accepted congregation encourages Community Foundation without ecclesiastical ambitions and without theocratic illusions, its hermeneutical task would be undertaken under auspicious conditions. Would it be to discern the action of God in history if the Church were to accept such conditions as God's gracious gift? It seems to me that Community Foundation may indeed be a God-given opportunity for the Church in our day.

HERMENEUTICAL ASPECTS AND COMMUNITY FOUNDATION

Participation in Community Foundation which I understand as involvement in the world, means for the Church no more than an open door, a possibility to fulfill her specific calling. Some may judge that the cost to the Church for so little is too high. I cannot share that view. For, participation in Community Foundation does not exact from the Church any surrender of her freedom under God, nor any compromise in principle or doctrine, nor any adjustment of her forms to the demands of the world, but only the expenditure of money and, above all, loving concern for people.

That kind of expenditure is incumbent upon the Church. The cost may be high, indeed it undoubtedly will be; and the return will be no more than that open door, without any assurance of the kind of gain for which the Church so fervently hopes and prays. But the fact is, of course, that the success for which the Church labors and gives herself can never be bought at any price; it is always God's gift of grace. It is for the opportunity to fulfill her calling that the Church spends herself and her resources. Community Foundation is such an opportunity, perhaps the most promising opportunity confronting the Church today. The real task begins once such an opportunity has been grasped. That task is in relation to Community Foundation, as it has always been in relation to the world, the three-fold duty of the Church to present her kerygma, to manifest her koinonia, and to engage in her diakonia.

The new opportunity of Community Foundation would require renewal in all three. Basic for such renewal is constant alertness and openness to God's activity in history which, in the new community of Community Foundation becomes extremely specific, local, tangible, timely, and acute. The Church must learn anew to guard against the temptation of reducing the Gospel to an eternal verity and to everlasting principles. The Church must be ready to meet in the Gospel the living God Who indeed has acted once and for all in Christ, yet Who addresses us today, Who pursues His Goals through current events, Who is presently involved and at work in His creation. The Church must hear and recognize the God Whom she knows in Christ through the Spirit as He acts here and now. She must discern His deeds and announce and celebrate them. She must make known His will at this moment for this man in this fellowship. She must pronounce His judgment upon this betrayal. She must become His tool of healing for this ill.

What I am trying to say is this: the new opportunity requires that the Church come to grips with the hermeneutical problem today. How does the Church preserve the purity of the Gospel and our Reformation heritage without making "pure doctrine" the fortress, the means of security in which she hides from the God of history? How does the Church maintain the truth of Christ and at the same time take absolutely seriously the God Who speaks to men now?

Certainly a great deal more than semantics is involved here. When the hermeneutical task is reduced to a language problem the result can only be the kind of "blood and guts" preaching, peppered with spicy tales - "apropos" - which so often and so futilely parades as "relevant proclamation."

As far as the kerygma of the Church in the new opportunity is concerned, the task would seem to be to relate preaching to the joys and sorrows, the strengths and the weaknesses, the successes and the failures of the new community in the Community Foundation, and to let the Word of truth and healing shine into the hidden corners of its misery and injustice. Another most fascinating kerygmatic task would involve the kind of liturgical development which could conceivably recapture the dynamics of the worship life of the early Church. It is interesting to note in this connection that Mr. Kotler insists that one of the basic needs of genuine community is "the celebration of life." How vital that is, especially for the deprived who find identity in community, is startlingly obvious. How readily "the celebration of life" can lead to disastrous, even monstrous distortions is not only all too clear but is amply demonstrated in history. But the solid Biblical basis for such celebration and its truly evangelical character seem to escape even the current "liturgical movement." In the setting of the new community the Church would be challenged to daring liturgical ventures. For, no one but the Church is capable of celebrating the evidences of the grace and power of God in the light of His love before the foundation of the world and in the light of His victory in Christ. It is that kind of celebration of life which alone is legitimate and profoundly needful. It may well be possible to celebrate, as the early Church did, God's loving actions done through individuals of the community and through the community's achievements, using new symbols which are rooted in its experience. Such "celebration of life" could illumine the fact that the act of thanksgiving is one of man's basic responses to God through which His blessings are claimed and appropriated, as occurs climactically in the Eucharist.

In the new community in which men have identity as responsible beings, the koinonia of the Church would become of crucial significance as place and opportunity for grateful celebration, as source of strength and power for the fulfillment of duty, as wellspring of comfort and forgiveness for weakness and betrayal of the neighbor. In the new community the corporate action of the koinonia would become critically important. The Koinonia's intercessions, the Prayer of the Church, would become vital when community is again reality and stands in need of defense, strengthening, healing, correcting.

In the setting of genuine community, the koinonia would be called to vicarious suffering by enduring the misery of the despised. It is this aspect of the Negro freedom movement and of Martin Luther King's non-violent action which deserves the most careful study of the Church. For it seems that freedom leaders may have developed a pattern for vicarious suffering which the koinonia of the Church must endure in order to practice faithful discipleship.

In the new community the diakonia of the Church would be the congregation's involvement in the community services rendered through the Community Foundation. Here a new dimension of diakonia is envisioned and made possible. This diakonia could no longer be fulfilled by contributions of money but would require direct involvement, both individually by the members of the congregation and corporately by its actions. Such direct involvement would become a distinct possibility for each member through the development of so-called sub-professionals.

Finally, the Community Foundation seems to offer a new opportunity for ecumenical encounter and activity. It is a commonly known, completely undisputed fact that an effective ministry of the Church in the core cities of metropolitan areas cannot be developed on a denominational basis. Interdenominational cooperation including the Roman Catholic Church, is mandatory for any meaningful attempt at an urban ministry. Yet, this demand is not met because effective, responsible co-ministry across all denominational lines is simply impossible. So, the old futile patterns are continued, all token cooperation to the contrary notwithstanding. "Urban strategies" are developed at great cost in manpower and money by each denomination, independently of the other. In the section of Columbus in which First English Lutheran

Church serves, the situation is this: in addition to numerous "store front" churches, there are in the area 6 Baptist, 4 Methodist, 2 Presbyterian, 2 Disciples of Christ, 1 ALC, 1 Episcopal and 2 Roman Catholic Churches. The Episcopal Diocese and the Presbyterian Synod are about to send one full time "urban church planner" each, into the area. The Methodist District is developing a "plan for urban ministry." Through financial assistance from the Board of American Missions First English Lutheran Church has developed an "effective" urban ministry. Over the past 3 years Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians have more or less intensively studied our ministry. Executives concerned with the urban Church from the national offices of these denominations have sat with me for hours on several different occasions; local jurisdictional executives have interviewed me, our staff, and many of our members. They have visited our service activities and attended our worship services for many months. We have welcomed their interest and willingly shared with them all our experiences, impressions, reflections, and plans. The Methodists have thought our experiments important enough to make me an auxiliary member of the faculty of their Theological School in Delaware, Ohio, which sends a group of seniors for a 2 hour seminar per quarter for credit to First Church. The Roman Catholic Diocese has invited me to give lectures on the urban ministry to their students for the priesthood.

Yet, I am convinced and I have repeatedly said so that our so-called success is due simply to the fact that we actually did something to come to grips with the situation while others did nothing. The need is so great and so manifold that anyone who does anything can not but "succeed." We were able to "do" something because in the beginning, we still had reserve funds, while later the Board of American Missions facilitated our work through generous grants. Since we were the ones to initiate services to meet the needs of people, we have a jump on the others. We are "established," and for a while the momentum will carry us even though "competition" from the "others" has begun and will become very keen with the arrival of their urban experts and the appropriation of funds. Presbytarians, Episcopalians, and as yet to a lesser degree Disciples, and Methodists have begun to offer the same kind of services which we have been rendering. Shortly the situation will be ludicrous.

As long as denominations develop so-called urban strategies unilaterally, these misdevelopments are inevitable. "Comity" agreements are unacceptable. The surmounting of denominational barriers on the local jurisdictional level is a dim hope for the distant future. That is the situation, and no one can be blamed for it.

The Kotler plan offers a new opportunity here which has the most exciting possibilities. Since not any Church but the Community Foundation determines, plans, and funds the needed community services, all churches of the area are eligible to become centers from which certain types of services under the direction of the Community Foundation emanate. All Churches are free to contribute stability to the Community Foundation and all Churches may in their way relate their kerygma, their koinonia, their diakonia to the new community. Their common concern and responsibility brings the Churches together in the Community Foundation and gives them the possibility to "cooperate" without compromising their doctrines and principles. At the same time their cooperation in the Community Foundation opens the door for dialogue which may be as intensive as they desire but which will certainly have very definite focus. It is, for example, not at all a fanciful assumption that the Churches could agree on certain "celebrations," done in their own way yet observed on the same day with the same general emphasis. It seems to me that the Kotler plan has the potential for a new approach to the absolutely mandatory local ecumenicity.

Let no one be trapped into thinking that this kind of cooperation is possible without that type of community organization. The key to the problem is, sad as it may seem, money. Of course, national agencies of different denominations may agree on ecumenical urban experiments as "pilots" by specific arrangements and agreed-upon appropriations. But on a broad scale, all agreements to cooperate in so-called "secular" services only, always suffer shipwreck on the rock of finances. Who agrees with whom, how much money is to be appropriated for what services, and who directs such common endeavor, if it were possible? To these seemingly unanswerable questions the Kotler plan does give an answer.

CONCLUSION

If the Church is to become effective in urban society, she cannot escape involvement in the community organization movement. The Community Foundation appears to me the most promising type of community organization. Therefore I urge the Church to experiment with it.

The situation is this: the Kotler plan is up to now a plan; it has not as yet been tried. Milton Kotler finds the First English Lutheran Church not only congenial but well prepared to serve as instigator and research center for his plan. First, the Church has won the confidence of the deprived of the area and has developed many significant community services. These could readily be so augmented and supplemented by additional related services that government agencies and/or Foundations would be interested in funding them.

Milton Kotler proposes to charter a Community Foundation for the First English Lutheran Church with the help of the famous law firm of Arnold and Porter of Washington, D.C. One of the firm's partners is so interested in the project that he offers to develop a Community Foundation charter free of charge, involving only actual cost for research, consultations, and court procedures. Milton Kotler will draw up the different service proposals, including staff requirements and budgets, and will submit them to government agencies and Foundations. The work to be done would involve about a month and a half. Mr. Kotler would on his part seek consultations with experts in many different fields. All of this would cost roughly $6,385.00. Mr. Kotler is submitting a detailed budget for the project. I have secured the approval and cooperation of the Church Council of the First English Lutheran Church which, on May 10, 1965 adopted the following resolutions: "The Church Council of the First English Lutheran Church looks with favor upon the development of documents and proposals needed for the establishment of a Community Foundation by Mr. Milton Kotler of the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., with such assistance and consultations as he deems necessary, provided that the funds needed for this project be made available by the Board of American Missions or other sources, and with the understanding that the plan and its development be constantly and carefully examined by competent agencies of the Lutheran Church in America.

2.) Therefore the Church Council encourages the Pastor to proceed with the necessary applications for a research grant for this purpose. The Church Council furthermore declares its willingness, if requested to do so, to accept such a grant and to expend it for the project indicated according to a project budget to be submitted by Mr. Kotler, and upon receipt of proper bills and invoices relating thereto.

3.) If the plan to be developed by Mr. Kotler is approved by the authorities of the Church, the Church Council will gladly cooperate in its implementation. It is the earnest and prayerful hope of the Church Council that the plan may prove feasible to the end that the First English Lutheran Church may concentrate on the task of relating the Gospel so effectively to the life of the community that its residents may be open to the call of the Holy Spirit to faith in Christ, our Lord and Savior, and to participation in Christ's Body, the Church."

Therefore I respectfully and urgently apply to the Board of American Missions of the Lutheran Church in America for a research grant of $6,385.00 for the development of the Kotler plan and I request the Board and the Division of American Missions of the National Lutheran Council to consult with Mr. Kotler and me during the period of the plan's development, and to examine and evaluate its feasibility at its completion.

What appeals to me so greatly is that for the expenditure of about $6,000.00 we will acquire a complete, detailed plan for the most far-reaching action without incurring any further obligations of any kind. Should, in the judgement of the Board, the plan, when completed, not appear feasible for any reason, nothing further would be required. Should the plan appear feasible and advisable, its enactment would involve no further expenditures, since community services would be made available as grants for them would be received. If grants for augmented services now rendered through the Neighborhood Center of the First Church are made available, these services would be transferred to the Community Foundation, and their current cost to the Neighborhood Center would be deducted from the grant now given by the Board of American Missions to First English Lutheran Church.

It is my conviction that it is of great importance for the Church to fully investigate this possibility. In it may be hidden the new opportunity for an effective urban ministry in our day, well within the ability of the Church. All of us have been looking for this opportunity for many years. I have spent my ministry in this search.

May it please God to move the Board of American Missions to explore this untrodden path.

Institute for
Policy Studies
Series.

NEIGHBORHOOD FOUNDATIONS
MEMORANDUM #11

FROM : Leopold W. Bernhard, Pastor, First English Lutheran Church, Columbus, Ohio

SUBJECT: Neighborhood Foundation in Columbus, Ohio

DATE : January, 1966

First English Lutheran Church in Columbus is involved in a new type of community organization, the Neighborhood Foundation. The Neighborhood Foundation is a self-governing, tax-exempt corporation for total community service. Its underlying philosophy is the "Jeffersonian Ward Republic." Its primary characteristic is legal structure, its chief dynamics the legitimacy of its institutions. Its aim is the creation of a cultural community. Its benefits include social services determined and managed by the members of the Foundation, with the aid of municipal resources and technical and professional expertise deployed under contractual relationship with the Foundation, new types of jobs utilizing the skills of its members for the development of a style of living suited to the community and the stabilization of the community through communal action. The key to the development of such a Foundation is the acquisition of a legitimate agency which can command the confidence of the neighborhood community as well as the full support of civic leadership in business and the professions. The viability of such a foundation depends on accessibility of its government and on the continued involvement of its members in its operation. The Foundation must, therefore, have clearly defined geographical boundaries and a clearly defined membership. The area of the Foundation must be compact enough to put its government within easy reach of its members and the size of its membership must be such as to make direct involvement of all participants possible.

The idea of the Neighborhood Foundation has been evolved by Milton Kotler of the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C. The Institute is an educational Foundation supported entirely by non-governmental, private resources, chiefly by well-known national Foundations. The Institute's purpose is to explore ways and means for the renewal of democratic policies in our society. For that reason, the Institute may not enter into contracts with government agencies.

I became acquainted with the concept of the Neighborhood Foundation through lectures given in January, 1965 by Milton Kotler at the Urban Training Center in Chicago. Since April, I have worked closely with Mr. Kotler in an effort to establish a

Neighborhood Foundation in Columbus. My interest in this development was aroused by several considerations. I was convinced that community organization is one of the major methods by which social change is sought and will be accomplished in the current social revolution and in the immediate future. That means that community organization will increasingly affect the inner city. Inner city churches will be involved in community organization positively or negatively and the manner of their involvement will decisively determine their ministry and, indeed, their very existence. It seemed to me, and still does, that inner city congregations have no choice as to whether or not they will become involved in community organization. The question is rather how they will be involved; and if inner city congregations can help to determine the type of community organization in which they will participate, the congregations face a unique opportunity and a grave responsibility.

Another critical consideration was the following: First Church is an old congregation founded in 1848. In 1912, it moved to its present location, only a few blocks from its original site. In 1950, the congregation added a three story parish house to its facilities. The original membership was middle and upper-middle class. The pulpit of the church enjoyed a good reputation beyond the congregation's membership. By 1960, when I assumed the pastorate, the neighborhood had changed and was rapidly deteriorating, with 70% of its residents being Negroes and 30% whites, mostly Southern, Appalachian mountain folk. Nearly 85% of the members of the church had left the area. The congregation was still strong but unmistakably declining. However, the congregation had decided to stay in the neighborhood and was ready to receive Negroes. But, by the time I arrived, only two Negroes had affiliated with the congregation. The Sunday School had not quite 50% Negro students.

The congregation had for some time been aware of the necessity of having to relate to the people of the community and had with much devotion and with the help of some very dedicated Christians, who were professionals in social work, attempted to offer some kind of services to neighborhood youth. The endeavors had been initially successful but by the time I arrived, neither reached the neighborhood youth in a decisive way, nor had established any communication with community residents. Only about 25 youngsters a week attended the community youth activities, and residents of the community did not respond to very intensive evangelistic efforts. Indeed, there was outspoken hostility to the church. Acts of vandalism were committed nearly every week; members coming to week-day meetings at night felt threatened and some were actually assaulted so that, just prior to my coming, the Church Council had voted to discontinue all evening meetings.

Since 1961, we developed a full scale social service agency of the settlement house type as a department of the congregation. To make this possible the congregation raised a capital fund of nearly $100,000.00 and spent, over the years, $75,000.00 from its reserves. During the past two and a half years, the Board of American Missions contributed nearly $30,000 to this ministry. The multiple services offered by the Neighborhood Center of First English Lutheran Church won acceptance by the community and changed the attitude of its people to the church. Last year, over 12,000 people were served by the Center. Slowly, Negroes began to affiliate with the congregation. The types of services offered and the manner in which they were rendered elicited the interest and support of the wider community, Capital University and Seminary, several Colleges of Ohio State University, the University's schools of Law, Medicine, and Social Work, the Association of American University Women, the Council for Retarded Children, the Juvenile Bureau, the Court of Domestic Relations, the Child Welfare Board, the Planned Parenthood Association, the Visiting Nurses of Columbus, and others actively participate in the many Center services. These now include a pre-school for culturally deprived children, a pre-school for mentally retarded children, psychiatric services, legal services, referrals of juvenile offenders, volunteers in probation, after school supervised studies, tutoring, remedial reading, clubs and interest groups for children, young people, and adults; workshops, hand-crafts, and sports and other recreational activities; job referrals, etc. The Neighborhood Center has become a respected social service agency and has made the church a friend to the people of the community.

But, tremendous problems have also arisen. The more effective the Neighborhood Center becomes, the greater are the demands made on it. Costs of operation are steadily rising, while the income of the congregation is declining. Above all, the church becomes increasingly a community social service agency and is in danger of losing its proper character. Efforts to obtain funds from the United Appeal failed. The Board of American Missions cannot continue its present rate of support, not to speak of increasing its grant as is becoming necessary.

The Economic Opportunity Act added a new dimension to the problem. The provisions of the bill would soon make church directed social service agencies superfluous and would meet the needs of the community as the church could not hope to do. The philosophy of the "War on Poverty" which requires "Maximum possible participation of the poor," would, in fact, render church directed social services unacceptable. Yet, on the other hand, the Columbus structure of the war on poverty did not guarantee that the disadvantaged would be as intimately involved in the solutions offered to their problems as they had been in the

Center's programs. It became, above all, quite evident that the deep dissatisfaction of the ghetto, the demands for freedom and justice and the dire needs of the poor and the disadvantaged would seize on the opportunities promised in the new legislation to bring about basic social changes. It was also clear that the vehicle for this endeavor would be community organization, quite aside from the fact that the Economic Opportunity Act includes community organization as a major weapon in the war on poverty.

The Neighborhood Foundation, suggested by Milton Kotler, offered the Church the opportunity to participate decisively in the life of the community and at the same time to get out of the business of social service. The Church Council voted approval of a research project and committed itself to transfer the Neighborhood Center agency to the Neighborhood Foundation. The people in the community expressed their interest in receiving the agency and operating it themselves. The law firm of Arnold, Fortas and Porter in Washington, D.C., created the charter and the by-laws for the Neighborhood Foundation. Support of civic leaders and municipal authorities was sought, obtained, and cultivated; and the enlistment of members in the proposed organization began. The boundaries of the Foundation were determined which include 6,500 residents of which about 3,000 are over 16 years of age and thus eligible for membership. A faithful member of the congregation and a devout, active and highly knowledgeable churchman, Mr. Andrew J. White, Jr., senior partner of the Columbus law firm, Knepper, White, Richards, and Miller, volunteered to serve as agent and corporation counsel for the new organization and on August 30, obtained its charter from the State of Ohio. Milton Kotler served as consultant in charge of the project and prepared a proposal for a demonstration grant under Title II, section 207 of the Economic Opportunity Act to finance the government of the Foundation, called the East Central Citizens Organization, ECCO.

The research project was funded by grants from the Stern Family Fund, the National Council of Churches and an anonymous donor.

The operating Committee of the Neighborhood Center serves at the same time as the Interim Executive Council of ECCO to assist in a smooth transfer of the church agency to the Foundation.

The proposal envisions that the Interim Executive Council, upon receiving the first phase of the OEO grant of $26,000 prepares for the first Assembly meeting of ECCO, for the adoption of the by-laws, for the election of the first regular Executive Council consisting entirely of community residents and for a thorough organization of the community through membership enlistment, preparation of candidates for election and gathering of information about the needs of the community, and about the people's wishes and ideas as to how their needs are to be met. Not later than three months after the first phase of the grant becomes operative, the regular Executive Council must be elected, and with its election, the second phase of the OEO grant of $158,000 for a twelve month period for the government of ECCO becomes operative.

At that time, I will cease to function as the unpaid Project Director of ECCO and will be replaced by the Executive Director, employed by the Executive Council. The Executive Council, in consultation with the Director, will hire a program Director. These two positions and a corporation council are the only ones which might involve non-resident personnel. During the first phase two community organizers could also be non-resident people. The government workers trained by the organizers who keep in constant touch with the people of ECCO. The grant also provides annual stipends for the members of the regular Executive Council.

Programs will be developed by local neighborhood groups with the help of the Program Director. Programs must be approved by the Assembly which may alter or terminate them at any time. The Assembly also retains the right to remove, for cause, by due process set forth in the by-laws, any member of the Executive Council and the two top Executives. Funding for programs will be sought from metropolitan and national resources. Local and national foundations have declared their great interest and their readiness to provide needed funds.

The demonstration is to last for two years. Interest in OEO is high. OEO personnel have been kept abreast of all developments throughout the months of research.

The support of civic leaders is very pronounced. The charter provides for the appointment of an Advisory Council of these leaders. The Council will only advise as its name indicates. The power of decision rests with the Executive Council alone. Yet, the Advisory Board, beyond offering advice in certain technical areas provides the opportunity for meeting and understanding between these different and largely isolated strata of our society.

What makes this opportunity unique and highly promising is the fact that the disadvantaged are in possession of power and therefore are free not only to hear but to express themselves without fear of retalliation or loss. Civic leaders not only appreciate the opportunity to thus gain new insights but also feel that a community which stabalizes itself will improve the health of the total community.

One of the exciting features of this venture is the participation of the Freedom Movement on a trial basis. At present, two organizers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), are working for ECCO. The Freedom Movement finds the Neighborhood Foundation concept promising. But Movement people frankly wonder if the church will actually surrender a legitimate agency, owned by the church, to the people. Slowly, Movement people begin to trust the Church or rather this congregation and its ability to put the interests of people above self-interest. The possibility of a new relationship between the Church and the Freedom Movement thus begins to appear, the promise of which can hardly be over estimated and deserves the most intensive and patient exploration. The service rendered by Freedom Movement people in this type of community organization, is invaluable. Without their cooperation, the venture, in my judgment, cannot succeed. The dedication, wisdom and skills of the Neighborhood Foundation to community residents as no one else can. They are able to convince the people that they may exercise their power under Foundation law without fear of loss or impairment.

They are able to overcome the people's suspicion that the peculiar skills required to use their legitimate power within the frame of democratic institutions are not tricks designed to circumvent their intentions and to substitute meaningless procedures for genuine exercise of their will. The Freedom Movement people have the ability of making the democratic process accessible to the disadvantaged, not in any sense by way simplification but rather by way acculturation so that democratic process becomes for them a viable and trustworthy tool for constructive, responsible action. Community organization within a legal structure can succeed only if the disadvantaged are able to use that tool with confidence. A task of tremendous scope is involved here. For one of the major problems of the disadvantaged is their alienation from the democratic process. Their powerlessness, their exclusion from access to power structures, their inability to make themselves heard, their complete isolation have rendered their participation in the democratic process largely futile and meaningless and have made their withdrawal into "sub-cultures," a matter of survival. Suspision, hopelssness, and the basic will to live in a hostile environment rather than lack of skill have alienated the disadvantaged from the life of our society and its dynamics, including its goals and its democratic process. It requires not only new forms but incredible patience, tireless wrestling and relentless search for new points of contact to re-establish confidence and to reconnect the disadvantaged with the life of society and thus to make the democratic process a viable instrument for their participation.

Closely related is the problem of opening lines of communication between the disadvantaged and the professionals. Here too, a two-pronged approach is required, the course of which is filled with largely unknown difficulties. The major hypothesis of the proposal presented by ECCO to OEO is that services and programs determined and managed by the deprived to meet their own needs will be different from professionally designed and managed enterprises to that end.

This hypothesis is based on the experience that professional institutions have not been able to come to grips with the major problems of the disadvantaged as well as on the observation that professional services have been received apathetically and have failed to stimulate initiative and effective social change. Patterns of dependency seem to attest to this failure. The ECCO proposal contends that one of the major reasons for this failure is the fact that social service professionals, in contrast, for example, to lawyers and clergymen, are not accountable to their clients but to distant Boards of Trustees. In ECCO's legal structure the accountability of the professional staff to the clients they serve is clearly and firmly established. As the people of ECCO take hold of their problems, two things become quickly apparent. One is that the people are able to get to the roots of severe community disorders in a new and unexpected way, often amazingly more effective than professional approaches, and that they are determined to deal with these disorders in a novel fashion, often outstripping professional therapies in imagination, perceptiveness and daring coupled with an outstanding ability for marshalling support and cooperation. But it is also evident that the people are suspicious of professionals and cannot relate to them. Just as professionals seem to find it nearly impossible to relate to people who are both their "client" and their "employer" at the same time.

This condition harbors the danger of producing a new kind of primitivism in attempts to deal with complex social ills. However, the people of ECCO are becoming aware of their need for professional assistance; and professionals are beginning to understand that instead of speaking to the disadvantaged with the voice of prophecy they must learn to offer effective and trustworthy tools for their use. The solution to this problem is multifacted. It involves among other things the development of sufficient self-confidence on the part of the deprived to listen to professional advice and to understand its instrumentality and the training of professionals in offering their skills and knowledge in response to claims made on them by the deprived.

In the bridging the gulf between the people and the professionals as well as in establishing the instrumentality of democratic processes, the Freedom Movement people can be of inestimable help. Perhaps they are in this critical moment the only persons capable of undertaking these difficult and delicate tasks.

For the Church a new situation has arisen. The people of the community realize very clearly that with the transfer of its agency to them, the church divests itself of any possibility of dominating them by control over services they need and benefits they desire. The church no longer has that kind of power. The astounding thing is that now the people do not turn away from the church. They rather claim the church! First Church is no longer an institution to which they come because the church may be in the position of meeting some of their most urgent needs in a manner that seems best to the church. Now the people come to First Church because the church belongs to them. They claim the church as their own. They claim its physical structure, its agency and its services, its standing in the community and the skills of its clergy and other personnel; and they begin to use all of it as resources at their disposal in the manner they deem best, most effective and appropriate. Their claims are by no means confined to the Neighborhood Center and its services, but extend increasingly to all that the church is and has and reveal an astounding degree of perceptiveness concerning the primary function of the church to deal with human problems in their moral and spiritual dimension.

For the church the experience is initially bewildering and somewhat frightening. The church is not used to being claimed by "outsiders." The church regards her offerings to outsiders as acts of charity which, if they do not evoke the anticipated response of gratitude, should at least be received as gifts without questioning or demands; and, of course, the church determines what it offers to outsiders, both in regard to kind and to degree. Claims of outsiders upon the church as though by right come as a profound shock. The lack of any legal basis gives to these claims an air of absurdity. They smack of invasion of privacy and of property and leave the church with the feeling of being used. What makes such claims especially offensive is that they reveal that, in the eyes of the recipients, the charitable offerings of the church are insufficient, often inappropriate, perhaps even useless and unwanted. The church may even feel that there is some truth in such judgments.

Yet, as First Church begins to learn to respond to these "unreasonable" claims and submits to their demands, the church experiences to its amazement that suddenly it looms large in the life of the community and its people. It begins to appear that a new relationship between the people and First Church is emerging in which the very claims of the people make the church responsible and thus open for the church the opportunity to claim the people for Christ. The "unreasonable" claims of the people on the church which make the church responsible, create that essential mutuality in which Christ's claim on the people is no longer a "religious," "other worldly" concern but an address in the very midst of the reality of their life, to which their life itself clearly and unavoidably becomes response. Indeed, as the church responds to the "unreasonable" claims of the people, the servant form of the church emerges compellingly, amazingly reminiscent of the church's Lord who "came to serve, not to be served." The people's claims on the church end the isolation of the church. That brings the church into the life of the people. But as the constricting walls of isolation fall, the church also loses their protection, again calling to mind the defenselessness of the Servant of the Lord God whom the church calls "Master."

No one knows in detail what the community will demand of the church in days to come. But it can hardly be doubted that sooner or later the community will expect the church to act politically. The experiences of the past few years in regard to racial justice and human rights and the stormy history of Congressional acts related to these and other social issues can hardly fail to alert the church to this possibility. Involvement in community organization of whatever kind makes the possibility a near certainty. For the church that implies the urgent need for an honest and realistic reappraisal of its political potential and the "demythologizing" of some cherished and stubbornly maintained illusions about the church's non-political character. In this context, the church will have to re-examine the meaning of Christian social action, especially as it relates to Christian love which is the fruit of faith.

Participation in community organization raises constantly new questions and problems for First Church and will continue to do so increasingly. Yet, all the difficulties, past, present, and to be expected, cannot hide the strange and telling transformation that has occurred. The old, dwindling congregation which only yesterday tried desperately and rather futilely to hang on in a rapidly deteriorating neighborhood whose estranged people were as little aware of the congregation's struggles as they would have been of its final demise; that every congregation has become focal point for the community, decisive factor in the life of its people, resource and potential claimed as their own, in their battle for renewal; and its demise would mean a disaster of major proportions to all residents of the neighborhood. From this new vantage point of responsive servanthood and defenseless mutuality, the church is able to make the voice of the Gospel heard.

NEIGHBORHOOD FOUNDATIONS
MEMORANDUM #12

FROM: MILTON KOTLER, INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

DATE: JULY 29, 1966

SUBJECT: MAKING SENSE OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT*

I have an interest in the subject of urban development, but not as social planning and physical design; these subjects are academic because the urban planner has no power to effect his design nor political experience to inform its conception with practical judgment. Only reason is available to him as a principle of his work. Consequently, his plans are abstract schemes. This kind of occupation is neither the political avocation of a professional nor the professional vocation of a citizen. For urban development to be a real endeavor, it must mean more than its present academic usage indicates.*

Of what interest is urban physical planning? To the aesthetic temperament, there is too little beauty in the city landscape to inspire its further imagination. To the practical temperament, urban problems of density, congestion and transportation, etc., cannot be solved by abstract conception. Solutions must be performed by principles of political action. The planner's abstract solutions cannot even inform practical action because they refer to the model city of his mind rather than the real city of his life. Nor does the real city have a humanistic base to ground the city of his mind; hence, his conceptions lack even idealistic appeal.

The urban planner in his profession builds piecemeal or grand designs only to be frustrated when his pieces are modified by cheap principles or when his whole canvas is acclaimed an utopia, then certified and shelved. His creative spirit is sapped by false commissions to draw a dream image, which only satisfies the city fathers who are content to praise their forward vision. They know full well who owns the landscape and for what financial gain. Creativity is debased because it is not commissioned by those who hold the real private power to effect change. Nor do the real powers who can change the city have the inspiration of public commission to advance the city's life for the common good. The landscape moves by the undertows of finance, not by the public hand of art to fulfill the image of man. Today, even good intentions do not operate.

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*Presentation to IPS Congressional Assistants Seminar on Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D. C., May 1966.

**Current urban planning is held to be technical, but real technique rests on the power of purposeful action. Lacking this, urban planning is not technical but academic.

An indifference to the work of urban social planning and physical design can simply rest on one's wish to avoid being victimized by deceit. This does not mean that Marina Towers in Chicago will not be built, nor that the Savoy Plaza in New York City will remain standing. Such cases are accidents at our level of impotence and fierce decisions at the wondrous levels of financial power. How can our reason discern the appetities of great powers? Who can call the beasts to order?

If urban development as a mere subject of social and physical planning seems a hopeless task, its real mission then futile? Let us shake up the term "urban development" in its narrow academic sense, which is removed from the active forces of the living city, and see that real urban development means the need to advance the people of the city for their common good. It is not futile when viewed as a movement of free citizens acting to shape the public space of the city. As this general impulse of political freedom and action, no one can deny the value of urban development or be indifferent to its direction. Within this greater latitude of meaning, a place can be found for each man to understand and act for his city. It opens urban development as the field of man's political freedom. Our thought can develop the meaning of the city and its development only as our action moves its reality. Real meaning must be grounded in our personal action. A real conception of urban development must be the gathering of a thousand moving conceptions.

The academic concept of urban development has denied this free impulse of political action in the city as the real meaning of urban development. Its professionalism has divorced its thought from this active impulse of freedom and rested it, instead, on speculative models of urban unity. The result has been an abstract knowledge of the city and to the extent that it has influence, a sterility of political action within it. Experts speak about and promote their urban models. When asked for strategies, they assert its key to progress and program its deductions: All parts of the city and all its problems aim toward solution at equal pace and in measured proportion. The city has become a specialty of metaphysics.

The real city is not a unit that must move to new wholeness. There is no one problem of the city. There are only the thousand problems and interests that men experience and think about, while living or trying to live in the city. Each problem confronts the one who has a living interest in it; and no one is obliged to face a problem which does not interest him. Meeting the problem of the city requires choosing its particular issues, and that choice reveals the man's interest, character, and spirit of freedom to change things. There are as many problems as there are men. No crisis in the city affects everyone at once in any actionable sense. Some can always escape to the twentieth floor, or to Westhampton in the summer. This is as true of pollution, which seems less obvious, than of housing. Our propaganda may propound the universal danger of pollution, but to many of us who can afford to mask its harm with aerosols, it is no crisis for which solution we would consent to bear a moment's pain. You may hate steel fumes; the steel mogul loves them at work -- and sleeps on the other side of town. There is no way to mobilize the city for a final solution of its problems. There is no key to urban progress. Total solutions require an Alexander and last only a day. All we can do, that makes any sense, is to forget the city as a total unit to be rationally ordered. We must pick the part of the city or a problem which affects our lives and desires. We must build our thoughts upon our feelings and seek the political power to act upon its issue.

This is not a cavalier attitude toward the crisis of the city, but suggests only that real problems must be faced by the real people they touch. Only man's desire, thought and spirit will solve the problem, if it is to be solved at all. If a man's problem involves the public space, then it is shared by others, and only their common effort toward political action and its force can move the issue and create a change. We can only move with others in these struggles or act alone. Professional urban development expertise is not an effective option for real change. It is only an academic observation. As for the outcome, who knows its shape? Problems are eternal, and cities are not. Some of the best have been known to go to pot. Jungle green cracks and covers ancient Mayan cities. Disaster is terrible, but not impossible. Reason cannot save it. Only the political actions of free men facing their problems in the city can keep the city alive.

Forgetting the total city is a load off our chests. It is better to think about and act toward the public things we deeply desire. However, this very motion drives us up against the wall, because we have no power to make public decisions and thereby shape the public space in which we move. This is a real problem. Strictly speaking, it is not a problem of the city, but of the men in it, who, without power, are trying to be free -- to decide what their eyes see, their minds think, or their spirits seek. There is more agony in our powerlessness, in our illegitimacy to govern our public place of life in community than there is in the distant danger of unchecked pollution. This is the source of our endless real problems. As we move in the public space of our community, our bodies, minds and senses are bombarded by things we, as citizens, never authorized. We stumble before private forces that rule the public space. For years we have accepted this helplessness; today we demand new legitimacy to rule our community. The people must make the law of the public space. Public law can no longer be the province of private power.

We would love to decide the public matters that excite us and build our community with a touch of ourselves. This unfulfilled love of public decision is the sadness of the city. Without the power of decision resting in and acted out by the people in common assembly, there can be no public condition of our humanity. We are without political experience and its knowledge. We are lost and hungry in the woods. Without the power to decide the everyday shape of our community, we cannot even discern whether our felt problems are public or private. Without this power of direct decision, no forum exists to articulate public issues. All problems are mixed and helpless. The fact that one may reason that a given circumstance is a public problem, does not make the problem a matter of public thought or action. It only marks it as an opportunity for private gain. Urban renewal is profiteering!

How can the people of the city gain the power of public decision to shape community? This would make urban development a real public energy. But it means the people must gain the power to make law, rather than be content to choose an elector to whom they can submit. Who wants a better master? Instead, we seek a city democracy and our freedom in that democracy to define and decide the real problems of our life. The people must govern the public space of their community. We must have the direct power to make law in assembly for our community. Correspondingly, the community of our life must be a jurisdiction of our self-government. Once done, we would have a city of culture, not just the civilized responses of slaves!

The people are moving today to solve this problem of powerlessness, of illegitimacy. Old objections to direct sovereignty in the people are falling aside as we see the vital emergence of a new public space which can be self-governed. This is the neighborhood community. The nation and city are too large for direction decision and require representation, but the neighborhood is not. It can be a jurisdiction of self-government based on assembly of its citizens to make law. Their action in neighborhood assembly will shape a community that will reflect their image and be responsive to their lives. Further, community self-government will develop in them a political judgment based on experience that can ground and guide their choice of wise national leadership.

The same impulse of liberty that once called for American independence and political freedom, now calls for the right of self- governing neighborhood community in the city. The town meeting of that day must now recur in today's neighborhood community. It is the space of new democracy and self-determination.

In every city, community action is demanding the legitimate power to effect neighborhood decision. The neighborhood community is the only unit of interest that can carry the force necessary to gain popular power. Correspondingly, it is the proper space in which that power can be freely exercised to reflect the image of free men, and from which political experience can build a public knowledge and responsibility. It must become the basic self-governing unit of our republic. As Jefferson said, "Divide the counties into wards. . .", we must today divide the cities into ward governments.

This is the real mission of urban development if it is to relate to the active forces of real people within the real city. If we shake out the academic constrictions of urban development, then a simple truth is released: since the city is where the people are, the city is the only place where we can pursue what Rousseau called the two objects of good government: liberty and equality. What more can urban development mean?

BLUEPRINT FOR OPPORTUNITY

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annual report 1965

BLUEPRINT FOR OPPORTUNITY

A progress report of
THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
P. O. Box 687
Durham, N. C.

Terry Sanford, Board Chairman
George Esser, Jr., Executive Director
J. Gerald Cowan, President
Sandra Heagy Meyer, BLUEPRINT Editor

Fund Board Approves Poverty Programs, Elects Officers At December Meeting

What is the best way to spark incentive in low-income mountain communities?

How can a man be linked with the job that is right for him?

What does the poor man think of the law?

Programs probing these and other questions relating to the problems of poverty are getting under way following a recent meeting of the board of directors of The North Carolina Fund.

J. Gerald Cowan, Asheville businessman, was elected president of the board at a meeting in Durham.

Other officers are: former North Carolina governor Terry Sanford, chairman of the board; George H. Esser, Jr., executive director of The Fund; John Ehle, Asheville author now living in Winston-Salem, secretary; John Wheeler, Durham bank president, treasurer; and Mrs. Lucy Watkins, assistant to Esser, assistant secretary-treasurer.

The 14-man board gave the go-ahead to an incentives grant project in the Fund's WAMY project in Watauga, Avery, Mitchell, and Yancey counties. The demonstration program will offer grants on a competitive basis to rural, low-income communities. The people of the communities will work together on community development projects to attack the particular problems of their communities.

The program will stress democratic involvement of local people in solving common problems, such as sub-standard housing, inadequate sewer systems, poor garbage disposal systems and unsanitary water supplies. The $38,875 grant is for one year.

Grants will be awarded by a seven-man screening committee which will include three representatives from the low-income community. Criteria will include need, involvement of the entire community and adequacy and feasibility of the project.

The Fund-sponsored Charlotte Area Fund, Inc., was given $37,131 for a comprehensive employment program in Charlotte's low-income areas. Under this program, workers in neighborhood centers will attempt to make employment services an integral part of urban community action in the hardcore poverty areas of the city.

Project workers will contact area business firms, employers' associations, labor unions, private personnel agencies, the North Carolina Employment Security Commission and other groups to match men with jobs. The staff will also go into the neighborhoods and recruit unemployed from streets, corners, barber shops, drug stores and pool rooms.

During interviews, project workers will advise job applicants how to present themselves to prospective employers, when and where and how to apply for jobs and how to develop proper attitudes toward the job, the employer and fellow workers.

The broad purposes of the project are several: to provide supportive counseling and job-related programs to help a person acquire and market a skill; to sensitize employers and labor unions to the idea that inadequate education, lack of training and lack of occupational exposure do not necessarily mean a person cannot do a job; and to consider the applicant's motivation as a key factor in employment services.

It is planned to work in the future with Piedmont Community College to develop an institutional training program to provide skills for the unemployed.

An experimental course in legal problems of the poor will be held at the North Carolina College School of Law. Cost of the program, designed to deal with the crisis-oriented needs of the poor (eviction, repossession, attachment, arrest, etc.) is expected to be between $1,751 and $3,251.

Other grants included $8,357 to The Fund's project in Salisbury-Rowan County to hire a coordinator for volunteer services, and a $2,424.55 grant to the WAMY project for support of Neighborhood Youth Corps personnel.

north carolina fund
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The North Carolina Fund recently completed its second year of attempting to find and show new approaches to the problems of poverty. This special issue of Blueprint for Opportunity outlines activities of the past year and projects some new directions for the remaining three years of The Fund's existence.

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Annual report photographs are selected prints from The North Carolina Fund photo file. Photographer: Billy E. Barnes.

Executive Director Reports

'THE FUND IS AT A CROSSROADS'

By GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.

The purpose of an annual report is to give an accounting of the past and to reflect upon the future. This year's process of accountability suggests the critical importance of redefining objectives for the next three years of Fund activity.

The Fund rode the crest of the wave that has made concern for the low-income, the disadvantaged, the last quarter of our population, a primary focus of national policy. Although that policy has made available billions of dollars for improving the opportunity structure in this country, it is by no means clear that the methods chosen to achieve the goal of a victory over poverty are going to work.

Because some of the methods chosen by Congress closely parallel the methods initially chosen by The North Carolina Fund for experimenting with the problem in 1963—specifically that of helping communities focus on the problems of the poor and of mobilizing resources available to the community for dealing with the problems of the poor—the Fund's program as outlined in the fall of 1963 is much further advanced than we had any reason to anticipate when we received the foundation grants. With federal funds substantially underwriting many of the programs then suggested, it is essential that the Board take a new look at the purposes for which Fund resources should be spent, tc the end that private dollars may continue to have a catalytic impact, rather than simply complement existing programs.

Part One: The Year In Retrospect

In looking at the year just completed, two things are important. First it is necessary to point out what has been accomplished. Second, it is important to isolate the problems we have discovered and the lessons we have learned.

The Community Action Projects

The North Carolina Fund is providing support to 11 community action projects which involve 20 North Carolina counties. These 11 projects are in general well established, well financed, and operating under intelligent leadership.

As the individual reports indicate, the projects vary in scope of program, acceptance within the community, ability of staff, and extent to which the program is financed. All, however, are now being financed under the Economic Opportunity Act.

OEO funds were delayed in reaching many North Carolina community action projects because the project boards of directors did not conform with some of OEO's criteria. These criteria were that each community action organization represent a clear cross-section of (a) governmental agencies, civic and business leadership and (b) agencies or organizations representative of the poor themselves.

Conformity with these criteria has required reorganization of every board of directors in a Fund-related community action organization. In the estimate of Fund staff, this reorganization process has strengthened the community action boards and has significantly strengthened the relationship between the community action organization and the target groups with which it is working—primarily because representation

(Continued on page 15)

Community Development

First Priority: Involvement Of The Poor

How does a community action organization reach the poor, some of whom may be isolated in areas where there are no newspapers, radios, or televisions, no community buildings in which to meet except perhaps a church, and only a narrow dirt road leading to other distant communities?

Encouraging and helping the 11 Fund-supported projects to reach the poor who have never before participated in the lives of their communities and involve them in community action programs was the major task during 1965 of the Department of Community Development of the North Carolina Fund.

Several projects have made this emphasis on individual local involvement their first priority. As a result people are organizing and talking about their own needs. Realistic programs in the areas of health, education, housing and job opportunities are emerging.

An example is the work being done by WAMY Community Action, Inc., a Fund project located in the mountains of North Carolina. WAMY sends into a community a "friendly home visitor" who visits each home to describe the community action program and asks if someone from the household will come to a meeting to talk about it with neighbors.

At the community meeting, other members of the WAMY staff join the "home visitor" in explaining what can be done. Through the election of a community resident to the WAMY board of directors, and through on-the-spot discussion by residents of what they want and need, involvement of the poor in community action begins. Many of the communities in the WAMY four-county area have been organized in this fashion, and the plan is to contact and involve every town or hamlet, no matter how small.

Efforts to involve the poor could be made only after the basic groundwork in establishing community action organizations had been completed.

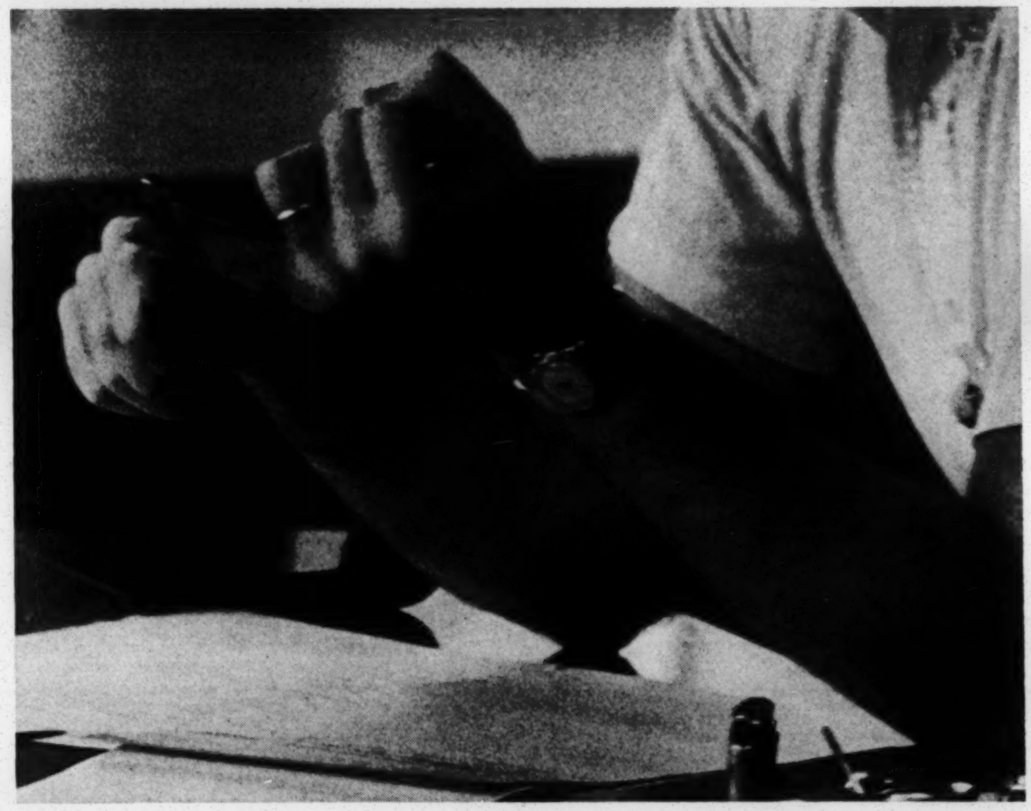
Community Development helped lay this groundwork by affording the communities consultation and technical assistance to meet the following needs: community surveys to establish program needs, better relationships between the project staffs and local established agencies, and the employment of adequate staff within the projects.

The department also made initial contacts with Washington and served as liaison between the local communities and the funding departments of government.

Agency relationships is another important area still demanding attention. In some communities, The Fund's programs seem a threat to established agencies, and project staffs need help in improving rapport between themselves and public and private agency personnel.

The Department of Community Development, also known as the field staff, became a part of the new Community Support Department in The Fund's recent staff reorganization.

Program Development: Birth of Ideas



Gather under one roof a group of well-informed, energetic minds, and let them interact with each other, and the results likely will be the birth, development, and synthesis of ideas.

With this in mind, The North Carolina Fund's Program Development Department last summer held a series of "brainstorming seminars" on four problem areas relevant to low-income populations: housing, scholarships, legal services, and maximum feasible participation of the poor in OEO programs.

Participants in the seminars included representatives from college campuses and public and private agencies throughout the state, as well as Fund staff members. Objectives included precise definition of problems and discovery of potential solutions to them through rendering of services by local communities and state organizations.

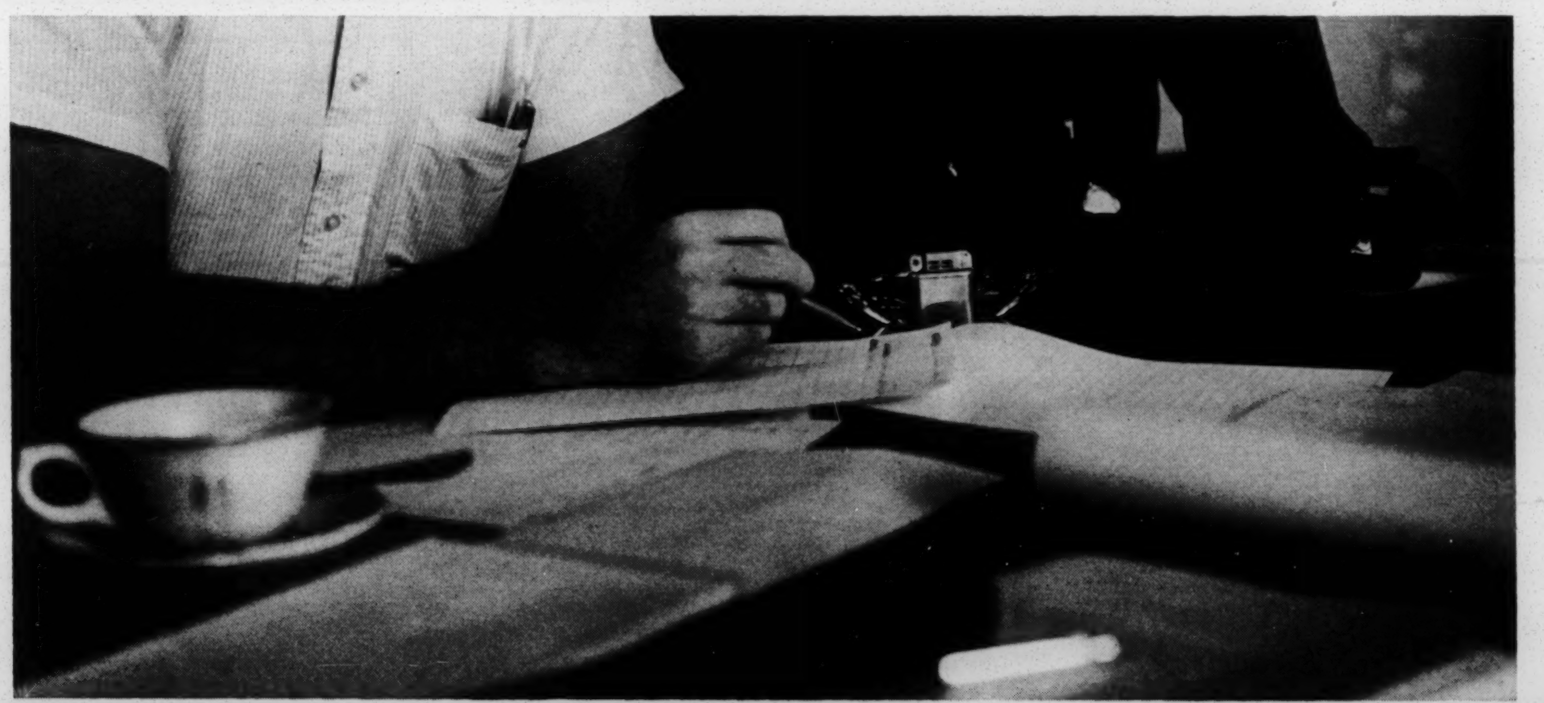
The seminars exemplify some of the purposes of Program Development, which are to give technical assistance to communities by defining problems and by collecting, reviewing, producing, disseminating, and implementing ideas.

To define problems and collect and produce ideas, staff members enlisted the aid of outside specialists from the academic world and practice fields.

To disseminate ideas, they consulted with community projects and local organizations on the community development planning process and on family planning programs; sent to communities information on research and demonstration projects of anti-poverty programs in other parts of the United States, and drew up job descriptions for a number of OEO projects.

Finally, Program Development studied the following projects: job training and placement, development and utilization of neighborhood centers, and development of a cooperative training center for a target area.

At present, the department is answering requests for information on such topics as: delivery of services into low income areas, concerted services in public housing projects, resident participation, neighborhood centers, and methods for determining needs in given geographic areas or among given low income populations.



To Profile The Face And Form Of Poverty: Research

What do poor people think about? What are their values, their attitudes, their aspirations?

A survey of low-income families, designed to help answer these questions, is one project of the Research Department of The North Carolina Fund.

The Fund initiated this survey during the summer of 1964, and a year later received further financial support for it from the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Research Triangle Institute, a non-profit research organization located near Durham, contracted to do the survey's field work, which included interviews with around 13,000 families in the 11 Fund-related communities.

After the field work was completed, late in December of 1965, the Fund's Research staff began data analysis, which is still in process.

This is one project of the Research program, the overall purpose of which is to evaluate the effects of Fund and Fund-related activities. Such evaluation serves both to inform the funding agents of the value received for dollars spent, and to furnish guidelines for the improvement of existing and future programs.

Evaluation efforts involve two dimensions. The first dimension includes three *levels* of evaluation: individual projects, such as pre-school centers; each community action program in its totality; and the impact of the Fund on the state as a whole.

The second dimension includes two *foci* of evaluation: the program *product*, or impact—that is, the measurable changes which occur, as a result of community action programs, in the concomitants of poverty (low income, unemployment, inadequate housing); and the program *process*—the social and political aspects which influence the results of a given community action program.

One way to evaluate the program process is to analyze the relationship between a community action program and the community—including its social, political and economic components—in which the program takes place. Aided by a June, 1965, OEO grant, the Research department undertook this analysis.

When formulating evaluative methods, Research found that it needed certain baseline data before it could begin to evaluate the results of community action programs.

This need resulted in the compilation of a series of "poverty profiles" for each of the project communities. During the summer of 1964, staff members began data collection on key poverty-relevant variables, such as health, crime, and welfare assistance. The "profiles," consisting of maps, tables, and text, currently are being printed, and should be available soon.

Special Projects: Emphasis On Action

The Special Projects Department of the North Carolina Fund seeks to design realistic, creative action programs to offer practical solutions to the problems of the poor.

Special Projects develops programs which, once they are on their feet, often are transferred to another department of The Fund, or to a permanent agency outside The Fund.

Among the demonstration programs which Special Projects has developed and put in the hands of other departments are the following:

—Community Action Technicians: a program to train young college graduates for sub-professional staff roles in community action programs.

—Manpower Improvement Through Community Effort: a program exploring solutions to rural unemployment through family occupational planning, job training, and employment development.

—Mobility: a program relocating families from areas where job opportunities are scarce to areas where job opportunities are great.

Special Projects has given technical assistance in program development to the following organizations and agencies:

—Economic Opportunity Program of the State of North Carolina: assistance to over one-third of the counties in the state for organization of community action programs and for compilation of basic data and materials for this operation.

—State Department of Public Welfare: statewide Job Corps recruitment and psychiatric support program.

—North Carolina Council of Churches: statewide program for assistance to migrants.

—North Carolina Family Service Council: circuit-rider program.

—North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations: volunteer service bureau project.

—Office of Economic Opportunity: two-month loan of the Director of Special Projects, to develop the migrant section and to organize the first group of grants under the administration of that section.

—Health: a program of experiment and research on the relationships among ill health, poverty, and unemployment.

In the past year's operational activities, the department focused chiefly on the North Carolina Volunteers. It administered the summer, 1965, NCV program, and established and administered an on-campus NCV program in which students work during the academic year in their college communities.

The Department of Special Projects also has given special services to Operation Crossroads Africa, the New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity, the Virginia Council of Churches, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Community Service Foundation.

Experiment In Education

CSIP Takes New Approaches To 3R's

"Readin' an' writin' an' 'rithmetic" . . . The school subjects named in the ditty are old, but some of the ways that North Carolina public schools are teaching them are new.

The North Carolina Comprehensive School Improvement Project, an experiment in education on the primary and pre-school levels, is putting some of these new ways into effect.

Designed to operate through the 1966-67 school year, CSIP is financed by the N. C. State Board of Education and the Ford Foundation, through The North Carolina Fund. It was approved and adopted by the State Board of Education in October of 1963, and is coordinated by the State Department of Public Instruction.

Improvement in methods of teaching basic primary grade subjects is one CSIP goal, which is being pursued in the following ways: reorganization of the school day, re-design of the curriculum, re-deployment of teaching staff, a more effective use of television and of other technological resources, in-service education for teachers, improved communication between teachers and pupils and between teachers and parents, and team teaching, including use of college consultants.

Another purpose of CSIP is to help prepare culturally disadvantaged children for first grade. Summer readiness programs lasting six weeks each were established during 1965 to help accomplish this purpose. Many participating schools reported that these programs, for which one teacher and 20 pupils met together per program four or more hours daily, have had noticeable positive effects on the regular school year programs.

During the current school year, 193 schools serving 17,000 boys and girls in North Carolina are participating in CSIP programs. Ultimately, a total of 300 schools are to participate. These schools are located in urban and rural areas, and in varying geographical regions of the state.

In addition to organizing the 1965 summer readiness program, CSIP staff members during the past year sponsored various conferences and workshops. These included a two-day general conference in Raleigh in June; a workshop on techniques of team teaching in cooperation with Pembroke State College in June; another two-day conference stressing the summer readiness program and specialized activities in Raleigh in July; and a series of one-day work conferences, providing small group meetings for the exchange of ideas concerning implementation of CSIP programs, in Asheboro, Morganton, and Greenville in August.

Sub-Professional Programs

Training: Link Between Ideas And Action

The evolution of community action programs has brought with it the evolution of three basic training needs which must be filled if community action is to succeed.

These needs, which gave birth to existing and proposed programs of the Training Department of The North Carolina Fund, include the following: training of sub-professionals for work in community action programs; training of poor people for indigenous leadership; and orientation training for project directors and their staffs.

In training sub-professionals for community action, The Fund has carried out instructional programs for three types of workers: Community Action Technicians (CAT's), Community Services Consultants (CSC's), and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA).

Aided by a grant from the U.S. Department of Labor, the Training Department in August of 1964 began a training program for the first group of CAT's, who later assumed jobs with Fund-supported community action projects. One of their chief roles, carried out through such tasks as development of neighborhood centers, is to help involve the poor in community action.

After training the first CAT group, The Fund, in December of 1964, received from OEO a grant to train additional CAT groups.

More experienced professionally than the CAT's are the CSC's, whom The Fund trains for work with the North Carolina State Welfare Department in counties not included in the 11 Fund-related projects. Basically, the CSC's work as program developers. The Fund's training program for them has been financed by a grant from the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Because of its experience in training volunteer and sub-professional anti-poverty workers, The Fund was asked by OEO to plan and administer the nation's first VISTA training program. From January through August, 1965, 100 volunteers from all parts of the United States completed training in four Fund-conducted programs. Each program included three weeks' residential training (at Camp New Hope, near Chapel Hill, and at Sandhills Community College in Southern Pines) and three weeks' field training in North Carolina communities.

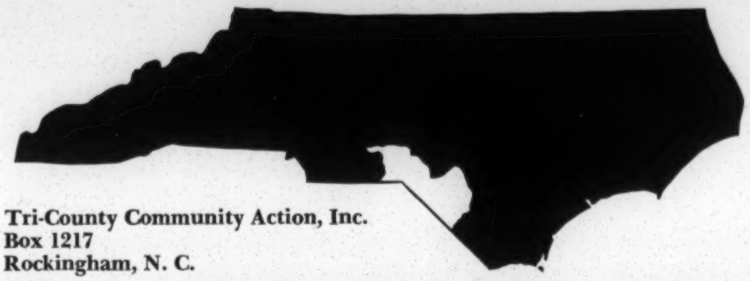
The present contract with OEO provides for training of four additional VISTA groups, the second of which is in training now.

In the area of community education, the Training staff, assisted by the Institute of Government, University of North Carolina, has developed several plans. One is for a series of Policymaker Seminars in local communities. These seminars would bring together community leaders, agency officials, members of low-income groups, and other interested persons. Their goals would be to increase understanding of community needs and problems and support for methods of solving them.

To help orient project directors and staff to their tasks, the Training Department is giving them a series of programs that inform them on national anti-poverty efforts, activities of the Fund, and plans and problems of local projects.

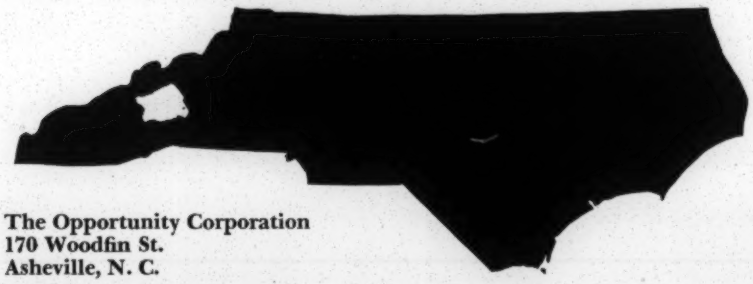
Throughout its work, the Training Department has worked towards integrating training programs into North Carolina's existing educational system. The Fund, OEO, state agencies and local institutions have been laying plans for a University Center for Community Research and Services, to be established at UNC at Chapel Hill.

Fund Projects Report Progra



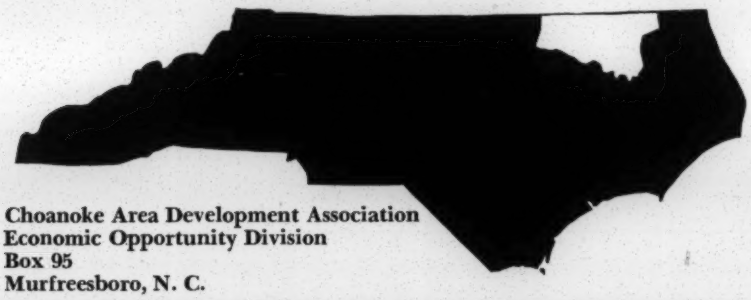
Tri-County Community Action, Inc.
Box 1217
Rockingham, N. C.

$12,325 to begin Basic Adult Education program for 500 students. Educational Specialist—$6,475.
CAP Programs—Grant approved and funded for $215,105.
NYC—$404,340 grant. 500 youths on the job.
Title IV—SBDC committee has been organized.
MITCE—organized. Provides either on-the-job training or institutional training for heads of households either unemployed for six months or making under $1,200 annually.



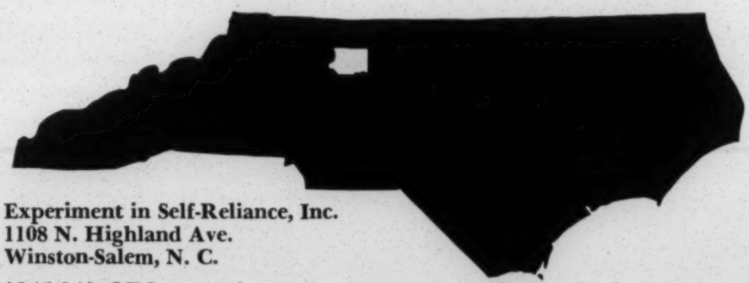
The Opportunity Corporation
170 Woodfin St.
Asheville, N. C.

CAP Project—$43,918 grant.
NYC—$283,770 grant for program involving 508 in-school enrollees.
Title II—Model day-care center in operation.
Literacy Education—recruiting students for literacy and basic adult education.



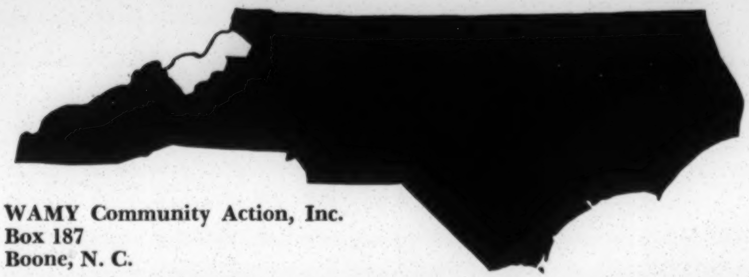
Choanoke Area Development Association
Economic Opportunity Division
Box 95
Murfreesboro, N. C.

Basic Adult Education—$1,800 for temporary staff to recruit students.



Experiment in Self-Reliance, Inc.
1108 N. Highland Ave.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

$245,048 OEO grant for seven-component conduct and administration grant, including: Administrative Support, Staff Positions, Volunteer Services, Day Care Expansion, Adult Basic Education Recruitment, Camperships (YMCA).
Camperships (YWCA), Day Camp (YWCA).
Literacy Recruitment Grant—$1,800.
Winston-Salem Boy's Club—$7,752.
Legal Aid Planning Grant—$3,624.
Tutorial and After-School Snacks Program—$21,108.
Police Community Service Planning Grant—$7,000.
NYC—$615,200 for in-school and out-of-school programs expected to provide 566 jobs.
Title IV—over 24 applications processed, 2 loans approved by SBA.



WAMY Community Action, Inc.
Box 187
Boone, N. C.

Community Organization of Economically Deprived People—Communities are forming clubs and starting community development projects.
VISTA—Eleven volunteers living and working in local communities.
Mountain Crafts and Marketing—Craftsmen at work, market survey completed. Crafts workshop held.
Manpower Development and Vocational Education—Training courses scheduled, class to begin soon.
Small Farm Production and Marketing—Recruiting being done by Agricultural Extension Service of North Carolina State University.
Public Health Education—27 Friendly Home Visitors, four public health nurses and two public health educators in program.
Marginal Families Welfare—Marginal Families Caseworkers working with potential welfare recipients.
Remedial Reading—Twelve reading specialists employed. 2,351 students served.
Summer Sessions for Economically Deprived People—Operated alongside Head Start last summer. 1,188 rising second and third graders were enrolled in this six-week remedial and enrichment program.
Recruitment for Basic Adult Education—Two BAE Recruiters employed and 174 persons enrolled in classes.
Summer Sessions and Physical Fitness—2,655 pupils took part in the 10-week program. 70 work-study students used.
Guidance and Counseling—16 dropouts brought back to school under this program. Guidance introduced into grades 7-8 in all elementary schools in the four counties.
Community Information and Group Service—2,597 persons have been served by this program, which is intended to identify and supply community needs for information and ideas.
Neighborhood Youth Corps—In-school program in progress, recruiting begun for out-of-school program. Positions for 324 in-school, 312 out-of-school.
Head Start Follow-up program of health services planned, as is limited Child Development program and another Head Start program for next summer.
Title IV (Small Business Development Corp.)—20 persons interviewed, three loan applications forwarded to SBA office in Charlotte for final approval.
Incentives Grants—Community programs coordinator hired to administer project to provide money to bring incentive to rural communities to organize for community action.
Educational Specialists Project—Recruitment of personnel under way. Program will provide educational specialist for four counties to write proposals to state board of education and coordinate programs under elementary and secondary education act.

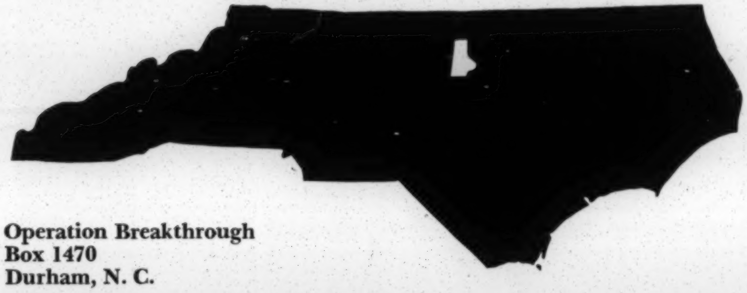
Nash-Edgecombe Economic Development, Inc.
Box 307
Rocky Mount, N. C.

Adult Basic Education—$1,800.
Hospital Survey—$1,750.
Mobile Nursing Training Unit—$10,000.

s To Break Through Poverty

Salisbury-Rowan Community Service Council, Inc.
Box 631
Salisbury, N. C.

$1,800 for temporary staff for recruiting students for basic adult education program.
$7,200 to supplement support by MDTA and local source to train ten home managers.
$1,750 to carry five home managers trained under above grants until OEO financing begins.
Approved and functioning: Administrative, Pre-School Readiness, Basic Adult Education, Home Managers, VISTA.
NYC—In-school program.
N. C. Fund has also funded Volunteers Services, Elementary and Secondary Education Director, Community Action Technicians and summer Volunteers.



Operation Breakthrough
Box 1470
Durham, N. C.

NYC—Present funding period, grants are $496,640 for out-of-school program for six months and $122,140 for in-school program for 12 months. At present, there are approximately 375 enrollees altogether.

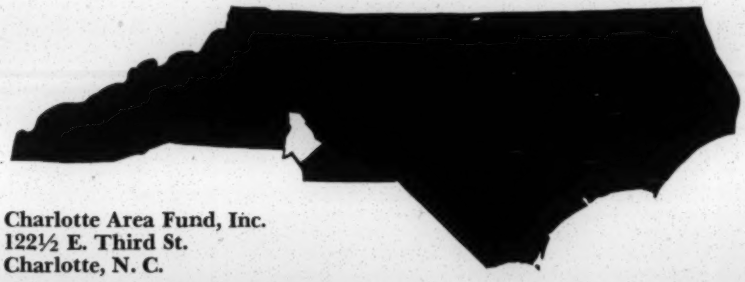
Tutorials—Approximately 625 students received help in 1965 during 25 sessions per week held at four locations.
Volunteers—200 community resident volunteers working as tutors at tutorial centers.
Day Care—OBT presently sponsors six day care centers for impoverished children and pays tuition for children at two private centers. Approximately 240 children are presently being served.
Home Management—Nine home management aides, residents of the target areas, have been employed to help coordinators in Target Areas A and B with classes in: food and nutrition, clothing for the family and articles for the home, child care and personal care, family relations, and housekeeping and home management.
Public Health—Six health aides, residents of the target areas, have been employed to assist with classes in: hygiene of the individual and family, maternal and child health, adult health problems, communicable diseases, chronic diseases, community health, and mental health.

SBDC—Of nine loans voted upon by committee, five have been approved locally.
MDTA—Three courses under way at Durham Technical Institute (carpentry, bricklaying, psychiatric aide). Proposed practical nursing course must be approved by state. Courses in architectural draftsman and mechanical drawing have been funded but have not started.
VISTA—had a total of 15 VISTA's for past year; only 9 are presently in service, and this group will leave in February. Present proposal calls for 25 to work for OBT for the next year.
Work-Study—Ten students from Duke University and 27 students from North Carolina College in program.

Craven Operation Progress
409 George St.
New Bern, N. C.

CAP—In full operation: Day Care Centers, Home Management Aid, Comprehensive Welfare Administration, Rural Environmental Sanitation, Public Health Nursing and Education, Health Administration, Strawberry Marketing Cooperative, Small Business Development Center, Community Development, Federal Credit Union, Conduct and Administration, and Adult Basic Education Recruitment.

$1,800 for temporary staff to recruit students for basic adult education program. This resulted in the Adult Basic Education Recruitment Program covering four counties (Craven, Jones, Onslow, and Pamlico). A total of 72 basic education classes and 19 other classes.
$3,302 for recruitment, training, assigning and using community volunteers in various programs. This contributed to the implementation of Head Start and resulted in the proposal for the Community Development Program.
$2,000 for power equipment and surplus truck for environmental sanitation program.
$2,516.25 for supplies and equipment for Craven County Welfare Department's Day Care Center and Home Management Aid Program.
NYC—Operating on extension of original project.
SBDC—About $387,000 of applications approved.



Charlotte Area Fund, Inc.
122½ E. Third St.
Charlotte, N. C.

Adult Basic Education—$1,800.
Summer Camp Scholarships—$4,000.
Program Development—Job Opportunities and Motivation Program of Charlotte Bureau of Employment, Training and Placement—$37,613.
Educational Specialist—$6,720.
Adult Literacy Training—Threatened by lack of funds. Planning application to OEO to continue until June 30, 1966.

Macon Program for Progress
P. O. Box 147
Franklin, N. C.

$1,800 for temporary staff to recruit students for basic adult education.
$1,925 for program of dental health and nutritional education.
$6,700 for six months' support of job training program of Macon County Cooperative Fruit and Vegetable Growers' Association.
Adult Education—44 persons enrolled.
Self-help housing—work with low-income families to build homes.
Vocational Training—seven persons enrolled in MDTA training.
Title III—Three FHA small loans made.
Title IV—Over one-half million dollars in loans approved.
Day Care Centers and Visiting Service Guide—$157,392.

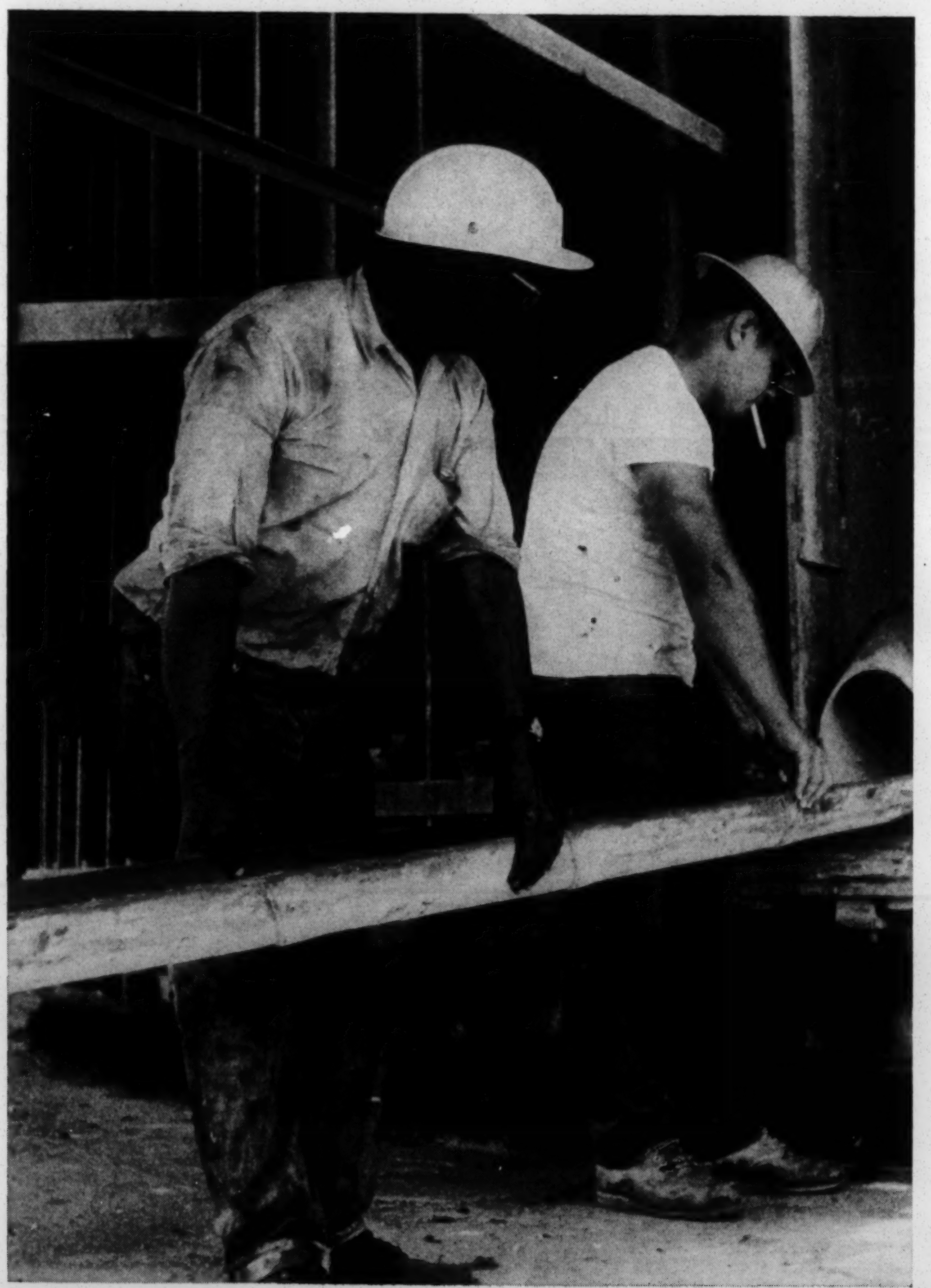
On-The-Job Training

Manpower Program Fights Unemployment

Manpower Improvement through Community Effort is an experimental project designed to improve the lot of rural unemployed people by arranging for them to be trained for jobs. If successful, its methods will be applied to the increasing problem of unemployment due to farm automation.

The project has three field sites: Craven County, Nash and Edgecombe Counties, and the Tri-County area of Richmond, Robeson, and Scotland counties. Manpower works in areas within these counties characterized by depleted or inadequate farm economy, chronic unemployment or underemployment, and cultural and material deprivation.

To qualify as trainee, a client must be 18 years of age or older, have been unemployed for six of the past 12 months, and be a head of household. A head of a farm family is eligible if the family's last annual income was less than $1200.



Nearly half of the approximately 1,000 clients are women. This presents some special problems since jobs are particularly hard to develop for women in rural areas. Manpower now is exploring ways to make businessmen accept women in jobs traditionally filled by men, and is considering training women clients as nurses' aides, patient aides, and clerks.

Age is another problem. Many clients are over 40, and attitudes relating to performance and stability hinder their placement.

More than two-thirds of the jobless in the three areas have less than an eighth-grade education, and most of them are minority group members.

Transportation is a major barrier to getting jobs and training for rural people. The Manpower staff may have to place several trainees in one area and make sure one of them has some form of transportation to share with the others before any lasting job situation can be arranged.

Housing is another problem. Most of the prospective trainees are tenants who live free of rent in exchange for their labor. Some landlords have evicted tenants who accept jobs away from the farm.

Follow-up visits by field workers and referral of clients to other agencies increase client reception of Manpower. Most clients have proven eligible for other services of which they were unaware.

With recruitment nearly completed, the Manpower staff is turning its efforts to counseling clients and arranging on-the-job and institutional training.

The aim of the program is to train 1000 people by June, 1966. Along the way the staff will have to cope with the problems of transportation, housing, the small businessman's conservatism, racial prejudice, the client's lack of self-confidence, and entrance requirements for technical colleges.

Manpower has broken the last-mentioned barrier by arranging for the Craven County Industrial Education Center to give a carpentry class for persons who have less than an eighth-grade education. This is the first regular skilled vocational training class for people under the eighth-grade level ever conducted in North Carolina by a community college and with the support of the Employment Security Commission.

MOBILITY Greener Pastures For The Poor

Sometimes men are jobless simply because they are untrained. Sometimes they are jobless because—trained or untrained—they are caught in areas where no employment is available.

It is with this second category of unemployed that the Mobility program of The North Carolina Fund has worked, moving rural poor people of North Carolina to more urbanized areas in the state where labor is in demand.

An experimental project, Mobility originated in 1965, when The Fund entered into a 12-month contract with the United States Department of Labor.

The contract provided for the relocation of 200 unemployed. Before deadline time, however, Mobility had reached this quota. It obtained approval for further relocations, and by Sept. 30 had relocated 278 of North Carolina's unemployed.

One of Mobility's tasks was to recruit relocatees. This task fell to three staff members—one Caucasian, one Negro, and one Indian—who were culturally and geographically close to potential relocatees.

In addition to recruitment, Mobility's staff found jobs for family breadwinners; secured low-cost housing for the families; moved the families and all their possessions; provided post-move counseling; and sought solutions—such as child-care facilities, credit unions, job retraining, and adult education and literacy programs—for various personal problems of the relocatees.

The experiment showed the practicality of these moves, provided a pattern for future relocations, and brought these by-products:

—Information about unexpected obstacles, such as the critical lack of low-cost housing in areas with high employment possibilities. In all cases where Mobility found an abundance of job vacancies, there was little or no adequate housing available for rent. Even inadequate housing was scarce. Future mobility programs should involve advance work to ensure that housing is available.

—Stimulation of interest in learning to read and write among illiterates relocated (roughly 15 per cent of the group). This interest impelled Mobility to survey adult education possibilities and seek volunteer teachers.

—Appreciation of the relocatees' desires—such as resettlement where they will feel at home—which must be considered if the program is to be permanently effective. Climatic, geographic and social similarities of new to old homes have helped meet these desires; so has group relocation, since friendship ties help diminish unfamiliarity of new environments.

How well do relocated employees stick? Fifty-six relocatees have left the jobs Mobility found for them, but only nine of these are actual dropouts. Eleven are continuing their education. The others have moved to better jobs, have been drafted, or have found employment in their home communities based upon their Mobility experience.

Public Information: To Tell The Facts

The Public Information Department in the past year has responded to requests from the 11 project communities, The Fund departments, state agencies, and out-of-state concerns such as news media, the federal government, and the Ford Foundation.

Some of the more impressive, but not necessarily more important, projects of the past year have included a documentary movie on the North Carolina Volunteers; two issues of the newsletter "Blueprint for Opportunity"; an exhibit for the North Carolina State Fair that will be used in the future for conventions and similar events; and a brochure explaining the history and current programs of The Fund.

The more time-consuming, and perhaps more important, projects have been the ones tackled in response to requests from the community action projects. These include a slide show for Operation Breakthrough; two television productions and a movie for Craven County; a newspaper series and slide show for WAMY, and brochure designs for Tri-county, Asheville-Buncombe, and Craven.

The third category of projects concerns a continuing program of functional publicity for The Fund's own departments. An example of this is recruiting for North Carolina Volunteers, which required posters, brochures, newspaper stories, and radio and TV spots.

Similar efforts went into the creation of brochures to recruit Community Action Technicians and the coordination of publicity for VISTA training.

In 1966, The Public Information Department will expand operations at both community and state levels. One staff member will devote full time to special events such as state conventions of professionals whose attitudes will influence the success of the economic opportunity movement. These conventions will be covered with exhibits, special audio-visual presentations, and Fund speakers.

Other departmental expansions will send two field men into Fund-supported projects to help project staff determine public information needs, and report those needs to The Fund.

In the list of projects of 1965 and plans for 1966, there is no mention of efforts to aggrandize The North Carolina Fund itself. The purpose of the Public Information Department is to create acceptance and support for community-level projects, and to encourage other communities to start similar programs.

Fund Awards 1965 Grants To State Agencies

Out of The North Carolina Fund's pocketbook comes money to help finance programs of the 11 Fund-related community action projects. These projects, however, are not the only recipients of Fund money. During 1965, The Fund made grants to various agencies throughout North Carolina to help fight poverty. The grants were as follows:

—$21,000 to North Carolina Department of Administration for development of Office of Human Resources coordinator.

—$10,000 to North Carolina Department of Administration for demonstration project to stimulate the low-cost housing industry.

—$3,156 to North Carolina Board of Health for 90 days' salary for coordinator for OEO program to train and hire subprofessionals in the health field.

—$1,500 to North Carolina Good Neighbor Council for brochures.

—$10,000 to Learning Institute of North Carolina for youth educational services.

—$30,000 matching sum for proposal to the federal Housing and Home Finance Agency for low-cost housing research and demonstration project.

Poverty in the midst of plenty is a paradox that must not go unchallenged in this country. Ours is the wealthiest of nations, yet one-sixth of our people live below minimal levels of health, housing, food and education—in the slums of cities, in migratory labor camps, in economically depressed areas, on Indian reservations. In addition, special hardships are faced by our senior citizens, dependent children, and the victims of mental illness, mental retardation and other disabling misfortunes.

—PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

in a letter dated April 10, 1963, to Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States Senate.

Administration And Finance: Budget Burden

During the past year, The North Carolina Fund administered 18 different budgets totalling almost three million dollars from federal, state, and foundation sources. The Department of Administration and Finance helped department heads prepare all budgets.

In the area of financial management, the department also served The Fund in matters of investments and accounting, and gave technical assistance on finance to the 11 community action projects and to several other Fund grantees

The department head during the past fiscal year visited eight of the 11 community action projects to review expenditures made under all Fund grants, to assess the quality of accounting personnel, and to evaluate accounting systems. The result was an accounting manual to assist communities employing personnel with limited accounting skills.

In addition to matters of finance, the department manages all areas of administration, including personnel, internal communications, the library, legal services, space procurement, and plant management.

In August the department coordinated a two-day conference of the full professional staff. Purposes of the conference were to inform all professional staff members of past and present activities of departments other than their own, and to focus their thinking on the roles of their departments.

In the past, the Department of Administration and Finance has felt that the imposition of extremely tight controls over fiscal and personnel matters would not be appropriate for an organization such as The Fund. Because it has much to accomplish in a relatively short period of time, The Fund requires a flexible organization which can move quickly and react effectively to external forces. This means that it must rely on the judgment of its professional staff to a greater extent than is found in many organizations.

However, in an organization which has grown in size and program, it becomes necessary to establish certain fixed procedures to handle routine or recurrent matters. Such matters otherwise might overwhelm the administrative staff with repetitive and unproductive work and interfere with action on more important matters. Therefore, the department is setting up definite procedures in areas such as accounting, budgeting, employment, maintenance, and use of Fund automobiles.

. . . EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR REPORTS . . .

(Continued from page 3)

from organizations in which the poor have confidence has led to greater confidence in the role and program of the community action organization.

Some members of the Fund staff, including the Executive Director, have devoted a good deal of time to working with communities in the throes of reorganization. This time has been wisely invested.

In the fall of 1964 The Fund set aside $75,000 to make small pilot and demonstration grants to community action organizations before federal funds were available, so as to capitalize on local interest, help develop momentum, and experiment with programs pending grants from the federal government.

This was a successful and timely venture, and in May the Board set aside an additional $200,000 for these purposes. Increasingly, the grants being requested from this fund are for pilot and developmental programs, and it is anticipated that the need for this sort of supplementary assistance will decrease as support from the federal government becomes more assured.

Beginning in November, 1964, the Fund staff arranged for project directors of Fund-related community action projects to meet together every four to six weeks to discuss common problems and evaluate progress. These have been most successful meetings. They have facilitated exchange of views and information between the 11 project directors, enabled The Fund to supply projects with information on new policies in Washington and in Raleigh, and facilitated development of effective Fund-community relationships.

Program Development

Although the program development staff has concentrated on assisting the community action projects in planning proposals, it also has examined problems on a state-wide basis. With a small appropriation from the Board of Directors in May, the program development staff organized four special "brainstorming" seminars to examine at close hand a number of problems common to communities throughout the state.

Training

The Fund's initial proposal to the Ford Foundation recognized that there was a shortage of professionals with experience in the area of community planning and community action programs. Demands for helping provide the training needed to meet crash programs led to creation of the Training department in the summer of 1964, with initial responsibility for training the Community Service Consultants being placed in 25 counties under the grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

In August of 1964, recognizing an immediate need for young men and women with some interest and background in community action, the Board of Directors established a special training program, with assistance from the Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training, U. S. Department of Labor, for training and placement of 15 Community Action Technicians. The second class began in February and included 15 persons. A third class of 18 began in June. Most of these presently are employed by community action projects in North Carolina.

In the fall of 1964, the staff of Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) asked The North Carolina Fund to undertake the training of the first group of VISTA Volunteers to be recruited.

A second group of VISTA Volunteers was trained by The Fund at Camp New Hope, and in North Carolina communities in March and April. The Fund has since entered into an annual contract for the training of six additional classes.

In order to help establish a temporary training center to aid the Economic Opportunity program in this region, the Executive Director entered into negotiations with the President of the University of North Carolina, who involved the Chancellors of the three campuses. After several months of study, the President asked the Chancellor of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to appoint a committee to formulate plans for an Institute on the UNC campus which could sponsor and support expanded professional training in the professional fields concerned with community action, undertake expanded extension programs for community and state leadership in community action programs, and sponsor research into community problems. This committee has been established and has asked the staff of The Fund to assist it in the development of a proposal.

As a result of these contracts, the University of North Carolina was one of five universities asked to consider submitting proposals for development of comprehensive training and community development programs. The first meeting of these five universities, preliminary to submission of proposals, was held in Washington on November 30 and was attended by Professor Alan Keith-Lucas, Acting Dean of the School of Social Work and chairman of the committee, by the Fund Executive Director acting as consultant to Professor Keith-Lucas, and by Jim Stone of the State Planning Task Force. It is anticipated that the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill will be chosen.

Another major training effort has been in-service training and orientation for members of boards and professional staffs in the community action projects. As the 11 projects received their financing, and began staff expansions, they began to ask for assistance in training at the local level. Part of the initial Training grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity to The North Carolina Fund was reserved for this type of training assistance, and one staff member was employed to devote full time to planning of two-day training sessions involving local staff and board members, interested citizens, and Fund staff.

Research and Evaluation

Early in 1965 a comprehensive proposal for evaluating the total Fund community action program was submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

This proposal included: (1) A comprehensive $372,681 survey of low-income families in the state at large and in the individual target areas of the 11 Fund-supported communities. (2) A careful analysis of the community action process in each of the 11 Fund-related communities. Both of these proposals have been funded. To avoid having to itself gather a staff to administer the survey directly to 13,000 families, The Fund sought bids, and the Board of Directors approved the bid of the Research Triangle Institute to administer the interviews and code and tabulate results of the survey. The survey questionnaire itself went through several drafts before going to the Research Triangle Institute for administration. At the present time, the 13,000 interviews have been completed, and the Research Triangle Institute provided initial reports from the survey in January.

The second Research grant was for $99,209 for employing a staff to: (1) analyze in depth the complex processes accompanying the community action program; (2) make a basic study of the poverty-related institutions in each community; and (3) put together a chronology of events tracing the community action process since its beginning.

The "community poverty profiles," prepared for the first seven Fund-related communities, now are being printed. The profiles, prepared in the summer and fall of 1964, are designed

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(Continued from preceding page)

to provide background information for community self-study, program planning, and evaluation.

With encouragement from the Office of Economic Opportunity, the research staff has prepared a proposal calling for individual projects in community action programs to be evaluated by the proposed Institute for Community Service at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Allocation of about three percent of all community action grants to evaluation will make it possible for that organization to support evaluation of individual projects from a fund of about a half a million dollars a year. The proposal anticipates that faculty members from educational institutions throughout the state will be involved in this evaluation process.

Public Information

During the later part of 1964 and early 1965 the staff concentrated on preparation of basic materials explaining the Fund's program and on serving as public relations liaison with public and national agencies interested in the Fund's program. To provide a continuing source of information on Fund activities, a periodic newsletter was established in the spring of 1965 and now is published bi-monthly. Since the spring of 1965 the staff has concentrated its efforts on assistance to each of the community action projects in the preparation of basic public information materials—brochures, slide shows, movies, etc.

Comprehensive School Improvement Project

With the appointment in December, 1964, of Dr. Woodrow Sugg, Superintendent of the Gastonia City Schools, as Director of the Project, CSIP acquired good direction and leadership. Dr. Sugg has completed his staff with the appointment of two assistant directors, one of whom is white and one Negro.

The Ford Foundation has asked Mr. Lester Nelson, a member of the Foundation staff which helped design the project, to serve as a consultant to the Comprehensive School Improvement Project. He has begun regular visits to the project in company with the Deputy Director for Program of The North Carolina Fund, who himself has a long background in education. It is their judgment that the project, which now has experimental programs in 195 schools in this state, is making substantial progress toward its basic goals.

Special Projects

Again in 1965 The North Carolina Fund sponsored a summer program for college student volunteers, with the support of a grant of about $275,000 from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Jack Mansfield again directed this program, which in 1965 called for the recruitment of 250 volunteers, to be assigned in teams of 10 to 20 to communities throughout the state requesting their use. A total of 225 volunteers were finally accepted, given preliminary training at Duke University, and assigned to work in projects in 24 counties.

Manpower

The Fund's Manpower program was implemented in February, 1965, and became fully operational in June. The U. S. Department of Labor, with whom the program was contracted, extended the original terminal date of the program from October, 1965, to June 30, 1966.

At this time the project is past its midpoint and is in full swing. Initial interviews of the eligible families—head of a rural household who makes less than $1,200 a year—have been completed in all projects. Procedures for placing eligible persons in on-the-job training activities have been worked out with the cooperation of federal, state and local agencies, and 56 persons had been placed in OJT opportunities as of November 15. Also, with the aid of area community colleges, institutional programs have been designed especially for persons singled out by the Manpower staff. Twelve of these special classes involving 340 people are planned to begin at Lenoir Community College and Wilson Technical Institute in December and January.

Manpower staffs in the local communities, largely drawn from local neighborhoods, have developed special abilities for (1) helping make the services of other community agencies meaningful for families interviewed through the Manpower program, (2) helping develop motivation for further training and employment among the rural poor, and (3) defining gaps in the present system of manpower development which can be used by state and local agencies to improve their existing services.

The Manpower staff is now giving technical assistance to all 11 community action projects in the drafting of manpower development program proposals to be submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mobility

As a part of the Fund's demonstration program in the Manpower area, a grant was received from the Department of Labor, also with funds from the Manpower Development and Training Act, to experiment with helping unemployed and under-employed persons from labor-surplus Eastern North Carolina counties to find good jobs in job-surplus areas. The grant totaled $131,489 and was sufficient to help identify persons willing to move to find good employment, to identify employers with jobs, to arrange and finance relocation of such families to communities where specific jobs for the head of household had been arranged, and to provide assistance to such families in the process of moving and settling into a strange community.

As of September 30, the Mobility staff had relocated 278 unemployed heads-of-households, found jobs and housing for them, and given them financial assistance. Relocatees ranging from 18 to 63 years of age received starting salaries of $1.25 to $2.59 an hour. Of the 278 persons relocated, only nine have reverted to their former status. As a result of the persons who moved, others continued to migrate to job-surplus areas.

State Relationships

At the time the Economic Opportunity Act was passed, the State of North Carolina requested a grant to establish a state program for offering technical assistance in the area of coordinating program development to N. C. communities.

For a period of three months this assistance was provided, using the Fund staff and Dr. Burns Jones of the State Board of Public Health, who was loaned to The Fund for a period of three months.

Later the grant to the state was revised, and emphasis in the state program has been placed on technical assistance to individual communities, rather than on program development coordination.

At the request of Mr. Rankin, The Fund made a grant of $21,000 to the Department of Administration in April to support the office of Human Resources Coordinator in the newly-established State Planning Task Force.

The Department of Administration also sought and received a grant of $10,000 from The Fund to provide matching funds for a federal grant to establish the office of Housing Coordinator in the State Planning Task Force for a two-year period.

The Fund has sponsored, at the Task Force's request, a two-day training program for community action project directors in North Carolina other than those from Fund-related projects. The Fund has given extensive technical assistance to the Task

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Force in preparing a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity which would support a comprehensive program of training for technical assistance to local communities in developing sub-professional careers in the fields of education, welfare, health, mental health, libraries and other agencies dealing with problems of human resource development. On November 22 and 23 The Fund helped the Task Force sponsor a conference for about 40 state agency personnel charged with responsibility for helping draft this proposal.

It is true that early and continued contact with officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity paid off in sympathetic response to proposals from The Fund and Fund-related communities. This positive relationship also enabled The Fund to anticipate problems arising with Fund-related community action agencies, and in some cases state agencies, and to help solve problems before crises arose. We have had good success thus far in this effort.

Organization

The increasing obligations of The Fund under programs financed with both public and private dollars necessitated a steady increase in personnel throughout the year.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee in September, the Executive Director recommended that two new positions be authorized: (1) A Deputy Director for Administration who would coordinate all matters of accounting and disbursement of funds, personnel, housing, purchasing and supply; (2) a Deputy Director for Program, who would coordinate all activities in the areas of community development, program development, training, special projects, Manpower and Mobility. These two positions were authorized and the following recommendations of the Executive Director to fill these positions were approved: Mr. Nathan Garrett, to be promoted from Controller to Deputy Director for Administration, and Thomas B. Hartmann, an educator most recently with the staff of the Ford Foundation, to be Deputy Director for Program. No change was made in the status of the departments of Research and Public Information, the directors of which continue to report directly to the Executive Director.

The Fund has operated during the past year on a budget of slightly less than $3,000,000 including foundation funds and federal grants. The Fund granted $1,100,000 to other organizations, and the organizations to which these grants were made obtained additional $10,400,000 from local, state and federal sources for programs related to the war on poverty.

Part II: Outlook For 1966

The North Carolina Fund is at a crossroads.

In a very real sense the primary purposes we had in mind in 1963 have been met.

There are 11 community action projects of strength and commitment, in varying degrees, in operation.

We have completed or have in process a number of demonstration projects which, when viewed objectively, have made a substantial impact.

But just as the Great Society has expanded our opportunities to meet the needs of people, it has also made our tasks more difficult and complex and our responsibilities greater.

The Fund has a unique opportunity. We have a little money, some trained staff personnel, and a state full of problems and potential.

We have three or more years in which to work.

In comparison to the federal and state governments, and to universities, we have freedom to act, if we act quickly.

To insure that we were moving in the right direction, we began a series of staff meetings last August. We asked the staff to think, to criticize, to dream.

In September we asked the Executive Committee to do the same. And we asked the Ford Foundation for the opportunity to restate our objectives. The Fund staff endorsed and encouraged this effort.

Out of all this process have come some ideas. In formulating these ideas, some guiding principles have governed our efforts. We have sought:

1. A purpose which is clear and unequivocal.
2. Flexibility—the freedom to act positively and quickly.
3. A setting for imagination. We must free ourselves from shackled thought and help ourselves and others to innovate.
4. Impact—We must define priorities and act to meet basic needs.
5. Continuity—We must build in and on permanent institutions, having in mind the limited life of The Fund.
6. Commitment—We must have a belief in people and the innate worth and dignity of individuals, as well as in the democratic process.
7. Understanding—We know that the problems of the poor cannot be easily understood unless we are sensitive to how they think, act, and view society.

We have a job to do. We hope these recommendations point the way to a more vital and dynamic program.

National Goals Unclear

Out of the welter of writing on poverty which has appeared during the last year, one recurring theme is important. The legislative programs enacted by Congress are not at all clear on the objectives of the War on Poverty. In effect there is a confusion of goals and because of the confusion of goals, there has been a significant confusion in the aspirations and expectations of the poor.

One interpretation of new and existing legislation is that we can best attack the problem by more adequate services. But, while services may help people face some of their problems, an increased package of services does not necessarily assure an end to poverty.

A key requisite for the success of many programs in the War on Poverty is the opening of opportunity structures for men and women displaced from employment or adequate employment by the effects of automation and technology.

Some writers have questioned whether the continued existence of millions of jobs that do not qualify for the minimum wage can ever permit us to lift a significant portion of our population out of poverty, particularly when the minimum wage itself brings an income below that required for the minimum standard of living we seek.

Some provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act, particularly those requiring the "maximum feasible participation of

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the poor," suggest that motivation is the problem and that we will not secure motivation until we either make our class structure more open and flexible, permitting an increasing number of individuals and families to move into the vast middle class, or we strengthen and expand the democratic process itself at all levels, so that all our people can play an active part in the shaping of their own, and the nation's destiny.

Confusion in goals leads to confusion of expectations. And unless we have specific goals, it is going to be difficult for the War on Poverty, as it is carried out at local levels, to meet the full range of expectations. Frustration of expectations can be as dangerous to the success of this war as inadequate achievement of well-defined goals.

There is the clear suggestion, then, that The Fund is in a position to encourage a re-examination of the causes of poverty, and a critical definition of the problem of poverty.

But the dynamics of the War on Poverty are such that research and thoughtful and logical analysis are continually being challenged by some of the recent and more experimental approaches which both raise questions about existing policies and open up new avenues of analysis.

Objectives of Fund

The North Carolina Fund is engaged in a five-year quest for new ways to enable the poor to become productive, self-reliant citizens, and to foster institutional, political, economic, and social change designed to bring about a functioning democratic society. In striving toward these two equally important aims. The Fund will:

a. Help the poor show that they can be effective not only in identifying their own needs and opportunities, but in participating in the decision-making process of the entire community.

b. Help the State and its communities develop, demonstrate, and evaluate effective processes for mobilizing all available resources to provide more effective services and to open up opportunities to all people.

c. Create support for these programs by increasing public understanding of the problems of the poor in modern society, and acquainting the public, its elected and appointed officials, and the poor themselves with emerging solutions.

Because The Fund is an organization with a limited life, it will encourage and support appropriate institutions to build *in* and build *on* new programs dealing effectively with problems of people.

As a private organization concerned with the problems of an entire state, The Fund has a unique opportunity and continuing responsibility to encourage constructive criticism of our society. In this role The Fund will help the people of the state anticipate and define problems affecting the state and develop means for dealing with these problems, meanwhile seeking to build this responsibility for constructive criticism into permanent institutions.

Achievement of Objectives

Achievement of The Fund's basic objectives requires particular emphasis on the community action projects now receiving Fund support. These projects already are being financed under a variety of federal and foundation grants. Without question, financial support now is adequate for a sound beginning. But communities and the state simply are not yet equipped to handle resources of the magnitude now available. Furthermore, resources are meaningless if they do not produce results, and results in this program mean impact on people. We have strong reason to question whether services alone will produce results—without motivation to take advantage of them.

The Fund must help communities to overcome these weaknesses, most of which point not to lack of funds to carry out new programs but the inability to muster maximum public support for defining and implementing needed programs.

The Fund must emphasize support of new and experimental programs, but not at the expense of aid to communities in developing the capacity to use the significant resources now available.

The major assumption of the Economic Opportunity Act—that the most effective way to develop motivation is to secure "maximum feasible participation of the poor" in planning and implementing programs—is endorsed by The Fund staff and has been clearly recognized in Fund Board action.

Effective involvement of the poor is not achieved by mere assurance that members of policy-making boards are themselves poor or have the confidence of the poor. A grass roots effort must indeed begin at the grass roots, in the minds and efforts of individuals, of families, of neighborhood groups, and of larger communities having common objectives. Techniques for achieving these goals, goals which are the essence of democracy, have not been well developed. Much effort must go into working with the poor, with agencies responsible for services to the poor, and with community leadership to experiment with and identify effective techniques.

Staff Reorganization

The Fund has reorganized that part of the staff dealing directly with the 11 community action projects, so that one Community Support Department with a variety of talents will be responsible for primary assistance to those 11 projects. This department will be responsible for both Program Development and Community Development, encompassing many activities that are carried on today, and others that The Fund staff feels should be added.

The Community Support Department as a whole will be active during the remaining three years of The Fund's life. But as the 11 projects mature and technical resources become available from permanent state and local institutions and agencies, The Fund's community support activities will be phased out.

Cooperation with State

The second necessary step toward achieving Fund objectives is to support the State as it strengthens its performance in the administration of basic governmental functions and at the same time help define those major problems at both the state and local levels which require especially innovative and experimental approaches.

In problem areas such as manpower, economic development, housing and education, action at a state-wide level is important in helping to eliminate poverty.

To examine and support action on these problems without substantially increasing The Fund staff, these, as well as other steps are proposed:

1. The Fund would allocate staff and financial support to assist the State and Fund-supported communities in seeking constructive solutions to these problems.
2. Where possible, The Fund would assist state agencies with the jurisdiction and initiative to tackle those problems.

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. . . EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR REPORTS . . .

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3. Where no state agency presently has jurisdiction to deal with a problem, The Fund would establish study committees to:

   a. Define the problem areas; b. Project alternative solutions; c. Make certain the solutions are implemented.

4. Initially committees would be assigned in the following areas:

   a. Manpower and Economic Development. The importance of state agencies in cooperating in the development and the coordination of a comprehensive program aimed at more effective manpower development throughout the state, and at innovative expansion of employment opportunities, is reflected in the positive interest already demonstrated by the State Planning Task Force in the problem. In anticipation of the active role that the State Planning Task Force may take, the Fund has begun to set up a Manpower and Economic Development Study Committee to examine the problem and alternative solutions.

   b. Housing. Steps toward solving the problem of low-cost housing in this state will require using many new techniques and procedures at both state and local levels. In addition to the interest and involvement of the State Planning Task Force in this area, an independent study committee supported by The Fund will be important in marshalling support for efforts falling outside the State's jurisdiction. Such a committee is now being set up and resource personnel have begun work on a possible proposal to the Economic Opportunity Office for sponsoring low-rental housing and job training demonstration projects.

   c. Education. There are a variety of new and innovative programs in education under way throughout the state, but education, broadly defined, is so critical to the objectives of The Fund that concern for education cannot at this time be simply shrugged off to existing agencies. To help coordinate programs under way or anticipated in community action agencies, to help define areas not presently given priority by educational agencies, and to help suggest innovative programs resulting from the feedback of the community action process, an Education Task Force is being established by the Learning Institute of North Carolina, in cooperation with The Fund.

   d. Legal Services. Action by the American Bar Association itself has focused attention on the fact that the law today too often constitutes a barrier and a threat to the poor, rather than a support. If direct action to encourage such programs is not taken soon by the North Carolina Bar Association, it is proposed that a small study committee be established to work with the North Carolina Bar Association and local bar association in the development of innovative programs.

5. In order to attract persons of demonstrated qualifications in areas of apparent need, it is suggested that The North Carolina Fund establish one or more special fellowships—for attracting specially qualified people to work with The Fund for a specified period of time. A separate class of fellowships might be established to permit North Carolinians with a particular interest in defined problem areas to work with The Fund for periods of up to a year but with emphasis on shorter full-time periods of effort, such as four months.

6. It may prove desirable to establish one or more study seminars with Fund support to keep a close and continuing eye on developments in national policy as it affects state and local governmental efforts to deal effectively with the problems of poverty, and to make recommendations from time to time for constructive action which might be taken by state and local governments.

   In this connection priority has been given to assisting the University of North Carolina in the establishment of a community services program, working with the State Planning Task Force on training proposals, and working with the School of Social Work, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, to develop a community organization curriculum.

   Training activities related to the direct support of Fund communities have been transferred administratively to the Community Support department.

Substantial support for the most significant research activities to be undertaken by The Fund itself already has been secured from federal sources. If the University of North Carolina fully develops a research program, it should not be necessary to expand greatly the research functions of The Fund beyond present levels.

Attention has been called on several occasions to the need for expansion of public information activities if there is to be a better understanding of the broad efforts now under way at national, state, and local levels.

The Director of Public Information has formulated a program for more effective public information activities. The program offers strong technical assistance to the 11 projects in their own community interpretation programs, and at the same time outlines plans for greater public information impact on a statewide level.

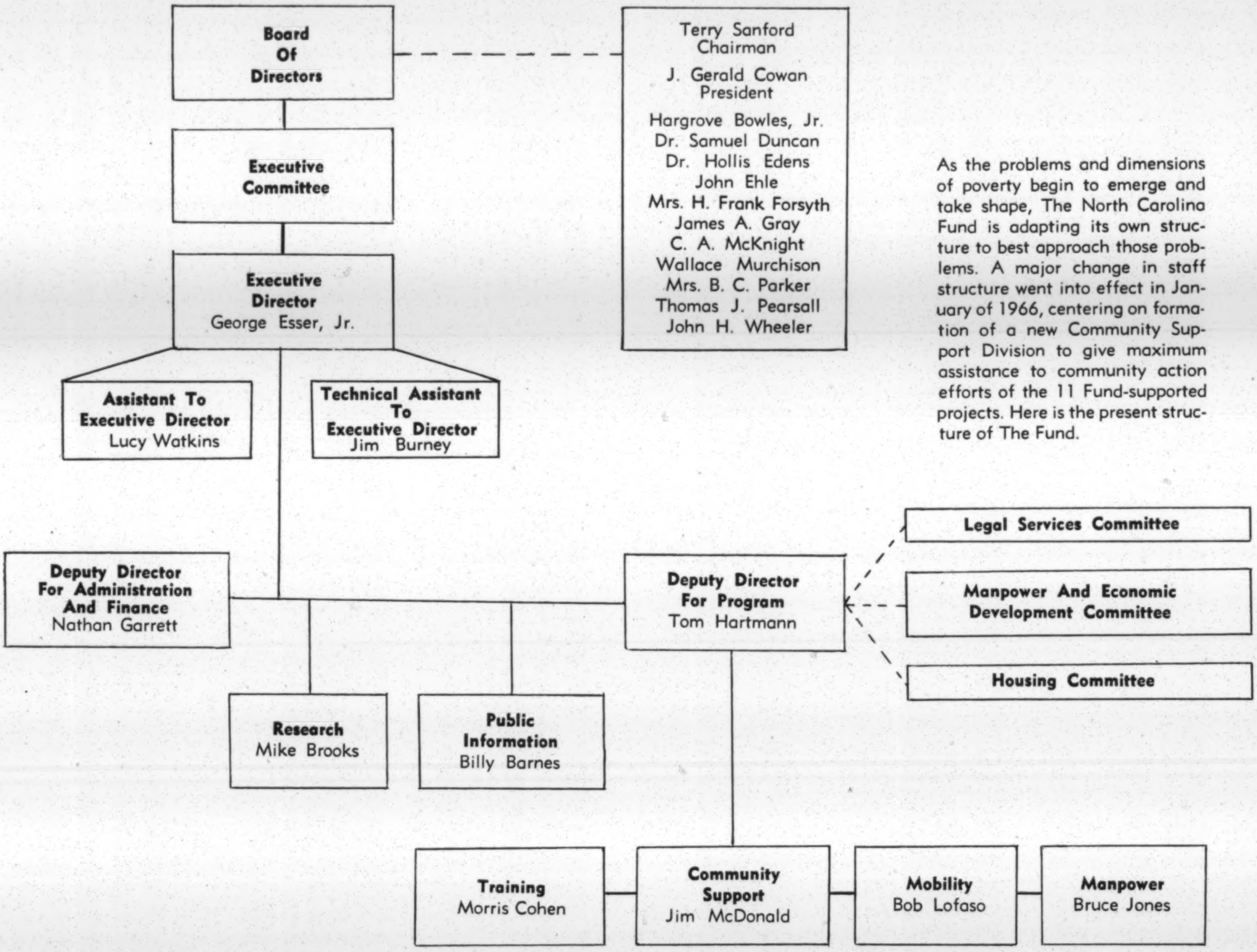
Flexibility Essential

With almost a million dollars free and uncommitted, the Fund Board of Directors will retain considerable flexibility for determining areas in which investments will produce the greatest results.

We must continue to be flexible, meeting the needs of situations as they develop, and seeking to find those areas of investment where the potential results promise the best return for the people of this State.

If the escalation ratio of the past year continues in effect, the $7½ million to be spent by The North Carolina Fund during the next three years will probably influence the character and purposes of expenditures totaling from $75 to $100 million or more. Translated into impact on the lives of people in North Carolina, this type of investment promises to be the most effective that we can choose. Dollars in themselves are unimportant. The important thing is what impact those dollars have. It is clear that the unromantic but essential functions of planning, development and administration require funds and support not available from existing federal sources. Yet these funds may be the critical "risk" capital that make the War on Poverty succeed instead of fail. It is our belief that these funds can exert a significant influence in choosing the most direct road to a Great Society.

As the problems and dimensions of poverty begin to emerge and take shape, The North Carolina Fund is adapting its own structure to best approach those problems. A major change in staff structure went into effect in January of 1966, centering on formation of a new Community Support Division to give maximum assistance to community action efforts of the 11 Fund-supported projects. Here is the present structure of The Fund.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Former Community Action Technician

Poverty Fighter Chooses Work In Vietnam

A young man who gave up study of the past to participate in the present already has helped mold America's future. He is David Entin, who in the summer of 1964 dropped his work at the University of North Carolina, where he was studying for a Ph.D. in history, and joined the War on Poverty—first, as a North Carolina Volunteer.

"As a student, I felt separated from life," says David, recipient of a B.A. in history from Princeton University and an M.A. in history from UNC. "I had completed nearly all my coursework for my Ph.D. But then I decided the role of professional historian was something I did not want for life; I wanted something more active."

As one of the first 100 North Carolina Volunteers, David spent the summer, as did other college students sponsored by the North Carolina Fund, living and working with people of poverty. When the Fund at the end of that summer began a new training program for subprofessional anti-poverty workers called Community Action Technicians (CATs), David enrolled in it.

Adding to his list of anti-poverty "firsts," David later helped write the proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity for one of the nation's first Community Action Programs (at Craven Operation Progress, in New Bern, N. C.), and was one of the first staff members of a developing CAP in his native city of Jacksonville, Fla.

In June of this year, he went to Vietnam—but not as a soldier. He will work in community development for the Agency for International Development (AID). His role will be to work with local agencies and people in developing programs to meet the people's needs, such as better health and education.

David chose to go to Vietnam because "I really feel that if the battle in Vietnam will be won, it will be on the village level, where we can help people develop their resources."

His wife, formerly Audrey Bunce of Steadman, N. C., will live in Manila, The Philippines, because no American dependents presently are allowed in Vietnam. Also a former N. C. Volunteer and CAT, Audrey worked alongside her husband at Craven Operation Progress.

When David and Audrey arrived in Craven in the fall of 1964, shortly after the U. S. Congress had passed the Economic Opportunity Act, they were greeted by a staff of two—James Hearn, then director, and a secretary. Immediately David set to work writing proposals to the Office of Economic Opportunity, while Audrey helped train a group of the nation's first VISTA volunteers.

"We were really working from scratch," said David. "No one in the country had ever written anti-poverty proposals before."

In July of 1965, David assumed a position at Greater Jacksonville (Fla.) Economic Opportunity, Inc., which had received an OEO program development grant.

"Again we started from scratch, writing another CAP. It was easier the second time, because we knew what to do. But it was less exciting, because it was less pioneering.

"In developing the proposal, we followed the spirit, as well as the letter, of the Economic Opportunity Act. We held about 50 meetings of poor people, so that we could find out what they wanted and needed. Then we wrote the CAP proposal accordingly."

After Vietnam, what next for David Entin? He doesn't know exactly, but he does know that it will be "in the field of human relations, where I can participate in what is really happening in the world."

Entin's duties as CAT included lectures to new professionals in the War on Poverty.

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SUPPLEMENT

SUPPLEMENT TO THE BLUEPRINT FOR OPPORTUNITY

This special report on education in North Carolina is a supplement to the Blueprint for Opportunity, published by the North Carolina Fund. Other topics scheduled for coverage are: housing, religion, health and welfare, legal services, and manpower and economic development. Photographs are by Billy Barnes from the North Carolina Fund library. Edited by Verna Shmavonian. Designed by Lani Lenz.

North Carolina has had some fine moments in education beginning almost two centuries ago with the establishment at Chapel Hill of the country's first state University. The state has continued to be one of the leaders in the South in higher education. Its public and private universities and colleges have national prestige, and the recent establishment of a network of training institutions will mean much to the total development of North Carolina.

In the past few years we have developed one of the country's first state-supported schools for the performing arts, the Governor's summer school for gifted children, and an advancement school for under-achievers.

Community action groups from the coastal regions through the Piedmont to the tiniest mountain hamlet are supporting supplementary education programs ranging from day care centers for pre-school tots to highly popular basic literacy classes for adults.

The Learning Institute of North Carolina, in the brief two years of its existence, has effected research and development programs at all levels of education, and most recently was instrumental in bringing a Regional Education Laboratory to the area. The Comprehensive School Improvement Program initiated by the State Board of Education is making progress in elementary schools throughout the state.

But despite these achievements, North Carolina still ranks low among the states in general educational levels. More than one million people have less than an eighth-grade education. A full 16% of our population 25 years and older has not even achieved a fifth-grade education. We have untold numbers of dropouts who are functional illiterates; they cannot read or write although they made it through the ninth grade.

Ten years ago, the number of first graders completing the twelfth grade in North Carolina was 26.2%. Today it is 49.8%. This is a notable increase in the holding power of our schools, but it in no way justifies the plight of more than 50% who drop out (a proportion one-quarter higher than that of the United States as a whole). More than one-half (53.1%) of draftees from North Carolina in 1964 failed the pre-induction and induction mental tests. Only Mississippi and South Carolina ranked lower. We rank lowest of all the states in the percentage (7.9%) of population employed as professional or technical workers.

The best educational systems are in those communities and states with the highest wage rates and the highest per capita incomes. The quality of education depends upon tax resources and the demand from all elements of the general public for good schools and colleges. The educational system cannot by itself lift a state from 44th in per capita income to the top ten, but no state can expect to improve significantly its economic base without excellent educational opportunities for all of its people.

It is difficult to fully assess the psychological and social costs of segregated schools but the economic cost is clear in terms of the motivation of people trapped in such a system and the lack of human resource development necessary to the total development of the state. North Carolina school districts have complied on paper with federal requirements for desegregating schools, but in terms of the actual number of children affected, progress has been slow. Only 5% of North Carolina's Negro students attended schools with white students in 1965-66. Faculty integration is virtually nonexistent, and the two teachers' associations still are very much "separate but equal" organizations.

We will not lick the problems of poverty in this state until we can lick the problems of education. Agencies, both public and private, stand ready with cash and good ideas, to help North Carolinians improve educational opportunities for all citizens and in so doing, bringing about total development of the state.

It is a time for liberality of approach, for experimentation . . . . above all it is a time for active interest and work on the part of every citizen if we are to take advantage of this new climate of concern for education.

BLUEPRINT FOR OPPORTUNITY

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
OPPORTUNITY

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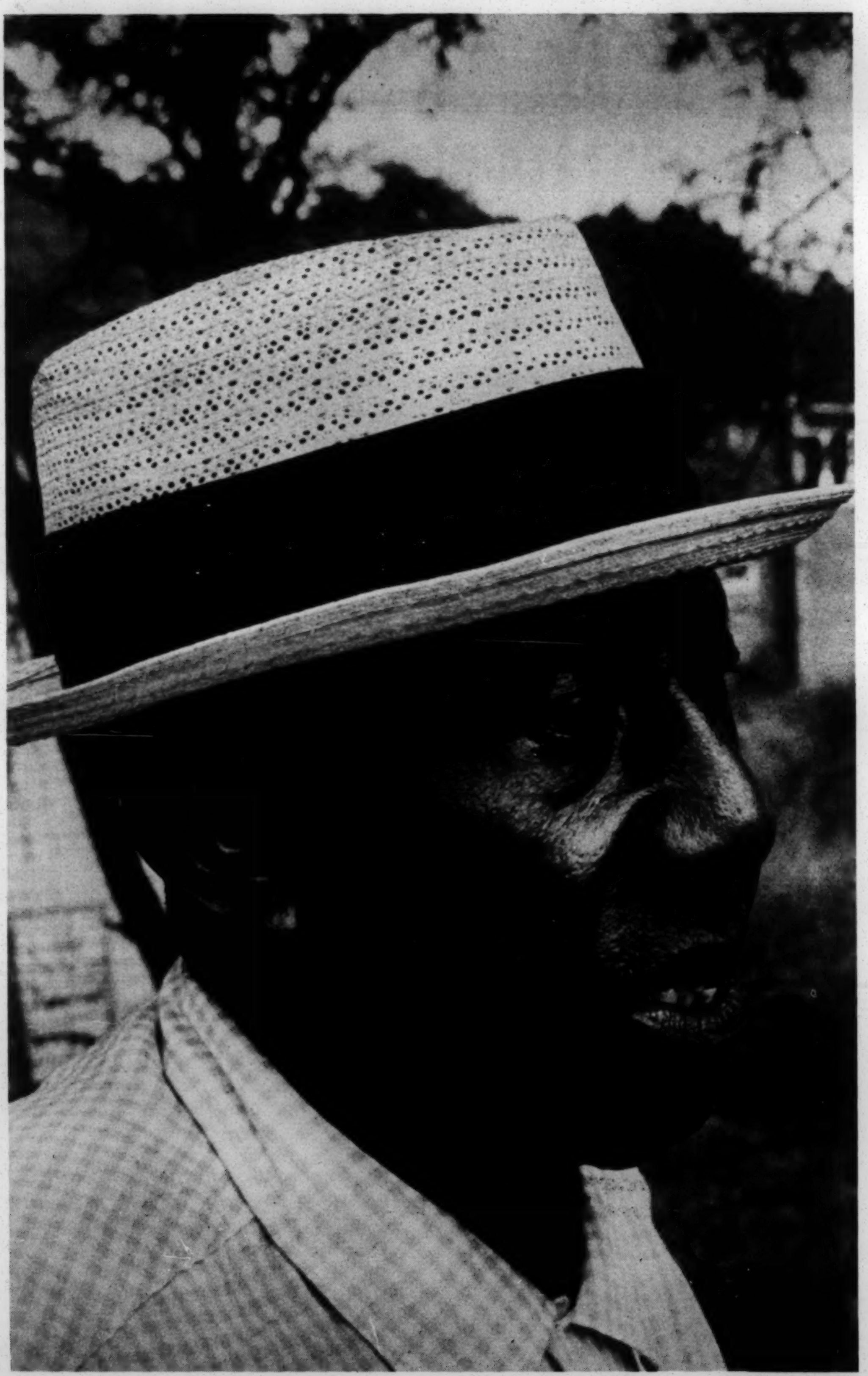

Special Section:

INVOLVEMENT OF THE POOR

"The only way you get anything done in the community is to have someone who represents the poor. And I came up among them, and I know them better than anyone else."

—Ralph L. Landingham, Member, Board of Directors of Experiment in Self-Reliance, Winston-Salem, N. C.; Director, clean-up campaign for the City of Winston-Salem.

NORTH NASHVILLE PROJECT

Proposal for Action

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Introduction

We are deeply disturbed and concerned because we see around us growing numbers of people for whom the basic needs of food, shelter, jobs, medical care, and education are going unmet. We believe that all people should have alternatives available within the political and economic systems, and the freedom to choose those most meaningful to their lives. We believe this freedom does not exist, because we see people excluded from these systems and frozen in cycles of poverty, whose symptoms are unemployment, poor housing, poor schools, etc., and whose result is despair. We propose to demonstrate our concern through our efforts in the North Nashville Project.

We are convinced that the only meaningful way to help people, is to help them to help themselves. It is only through realizing the power to make decisions affecting their own lives that men are able to live in dignity and to give meaning to the democratic process. Toward this end, we believe that we can be most effective in helping people to realize and understand their common problems and the causes, and to organize into groups which have the skills and power to attack and hopefully solve them.

History

Early in the year, we met as a group of about ten concerned students, professors, and community people to discuss our mutual concern and in what manner it could be effectively demonstrated. After much study and deliberation, two members of the group rented a house in the midst of a depressed pocket of North Nashville. Not wanting to impose our own ideas and programs upon the community, we began first by participating in community life and talking with the people, and from this a tutorial was initiated, beginning with two families, and rapidly spreading to include about twenty children and tutors.

Late in the spring, we obtained the use of a vacant lot across the street from the project house, and with the aid of the community, developed it into a fairly adequate neighborhood playground. With the coming of summer, we held a parents' meeting, from which evolved the structure of a summer children's program for pre-school through junior high, with classes in math, science, Negro history, recreation, arts and crafts, movies, and field trips. This was a very successful venture, drawing from 35 to 50 children daily throughout the summer, and also bringing parents together around a common interest and concern. This also established a very firm foundation in the community, and we feel ready to begin delving into deeper issues there.

After careful evaluation of the project in terms of our long-range goals, and assessment of the larger community needs, as well as of our possible resources, we decided to expand into two adjacent areas: a very abject Negro slum, and a poor white community, which includes a public housing development.

The Communities

A. Our original area, known as "The Delk" is a depressed pocket approximately six blocks in area, located in the northeast section of north Nashville. It is designated by the Metropolitan Action Commission as a "medium poverty area" and was chosen for several reasons: (1) Almost all of the extremely abject poverty areas have either been rezoned, or are scheduled for urban renewal within the next five to ten years. We hope to build a community organization of a permanent nature, which we do not want to see scattered either by natural transitoriness or by government programs. (2) The area has many attributes which we believed would initially facilitate organizing. It is typified by small, individual, often deteriorating dwellings. Many residents have lived in this area for a number of years, and there exists a sense of community evident in the small community churches, stores, and taverns, and in interpersonal and inter-family relationships. (3) We felt the problems encountered were not so great as to be overwhelming, and we believed that in this community, we could gain valuable knowledge and experience with urban problems, and could also build a base from which to expand into other areas.

Feeling that the project has been at least partially successful in this respect, and that we could potentially acquire sufficient resources, this fall we decided to expand into two additional areas:

B. The first, known as "Tenth and Herman", is the heart of the worst slums in Nashville, and consists of a complex of ancient row houses, with 52, two and three-room units, all lacking heat, water, sewage, paint, or space. The main issue in this community will no doubt be housing--a very complex and serious issue in the city as a whole. This area is typical of many in Nashville in two respects: (1) It has been rezoned commercial, and will be demolished several years in the future, assuring that nothing will be done to maintain, much less improve the conditions; and (2) There is no available housing to which residents can move.

C. The second area, known as "Cheatham" is a poor white community about twelve blocks east of the Delk area, which includes a public housing development of 314 units surrounded by a deteriorating neighborhood. Because of their greater mobility, poor white people do not tend to be "ghettoized" or concentrated, but spread more evenly throughout the city, with the exception of public housing areas. These are typified by impersonality and a lack of identity which fosters a "poverty of the spirit". True of many developments, Cheatham lacks any indigenous organization. Many of the residents work under demoralizing conditions in one of Nashville's largest factories, adjacent to Cheatham, which we hope will provide some unity and basis for organization.

Rationale and Importance

We believe that cooperation with existing agencies and services which are concerned with poverty is essential. In this respect, we have had a mutually beneficial relationship with groups such as the Metropolitan Action Commission, the Council of Community Agencies, the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, the community centers, and others. However, we believe that while our objectives may be the same, our concept of implementation differs substantially from those of the established agencies in Nashville, and thus that our independence and freedom are a necessary part of our approach.

Furthermore, we feel that this situation provides an excellent opportunity to delve into two crucially important, but relatively unexplored questions:

A. Urban Community Organizing: We feel that particularly the Negro population in the South is in the midst of a tremendous transition from rural to urban life, and if southern cities are to avoid the desperate plight of those in the North, we must begin to deal immediately with the problems of the urban poor.

B. Organizing Poor Whites: We have become increasingly aware that many poor whites suffer in a manner similar to poor Negroes, yet remain an unseen, misunderstood, and frequently uncared-about minority. Furthermore, we feel that white southern students are perhaps unusually qualified to understand and deal with these people, yet to our knowledge, this has never been tried in the South.

Objectives and Long-Term Programming

A. Community Organization - Hopefully the hub of our program would focus on issue-oriented groups, at first on a small neighborhood basis, and perhaps eventually on the model of a community union. Such issues may at first be small and immediate (i.e. a playground, stop signs, street lights) to obtain initial involvement of community people, to acquire organizational skill (for both students and local people) and hopefully to provide small victories which will lend both the experience and confidence to tackle bigger and more basic problems. As this happens, we hope to work toward uniting all three areas around common issues. We think this is important, not only in building a strong organization, but also in the uniting of black and white, since we believe that a very good and practical way of obtaining true integration is through situations where cooperation clearly leads to mutual and immediate benefit.

Possible issues may fall into several categories: (1) Governmental functions: (a) Municipal services, such as water, sewage, streets, lights, police and fire protection, and (b) Social services, such as welfare, unemployment compensation, and public housing; (2) Housing; (3) Jobs and working conditions; (4) Discrimination; and (5) Rising cost of living.

Hopefully an organization will grow out of one or several of these that is both large and strong enough to tackle other problems, and a leadership will develop such that our aid will no longer be needed.

B. Radical Public Education - Poverty in Nashville, as throughout the country, is hidden from the sight of the general public, causing a general ignorance and misunderstanding, not only throughout the general public, but also within the poor community itself. Here it renders persons victims of forces they do not understand and thus cannot control, resulting in cynicism and despair. In the larger community, it results in a lack of awareness, indifference, and misunderstanding, which are in part responsible for the perpetuation of poverty.

We believe that this type of education within the poor community is an essential part of any effort to eradicate poverty. In addition, we believe that if some of the conditions of poverty and reasons for its existance were brought to light in the larger Nashville community, we might be able to change attitudes significantly and hopefully generate concern and action.

C. Student Involvement - There exist thirteen colleges and universities in Nashville, and we believe that there is a great deal of latent interest among students in meaningful social action, and that once we have established programs, it will be easy to draw in many students with varied interests and talents. We hope that in the community context, students will not only experience first-hand the symptoms of poverty, but encounter its socio-economic roots, and hopefully come to understand and participate as instruments of social change. Ideally, such a program would be flexible enough to involve students at all levels of understanding and commitment, be that in physical work, tutorial or recreational work, fund raising, research, or actual organizing.

Eventually, we hope that our role will be one of initiator and coordinator, providing an opportunity for a meaningful experience for both students and community.

Means and Immediate Programming

A. Community Organization - We believe that each community has unique problems and concerns, and that if such organizations are to exist, they must come from a common desire of the people. Thus we cannot project what all the problems are, nor which will present themselves as issues, nor consequently what form our program will ultimately take, particularly in the latter two communities. Rather, we believe, it is necessary to be in constant communication with the people, to understand their perceptions, concerns, and desires, and to act accordingly. To do this, we propose several preliminary programs which will accomplish this, while being of value in and of themselves.

(1) Moving In - We believe it essential that staff live in the community in which they are working. This provides not only first-hand acquaintance with the people and their problems, but also lends legitimacy to our concern for the community. In the Delk, we presently plan for one full-time staff person to continue living in the project house. In the Tenth and Herman area, we have rented one of the units in the middle of the row houses, where two staff will live. In the Cheatham area, a house adjacent to the public housing development has been rented. This will house two full-time workers. We are very much in need of resources for additional housing for staff in these areas.

(2) Tutorial and Children's Program - This approach has been very successful in the Delk (see History). We plan to extend the tutorial into the Cheatham area, and hope through this to build a base of community support as has been done in the Delk. This will allow us to become acquainted with the community and its problems, and to assess the issues and possibility for organizing, while not requiring overextension of resources nor over-expectations on the part of the community. We think this is especially important due to the general lack of knowledge about organizing poor whites. We are uncertain about use of a children's program in the Tenth and Herman area, since the issues there are so obvious, and a different approach may be more appropriate.

(3) Local Neighborhood Issues - At present in the Delk, several courses of action are evident. The summer children's program witnessed enough success that parents and staff are exploring the possibility of a cooperative pre-school during the winter. The parents are also concerned about permanent acquisition by the city of a neighborhood playground--a very evident need, and a long-standing promise by the councilman. Closely connected is their concern about speed limits, stop signs, etc. In addition, the Delk sits under a large fertilizer factory. Since there are no air pollution laws in Nashville, the community is constantly showered by waste from the factory. We believe that action on these issues will necessarily lead to deepened political involvement of the residents there.

In the Tenth and Herman area, the focus will no doubt be on housing, and we will be exploring the possibility of building pressure to alter some of the present housing regulations and practices.

The rising cost of living, especially in food, is felt most sorely among the poor, and we are exploring the possibility of a consumer's cooperative which could include all three areas. We hope that once initiated, it would be operated by the local people, and our role would be an informational one. We believe this would be of immediate benefit, and would be a stepping stone in building leadership, community participation, and a spark of hope that together the community can effect some basic problems.

(4) Other: If additional means of acquainting ourselves with the various communities and initiating action are necessary, we may look toward two things: (a) A Neighborhood Survey, which would determine the facts of poverty in the particular area, benefitting both our group and other agencies concerned with this particular area; allow us to canvass door-to-door, providing opportunity for initial contact and acquaintance with a great number of residents, leading to better knowledge of the issues in the community, and finally, be of great educational value to the group. (b) Voter Registration - Although ideally this would occur as the community realized its importance in obtaining their objectives, it could be used similarly to a neighborhood survey. We believe that this, combined with political education, is essential.

B.. Radical Public Education - Because of a general lack of awareness about poverty in Nashville, we believe a radical public education program must be geared to many different levels, and hopefully will be able to escalate awareness and concern. This might be accomplished in several manners: (1) Publications, such as pamphlets and brochures, posters and booklets; (2) Speaking engagements; (3) Conferences, seminars and workshops; (4) Movies and filmstrips; (5) Use of public media such as radio and television. This might be directed toward different groups, such as churches, labor unions, colleges and universities, community service agencies, neighborhood councils, etc.

To thoroughly explore the potentials for such a program in Nashville, formulate it more clearly, and implement it successfully, the full-time services of one staff member are necessary. In addition, the total effectiveness of such a program is dependent on obtaining resources for this, as well as for publications, films, etc.

C. Student Involvement - Over twenty students and other community people have participated in the project thus far in such capacities as tutors, teachers, recreation leaders, and in projects such as the library, photography, and research. The success and additional response has been a definite stimulus for our expansion.

We are hoping to increase our work on campuses, continuing to tie students into the project according to their varying interests, abilities, and commitments. To deepen their understanding and commitment, we hope to conduct student seminars for those involved, which will encourage discussion and study of the phenomena with which they are dealing.

Staff

Throughout our endeavors, we have had a supportive group of 20 to 25 committed to giving both time and resources to the project. The summer program was conducted by four full-time and three part-time workers. Our winter program and staff to implement it are very much dependent upon the resources we are able to acquire. An outline of winter staff follows. Note: Persons marked with an asterisk will join the staff if we are able to pay salaries.

Area	Name	Salary	Qualifications
Delk	**Lorri Killough	Project	Graduate student in group work, Scarritt College, 2 yrs. exper.
10th and Herman	Fred Brooks	Part-time	Senior, Tennessee State University, 3 yrs. in civil rights and community organization in Nashville, Mississippi, Louisiana and Detroit.

Area	Name	Salary	Qualifications
10th and Herman	Nathal Winters	Part-Time	Graduate student at Tennessee State. One of the originators of civil rights movement in Nashville.
Cheatham	**Don Boner	Project	Native Nashvillian, background in poor white community, 2 yrs. exp.
	John Hill	Internship	2nd yr. graduate student in community organization at U. of Tenn. School of Social Work. This is field placement.
	Ronda Stilley	SSOC	B.S. in psychology, 2 yrs. exper. in community work with NW Indians and in civil rights in Virginia. Staff of Southern Student Organizing Committee.
	**Work-Study Internship	Project	Placement from Antioch College with possibility of permanent tenure of this position if project can pay salary.
General	**Being Sought	Project	Position: Director of Radical Public Education. We are considering possible persons. This is entirely dependent on resources.

Finance

Ultimately, we hope to build a North Nashville Project that is supported by Nashvillians. We have been encouraged by the response to our efforts thus far, and believe that with diligence and public education, this is possible.

Using the Nashville mailing lists and support of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations and the Southern Student Organizing Committee, early in the project we sent out a mailing explaining the nature of the project and asking for contributions of both goods and money. We received over $200, as well as a more-than-adequate supply of furnishings, utensils, and materials for the children's program. Nashville has a fairly substantial liberal community, and we consider the involvement of these, as well as other interested persons to be an important phase of the project. We are attempting to tie these people into the work of the project through a monthly newsletter, correspondence, and personal contacts. We are presently working to establish a monthly pledge system of concerned individuals, which we hope will provide (1) an opportunity for deepening involvement of interested persons and (2) a regular and dependable source of income for the project, which would some day allow the North Nashville Project to become autonomous.

However, realizing these goals will be a long and painstaking process, and will very much depend upon the concrete and visible results we are able to show in the community. Thus in the beginning, it is necessary to seek considerable outside help. Our most important needs are first, money to pay salaries of full time staff, and secondly, money for rent and transportation expenses. A simplified and tentative budget is included in Appendix B.

August 15, 1966

APPENDIX A

General Statistical Characteristics of Project Area

The following are general statistical characteristics compiled by the Metropolitan Action Commission. The Delk and Cheatham areas are classified as "medium poverty areas", while Tenth and Herman is a "high poverty area". Considerable research was done previous to choosing these particular areas.

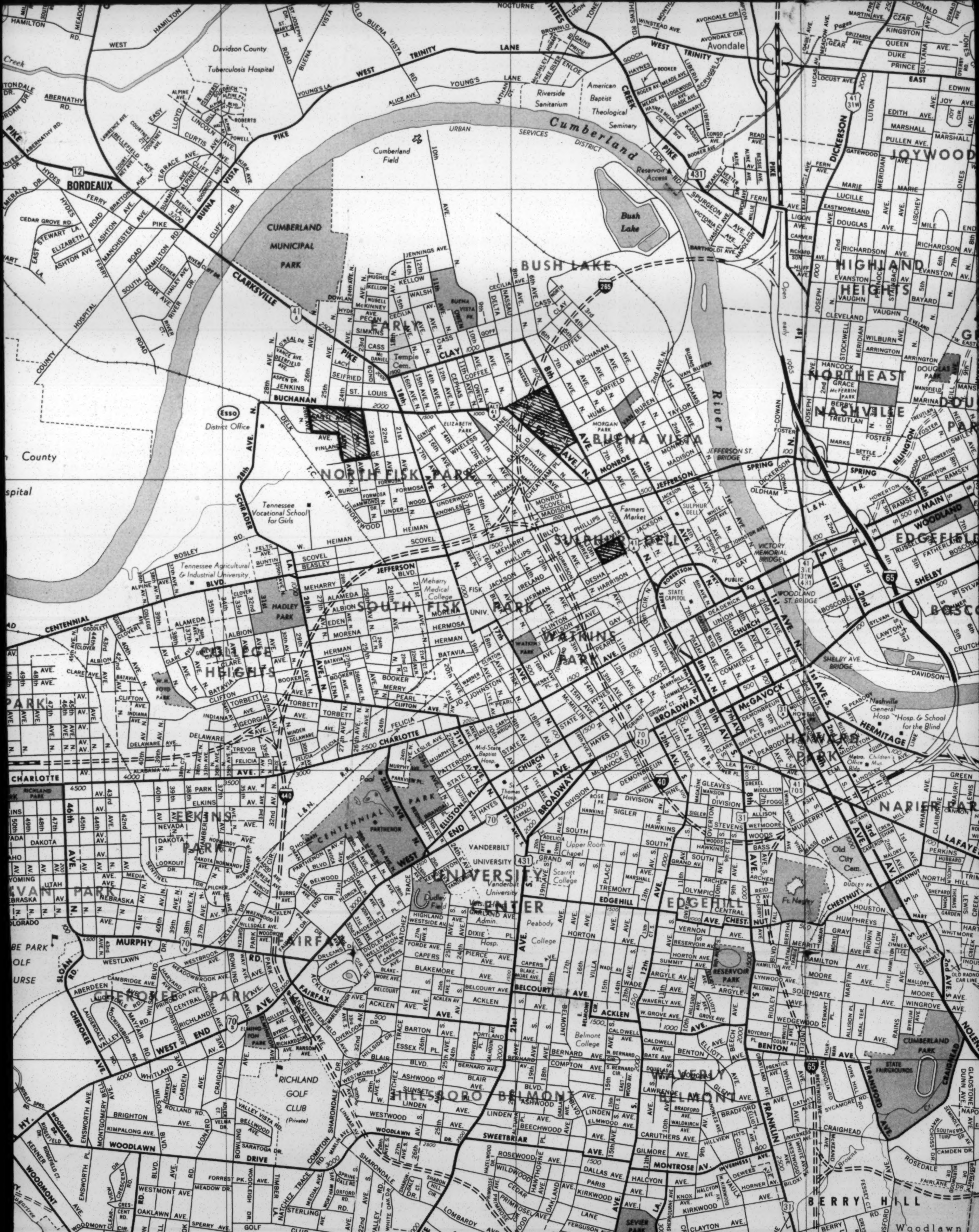
Characteristic	Delk and Cheatham	Tenth and Herman
Median Family Income	$ 3073	$ 2445
Per Cent with Income Less Than $1000	10.7	16.0
Per Cent Unemployed	6.4	5.2
Per Cent Employed in Private Households, as Service Workers, Laborers	40.1	55.5
Per Cent Deteriorating and Dilapidated Housing	47.2	62.8
Per Cent With Education Less Than 5 Years (Adults Over 25 - Functionally Illiterate)	17.9	23.4
Per Cent With Less Than 12 Years Education	80.6	87.1
Fertility Ratio	108.2	144.8
Per Cent Population Who Are Welfare Recipients	4.34	7.36
Per Cent Receiving Aid to Dependent Children	2.06	4.65
Median Age	29.1	28.0
Per Cent Housing Units With 1.01 or More Persons Per Room	23.3	25.2
Per Cent of Housing Units Occupied by Owner	38.3	19.8
Sex Ratio	89.0	86.3

APPENDIX B

Proposed Monthly Budget - Fall and Winter, 1966**

Rent on Houses	$ 140.00
Electricity, Telephones, Water	75.00
Tutorial Materials	40.00
Transportation	80.00
Salaries (4 salaried staff, $15 per week)	240.00
Mailings, Newsletter	10.00
Miscellaneous	60.00
	$ 645.00

**This is what we wish we had to begin the expanded fall program. This would include three houses--in the Delk, Tenth and Herman area, and the Cheatham area. Transportation expenses assume that somehow we acquire two vehicles.


Davidson County Tuberculosis Hospital
Avondale
American Baptist Theological Seminary
Riverside Sanitarium
Cumberland River
URBAN SERVICES DISTRICT
Cumberland Field
Reservoir Access
Bush Lake
BORDEAUX
CUMBERLAND MUNICIPAL PARK
BUSH LAKE
HIGHLAND HEIGHTS
JOYWOOD
EARLY
BUENA VISTA PK.
Temple Cem.
NORTHEAST NASHVILLE
DOUGLAS PARK
McFERRIN PARK
Esso District Office
County
Hospital
BUENA VISTA
Elizabeth Park
Morgan Park
JEFFERSON ST. BRIDGE
NORTH FISK PARK
Tennessee Vocational School for Girls
Farmers Market
SULPHUR DELL
VICTORY MEMORIAL BRIDGE
EDGEFIELD
Tennessee Agricultural & Industrial University
HADLEY PARK
Meharry Medical College
SOUTH FISK PARK
FISK UNIV.
STATE CAPITOL
WOODLAND ST. BRIDGE
BOSCOBEL
COLLEGE HEIGHTS
W. H. BOYD PARK
WATKINS PARK
SHELBY AVE. BRIDGE
Nashville General Hosp.
Hosp. & School for the Blind
HOWARD PARK
Metro. Office Bldg.
Children's Mus.
Mid-State Baptist Hosp.
St. Thomas Hosp.
RICHLAND PARK
ELKINS PARK
CENTENNIAL PARK
PARTHENON
NAPIER PARK
SYLVAN PARK
VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
Upper Room Chapel
Scarritt College
Old City Cem.
UNIVERSITY CENTER
Vanderbilt University Admin.
Dudley Field
Peabody College
Hosp.
EDGEHILL
Ft. Negley
FAIRFAX
BELLE MEADE PARK GOLF COURSE
CHEROKEE PARK
RESERVOIR PARK
ELMINGTON PARK
CUMBERLAND PARK
STATE FAIRGROUNDS
Belmont College
WAVERLY BELMONT
RICHLAND GOLF CLUB (Private)
HILLSBORO BELMONT
SEVIER PARK
BERRY HILL
Woodlawn
WOODMONT
CLARKSVILLE PIKE
CHARLOTTE AVE.
WEST END AVE.
BROADWAY
CHURCH
JEFFERSON
BUCHANAN
CENTENNIAL BLVD.
MURPHY RD.
WOODLAWN DR.
HARDING RD.
HILLSBORO
GRANNY WHITE PIKE
FRANKLIN
NOLENSVILLE
DICKERSON
GALLATIN
MAIN
SHELBY
WOODLAND
12
41
31
65
70
265
431
440
40

AIR MAIL

482 SW 9th Street - Apt. 7
Boca Raton, Florida
December 14, 1965

Mr. Allen Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forstyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

I am writing in response to your letter to Mr. George Spain, President of the Pearl City Civic League. He has asked that I respond now to your letter with a brief explanation of the Pearl City Civic League's plans.

The Pearl City Civic League, Inc., is ~~a~~ the major service organization of the Negro community of Boca Raton. It is a non-profit group incorporated under the laws of the State of Florida, and has been active for several years in community improvement in the Negro community here in Boca Raton.

Its past efforts include: 1) Persuading the municipal government to put street lighting up in Pearl City, the term generally used to describe the Negro section of town. 2) Obtaining the Town Council's consent to Negros being bur~~r~~ied in the city cemetery. 3) Sponsorship of Boy Scout activities for Negro youngsters. 4) Organizing and directing a voter registration campaign in the Fall of 1964.

Its leadership is representative of the social-economic background of the Negro community as a whole. Mr. Spain, its President, is in the lawn and landscaping maintenance business. His fellow officers and board of directors generally work in lawn maintenance, construction work, sanitation service, domestic service, and other unskilled and semi-skilled fields. In general, their incomes are quite low.

The members of the Civic League attended many meetings of the Regional Committees of the Community Action Council of Palm Beach County, the county-wide group formed under the provisions of The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

But by the late summer, some of the residents of Pearl City felt that the Community Action Council was not formulating plans which met their needs. When I inquired as to their progress in late August, they were quite discouraged and asked what other alternatives were open to them. I suggested they consider planning a program for themselves and making applications through their Civic League. On August 31, 1965, a general meeting of the League's members voted unanimously to plan and apply for a full program to cover pre-school, young juvenile, teenage, and adult needs. In addition to these four basic programs, I hope the application will include provision for a multi-service center which would make available some legal and personal counselling services.

Subsequently, about 9 members of the Civic League, at my suggestion volunteered to serve as a Planning Committee. They have met perhaps 12 to 15 times since August 31, 1965. They have written a narrative, analyzing in some detail Pearl City's needs, resources, and problems.

Mr. Paul Anthony, the Director of the Southern Regional Council, now has in his hands a copy of this narrative, sent to him by Mrs. Harriet Glasner, President of the Palm Beach County Human Relations Council, who is a supporter of our project and is fairly familiar with Pearl City's problems and needs. Unfortunately, our supplies of the narrative are now exhausted. I have just run off several more & am enclosing one.

Serving as an unpaid consultant to the Civic League, I am now supervising the preparation of an application for a grant from the United States Office of Economic Opportunity.

Several professional academicians are cooperating with the preparation of our application and contributing material to it, as well as nonprofessional persons in Pearl City.

I called Mr. Earl Redwine at the Office of Economic Opportunity - Atlanta, ~~yesterday~~ December 3rd, and discussed our problem with him. This was a follow up to an earlier call I had made in September to Mr. Fox, Mr. Redwine's assistant in Atlanta. I explained our general situation here to Mr. Redwine. The Palm Beach County Community Action Council is, I believe, not sympathetic to applications from Negro groups. Thus far, none has applied to my knowledge. The Community Action Council has been very critical of the only program in Palm Beach County which deals very directly with indigenous Negroes, outside the structure of the school system, which generally dominates the County Community Action Council. The Chairman of the Community Action Council is an assistant school superintendent. I frankly anticipate a rejection from the County Community Action Council. Mr. Redwine, however, on the telephone advised me that the Civic League can apply for a direct grant, in that eventuality.

We, however, need funds very badly to cover costs of duplication, secretarial assistance - typing, the preparation of some duplicates of photographs we have taken, etc. All professional assistance has been contributed so far.

It would be enormously helpful, Al, if you could expedite Mr. Spain's request for a grant of $150 to the Civic League to assist us. My own opinion is that $200 would perhaps be a more realistic estimate of our expenses. I know you will give Mr. Spain's request your urgent consideration. It is an opportunity to contribute to the success of what is, to my knowledge, the only ~~party~~ poverty program directly planned and initiated by a low-income group itself.

Best wishes,

Nathan Popkin

Nathan S. Popkin

NSP/gr

P. S. It would be helpful, Al, if either you or Mr. Anthony were to address a letter of support for our plans and objectives to Mr. Spain. This would be a helpful addition to our file of letters of support, from both fellow citizens and specialist organizations. Mr. Spain's address is

Mr. George Spain, President
Pearl City Civic League, Inc.
237 NE 15th Terrace
Boca Raton, Florida.

It is enormously important that we have any possible help you can give us as quickly as possible.

Mrs. Glasner will carry our application to Washington January 10.

I have hired a secretary to help me, billing the expenses to me, but I can't go on too much longer, because I frankly can't afford it.

N. P.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

TELEGRAM

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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ALAN ULMER OR PAUL ANTHONY, DLR DONT PHONE SOUTHERN REGIONAL
COUNCIL INCORP
5 FORSYTHE ST NORTHWEST ATLA

WOULD LIKE ARRANGE SPECIAL MEETING OF WHITE AND NEGRO LEADERS TUESDAY DEC 28TH 5 PM REGARDING PEARL CITY PROJECT ALTERNATE DATE WEDNESDAY DEC 29TH CONFIRM. HEAVY PRESSURE FROM SEVERAL QUARTERS GROWING ALSO URGENTLY NEED MONEY TO COMPLETE APPLICATION. PLEASE WIRE RESPONSE

NATHAN POPKIN 482 SW 9 ST APT 7 BOCA RATON FLO.

WUSF1201(R2-65)

PEARL CITY CIVIC LEAGUE
Boca Raton, Florida

1. The Applicant Group by Mr. Spain

The Civic League of Pearl City, Inc., is an organization formed to bring together those in the Negro community of Boca Raton, Florida who are interested in civic betterment of any nature with the purpose of promoting the general welfare of the community. It was founded in 1960 and chartered under the laws of the State of Florida as a non-profit organization in August, 1965. It is non-partisan and non-sectarian. The Board of Directors, which consists of three active members and the officers of the League formulate general plans and act as the governing power of the League. We have a membership of 61 members and the support of the neighborhood. The chief executive officer of the League is the President of the organization, which office is currently held by Mr. George Spain.

2. Description of Pearl City by Mr. Harvey

BOCA Raton, Florida is a growing city located on U. S. Highway 1 about 25 miles south of West Palm Beach and about 17 miles north of Ft. Lauderdale. The rapid growth of Boca Raton during the last decade is due to the fact that it is a winter resort town, and many retired people from northern cities found a haven here. It is in fact becoming a center of education. The new Florida Atlantic University, Marymount College, St. Andrews School, Boca Raton High and Elementary Schools are located here.

In the middle of this beautiful metropolis is the Negro community, known as Pearl City. Pearl City is an eye sore, with its 5 streets about two blocks long. Many of the unpainted so-called "houses" are shacks that should have been condemned long ago.

There is a cluster of apartments, known as Dixie Manor or "the project," located in the center of Pearl City. Inherited by the town from the abandoned Air Force base of World War Two, which they served as housing, they consist of one- and two-room apartments. All over-crowded families of 5 and 6 people live in these apartments. Most of the houses in Pearl City need repairing. There are no paved streets, city sewage nor playgrounds. Most all of the families are in the low-income group.

All adults work as domestics, gardeners or unskilled laborers. During the day, all of the adults are away from home leaving the older children to care for the smaller ones in as much as there is no day nursery within the community. A few mothers take there children to a nursing center in a neighboring town and must pay $3.50 to $4.00 per week per child plus transportation.

There is no supervised recreation for teen-agers, no supervised playgrounds for small children. Small children play in the streets and teen-agers frequent the joints.

by Mr. McNair

Physical Description: Pearl City is approximate (8) Eight Sq. Blocks in area. Pearl City is ~~###~~ sorounded by businessiness, industrial areas, the ~~[illegible]~~ Rail Road on the West and Fed. HWY. U.S. No-1 on the East. So you see our area is very small.

We have (3) Three Churchs, (1) one School and its very pore Playgrown. South of 15th Terr. in the middle of our city is a project called Dixie Manor aprtment. they are old army barric and was converted into (1) and (2) Two Bedroom, Livingroom, Kitchen, (1) one closet and Bath with Shower only and these apartment are cement block, nevery ben plastic. in or out. They are from (4) Fore to (10) Ten in Family which are Living in Those apartment. I have in my own spar time taking picture of Pearl City. of Churchs, apartments, Homes, Walls, School and its Playgrown. In addition, there are about four beer joints in Pearl City where our teen-agers (boys and girls) go. (Photographs are attached.)

3. Community Problmms
   1) Economic
   2) Educational
   3) Health
   4) Social
   5) Housing
   6) Legal ~~and Counselling~~

BY MISS MINNIE GRIFFIN

1) Economic Problems — The majority of the Negro family income is under $3,000 dollars a year because the Negroes are unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

The Pearl City Negro boys and girls drop out of school becasue of the following reasons: because the income of there parents is not high enough for them to continue their education. Some of the dropouts are because of pregnancy, and because the education in the white school is higher than that in the Negro school. Up until 1965, students from Pearl City could only go through 6th grade in their own town, where they attended Roadman Elementary School. They then had to go out-of-town to Delray to continue. These schools were segregated. For a few years, parents could send their children to the Boca Raton white school after they finished Roadman Elementary School, by going to West Palm Beach, and filing a special request, but when they did this, their children the standards very hard at the white school because the education they received at Roadman was very inferior. The school-building too was wooden and very inferior.

In 1965, the school system announced it would close Roadman school and integrate education in Boca Raton. It closed Roadman and these children were transferred, but all the Negro students living in Pearl City who applied for transfer from Carver# High School in Delray Beach, Fla. to go for the first time to high school in their own town were told the white school was already over-crowded and they have to go back to the segregated Carver school in Delray Beach out-of-town. We want all of our children to be able to go to school in our own town where we live, as the white children do.

When they do, they will have trouble with the higher standards and better teachers and will need help, if not to become dropouts who can't get jobs. All of this can account for the great number of dropuuts we have in schools.

The Negro father# is employed in: construction, maintenance, lawn care, domestic service, and some skilled-type jobs such as tile-laying, cement work, etc. Pay in such jobs is very low.

The Negro mothers are employed as maids and this account for their low salary.

The Pearl City Negroes want to improve themselves. Where we have unskilled workers we want to become skilled workers that's why we are trying to get the grant from the government. We need this grant badly because the Negroes' resources in Pearl City is very limited. So we are turning to the government as our last resort.

The income of the Negro is spent on food, taxes, insurances, water bills, light bills, ########### rent, cloths and that take the little income that we make. The food bills is so high so we can't afford to buy very much. We have to make the little we buy last.

How can we better our selves if we have to spend every penny we make before we make it.

We need help badly.

Many Negroes are trying to make a living out of three thousands dollars a year or less. Example: Maid $1.25 hr. 8 hours a day= $50.00 a week; $2,400 a year if no social security is taken out. Maid working in a college Domitory #### may make $1.37½ hr., 8 hrs. a day = $48.81 a week after social security and withholding tax are taken out make about 2,342.88 a year. Take a family of seven where only one parent is working, and four children in school. The earning is below $85 dollars a week. Family of eight where two are working, there is rent to pay, food to buy, insurance to pay, children lunch to buy and the odds and ends they will need in school such as paper, pencils, etc.

BY Mrs.

2) Educational problems -- The Negro citizens of Boca Raton, Fla. average approximately a 6th grade educational level which has been limited because of the limited resources and school facilities.

No school for adults - they has to travel far into other towns or cities to get an education. The Majority of them cant afford to go because of the lack of transportation or shortage in income. ## As of 1965, adults who wanted to enrol in education courses had to pay fees. Approximately 85 to 90 pre-cent of our Negro workers in Boca Raton are unskilled or semi-skilled because they were unable to continue their education in other towns and we don't have a school for adult training or to continue our education in our town.

We, as adults are not able to work 8 hours a day and then drive at least eight miles to another town to further ar education or take some kind of traning.

Roadman Elementary school can account for some of the teenage drop out. It gives you only a six-grade education and if the children ## wanted to continue their education they had to travel eight miles or more into other cities or town, and by the time they get started they have already lost interest.

Carver High School, and Roadman the segregated Negro school in Delray Beach, Fla. which Pearl City teen-agers were sent to; Elementary ~~of Boca~~ Raton, Fla., their level of education is lower thean Boca Raton High School, J. C. Mitchel School, and the other white schools in this community. This can account too for a number of dropouts because Negro students who could transfer in recent years were handicapped forthis reason.

We have a small number of college graduates and they have to leave town, because there is no jobs for them. No teachers at the Roadman school ##### here in Boca Raton# would live in

Most lived in Delray Beach.
our town because housing is so bad.

There are no real facilities for vocational/traning to train residents of Pearl City for skilled jobs.

We need to better the education in our community.

BY MRS.

3) Health Problems/-- We have many bad health needs. Public ###### heath Nurse comes once a months for about three are four hour#. No place to treat the mentally Ill are handicap. At the time of nurse's visit, some of the parent are working and don't have the time. There are to many children that need treatment and not enough time to treat them. ###########

There are children need treatment and there cannot afford to go to the doctor as often as they should go. We need a Health Center and a doctor to come in and give treatment to the once that can't afford it.

If you go to the Hosipol and don't have Insurce are have $50.00 to enter, they will not take you. Emergency cases are treated. Some people are to poor to care insurce and don't have the money around (in order to show $50.00 as evidence of ability to pay at the time of admission).

We also need dental care.

by Mrs. Spain

4) Social Problems/-- We need Social and recreational facilities in the community for the teenagers and adults. The only place we have for our teenagers is the Masonic Hall, which i used as the Teen-Age Center. This building is owned ########## by the(Knights of Pythias)and rented by the city as a teenage Center. ##Lodge
But it is not properly equipped, no facilities for receration , nothing to interest the young people. So we gradually lost them. They go to the street corners and Bars#.As much as we hate this, it isn't a thing we can do about it. We can ot watch our children and work. We have nothing for the adults. We need social improvement. When couples have marriage problems, the community tells them to go to their migisters. Our ministers are good men and want to help, but cannot, because they are not qualified to. There is no place for couples to go.

5) Housing Problems by Mrs. Spain -- Housing is a big problem here. We have families with 6 to 8 children living in two bedroom apartments with no where to move unless out of town. We had families here with year-round jobs but moved away to other cities because of the housing situation, then ride backwards and forth to work here. Some gave up their jobs for lack of proper housing. We are in great need of homes here to meet our economical standards. The city of Boca Raton has generally discourged less expensive homes, and Negroes are most affected by this lack of inexpensive houses. The Pearl City Civic League last year asked the City's cooperation in getting cheaper houses, but was told that ## since the Civil Rights Act was passed, we were free to buy homes anywhere in the city. This is not so.

6) Legal Probdems -- Generally, the residents of Pearl City do not use lawyers. When they are brought before the city court on traffic charges or other minor charges, they generally plead guilty and pay fines of about $35.00 approximately. People here do not know what their rights are in instalment-purchase agreements, as debtors, or tenants. Also, in personal and family legal problems, there is a need for available lawyers.

family legal problems, there is a need for

4. Community Needs by Mrs. Spain

The community of Pearl City is in great need of improvements in Health, Education, Economics, Social facilities and Housing.

A. Health Needs

The Community is in great need of health improvements, regular clenical service forthe community. We have people here with large families and low incomes who cannot afford regular check ups or Dental Care for their children. We also rent small apartments but the rent is High and we just can't afford proper medical care. We have overcrowded day care homes for our children. They have to sometimes sleep on the floor and eat cold lunches ## almost always.

B. Educational Needs

The educational standard in the community needs to be improved. To do this, we need educational opportunities here for the adults and the drop outs, also the pre-School age children. We are in need for a proffessional day care center. We also need special help and tutoring for our teen-agers and young children to catch up in school.

C. Day-Care Center Facility

Because of the economical condition of the community, we are in great need of a Day Care Center. We have to transfer our children to Deerfield by car for pre-~~[illegible]~~ Scooling and most parents cannot afford the fee. The Nursery age and infants have to be left with different women that are not working and maybe not able to work. They cannot give these dhildren proper care or guidance. The others are left home for the Olde##r Brother or Sister to care for#. Because of our Economical Condition we are in great need of a Day Care Center.

Some ladies hoped to organize a day care center in the spring of 1965 and took a door-to-door survey, but they weren't able to. ~~[illegible] Summer [illegible]~~ We were also surveyed for the public schools Operation Headstart program in the summer, but ~~[illegible] days before it was scheduled [illegible]~~ it was cancelled. We need a facility for very young infants to 5 years old.

Special Fact Sheet on Day-Care Need by Mrs.

~~There are some mo[illegible]~~
The purpose of a day care center is to care for the little ones while the parent are at work. There are some mothers that can work if she had some one to take care of the children. In a large family, the older children have to take terns at home withe the smaller children and they miss quiet a few days out of school.

There are some children that has never seen a picture book or had a pencil in his hand before he go to school. Some parent can't afford to send their children 5 miles into the next county to a Private Day Care. One family pays approximately $450 a year for three children's care so the mother can work. Generally, the fee is $3.50 a week per child, but it varies depending on if lunch is included.

There are about 150 children under school age and about 1/3 of them the family can afford to send them to a day care. The other 2/3 is left home by themselves with an older sister or brother.

Last year, the community here wanted such a center so badly, that the Civic League and the Ebenezer Baptist Church arranged to start one in the Church Hall. A Director was brought in and it was started but did not succeed. Our resources are very limited.
n Summer, 1965, Operation Headstart was #scheled to be held here but was called
A day Care Center wil also help in getting our children ready off two
for school. Most of our parent work at least eig t hour everday days to
and they don't have time to teach their children, and get them ready time
for their first year in school. of opening.

This program will also help to train the child to get along with others and respect others rights.

D. Social Needs -- We need some sort of facility where our young and adult people can gather for wholesome activity. In the past, they have not gone to the Community Center for the white community which is by the City Hall. There is no facility in our neighborhood of this sort. The Civic League is considering approaching the town and county authorities and asking them to help in obtaining the use of the Readman School which is now closed. # This would BE a convenient place to hold classes for adults and teen-agers and also provide recreational programs. This is badly needed, because there has lately been an increase in the number of teen-agers who have been frequenting bars in the neighborhood. We also need some sort of counselling service which is close enough and open during hours when people could go to it for advice and help with personal and marriage problems. There are nosuch facilities now.

E. Housing Needs -- We need better housing, if we are to keep our more ambitious people and provide a decent community for the residents. A real problem is that Pearl City is blocked from expanding b its location between the Railroad and the Federal Highway. A new bowling alley has now blocked expansion to the North. This is important because no Negroes have ever lived in ####/##### any other part of Boca Raton and probably could not buy lots elsewhere. We also need paved streets and sidewalks, so that people will want to put an investment in houses here; otherwise, no one will want to do this because property values will always be low. We particularly need sidewalks or cat-walks for our children going to and from school. The Civic League has succeeded in getting better street lighting but it is difficult to get other improvements.

F. Economic -- This is perhaps the most serious problem of all. Next to no one in Pearl City has a job above the menial or unskilled level. Some are ~~are~~ semi-skilled and a few skilled. There is one business manager in the community. We need programs to train adults to qualify for better jobs. We need programs to place them in better jobs, when they are qualified, and we need programs to convince ### ####/business owners and managers to open up jobs to Negroes who are qualified. We particularly need programsto help our teen-agers with job problems. There is no local employment office. We need someone to teach residents how to buy the things they need, how to protect themselves in instalment-buying and from loan companies. Some people, particularly women, have asked if they can be trained so they could work in facilities as day care centers when they are opened.

such

5. BACKGROUND OF INTEREST OF PEARL CITY CIVIC LEAGUE IN COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT by Mrs. Spain

The Civic League has helped in whatever way it could, but its resources are limited. All of its officers and members have full-time jobs and not much time to devote to such work. That's why we particularly need help.

In 1964, the Civic League has worked closely with the Ebenezer Baptist Church to set up a Day Care Center in the Church Hall. But it failed because of limited resources.

The League through some of its officers in a question-answer period with the Mayor of the City asked for land to build low price homes but was referred to Civil Right law of 64.

The Civic League has helped in the support of the Boy Scouts by donations dn and transportation to activities.

It also helped in getting from the City Government the right to Grave Plots and street lights for Pearl City residents.

In the fall of 1964, it set up a non-partisan voter registration program, complete with a registration station in the Teen-Age Center in Pearl City to encourage residents of the neighborhood to register and vote. Transportation was furnished by the League to the polls on election day.

It has tried to contact the city authorities and get their cooperation in keeping Pearl City teen-agers out of the bars in the neighborhood. It ######## supervises the Teen-Age Center and holds the keys to it.
It has requested for a Day Care Center to the Community Action Consel of Palm Beach County but it has not been acted on.

THE LEAGUE'S PRESIDENT IS TRYING TO GET THE CITY TO PREVENT THE ROADMAN SCHOOL BUILDING FROM BEING DISMANTLED AND TO LET THE COMMUNITY USE ITS FACILITIES FOR A COMMUNITY CENTER. HE HOPES TO APPROACH THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE FOR ITS SUPPORT, AND THE NEW COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL OF BOCA RATON.

Generally, it has tried to work for the welfare of the community as best it can . Any grant it would receive would be administered fairly and equitably, and with full accord of the laws, and with the best professional help it could get. It would fully abide by the Civil Rights Act and would open any government-sponsored programs to all persons eligible without regard to race, ## creed, religion, or any other factor other than need.

6. PLANNING FOR PROGRAMS IN PEARL CITY UNDER THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

BY (IN DELRAY BEACH, BOYNTON BEACH, AND W.P.B) CIVIC LEAGUE MEMBERS HAVE WORKED ON PLANNING COMMITTEES ON THE COMUNITY ACTION CONCEL WHICH WAS FORMD ON A COUNTY-WIDE BASE IN THE WINTER OF 65. THEY APPLIED FOR A TECHNICAL DEVELOPEMENT GRANT BUT HAS NOT RECEIVED IT. WE FEEL THAT THE CAC IS MOVING TOO SLOW.

RESIDENTS WOULD PREFER TO APPLY DIRECT FOR PROGRAM THAT WOULD MEET THEIR NEEDS. A SPECIAL MEETING WAS CALLED FOR AUGUST 31, 1965, ATTENDED BY CIVIC LEAGUE-MEMBERS, MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL COMMUNITY, AND SOME COMMUNITY LEADERS FROM ADJACENT TOWNS AND COUNTIES. THEY WERE:

MRS. FLORENCE NELSON, WEST PALM BEACH, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE PALM BEACH COUNTY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, AND MEMBER OF THE GOVERNOR'S COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN.

REV. SAMUEL GEORGE, FT. LAUDERDALE, REGIONAL DIRECTOR, NAACP, SOUTHEAST FLORIDA.

MR. DONALD HALLOCK, FT. LAUDERDALE, VICE CHAIRMAN, ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COUNCIL OF BROWARD COUNTY.

MR. NATHAN POPKIN, BOCA RATON, FACULTY MEMBER, MARYMOUNT COLLEGE, AND PROJECT DIRECTOR, MARYMOUNT COLLEGE 1965 SUMMER SELF-HELP PROJECT.

MR. AND MRS. STEPHEN GILAND, POMPANO LABOR CAMP, VISTA VOLUNTEERS, COMMUNITY SERVICE FOUNDATION MIGRANT PROGRAM.

MR. SPAIN OPENED THE MEETING AT THE TEEN-AGE CENTER AND, AFTER A FULL DISCUSSION OF THE VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES OPEN TO THE CIVIC LEAGUE, REV. BOWERS MOVED THAT THE CIVIC-LEAGUE APPLY FOR A GRANT FOR A BROAD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM FOR ADULTS AND YOUNG PEOPLE. MRS. WILLIAMS SECONDED THE MOTION AND IT WAS CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY.

A PLANNING COMMITTEE TO PREEPARE THE APPLICATION WAS FORMED OF VOLUNTEERS PRESENT AT THE MEETING AND MR. POPKIN AGREED TO HELP THEM. THE PLANNING COMMITTEE WAS MADE UP OF:

MRS. MOLLY RICH, MISS MINNIE GRIFFIN, MRS. LOUISE WILLIAMS, MISS ALBERRY, MRS. CHARLIE MAE BROWN, MRS. HAMILTON, MRS. KATIE MAE GODDARD, MRS. CORALEE SPAIN, AND MR. ROBERT MCNAIR -- ALL RESIDENTS OF PEARL CITY

At its first meeting on September 1 at the Baptist Church Hall, the members elected Mrs. Molly Rich, Chairman, and Miss Minnie Griffin, Secretary. The Committee decided to write up an account of Pearl City's troubles and needs. Each committee member was given one subject to write on.

The Committee held a full meeting session on September 4 and working sessions on September 5 and September 8. It usually met at the Eb. Baptist Church or at the Teen-Age Center or Mr. Spain's home. On September 9, all the committee members brought their reports to a meeting at the Teen-Age Center. The decision was made to take photographs and send them with the application. Mr. Popkin agreed to type the reports and have them mimographed, so all the committee members would have a complete copy of this rough draft. It was also reported that people in Boynton were going ahead with their own program, and that the city had let them have the Wilson (Negro) Recreation Center to use for day-care. Mr. Spain reported that the charter of the League, which had been delayed, had arrived in good shape from Tallahassee, and that he hoped to talk soon with the city about contributing the use of the old Roadman School building as their part of the local contribution. He also reported that the Board of the Ebenezer Baptist Church had agreed to contribute the space of their facilities free as part of the 10 % needed local contribution, and that he would ask at other churches in Pearl City. The Eb. Baptish Church had gotten a health permit for a day-care on its property the year before, so that was ready.

Mr. Spain reported that he had received ### letters from people in Pearl City and elsewhere supporting the program. Mr. Wiland suggested in his letter that the Civic League hold another survey of needs. Most people were against any more surveys, saying they had been surveyed for Operation Headstart and at other times and had had enough of that. Mr. and Mrs. Harvey joined the planning committee at that meeting, and Mr. Harvey agreed to write the General Description of Pearl City section which was still lacking. Mr. McNair brought in his photos# of the school, churchs, and houses, an teen-age center. Mr. Spain announced that elections would be held soon.

7. GENERAL PURPOSES OF PROGRAMS BY

THIS IS THE PROGRAM MOST NEEDED:

A. ## ### PER-SCHOOL
B. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL GROUPS
C. TEEN-AGERS
D. ADULTS

- THE PURPOSE FOR THE PRE-SCHOOL PROGRAM-IS TO PREPARE THE CHILDREN BEFORE THEY ENTER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL. THERE ARE MANY CHILDREN WHO ARE LEFT ALONE WHEN THERE PARENTS ARE WORKING. WE NEED THE DAY-CARE CENTER BECAUSE SOME PARENTS CAN'T AFFORD TO SEND THEIR-CHILDREN TO A KINDERGARTEN. THE NEAREST ONE IS IN DEERFIELD AND IT IS A PRIVATE ONE. EACH PARENT # HAVE TO PAY A DIFFERENT PRICE.- MANY CAN'T AFFORD IT.

THE PURPOSE FOR THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL GROUP PROGRAM IS TO KEEP OUR CHILDREN OUT OF TROUBLE ##### WHILE THE PARENTS ARE WORKING.

THE PURPOSE OF TEEN-AGERS-PROGRAM IS TO KEEP OUR TEEN-AGE BOYS AND GIRLS OUT OF THE LOCAL BARS AND OFF OF STREET CORNERS. IF WE PROVIDE HOLSOME EDUCATIONAL AND RECREATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR THEM, WE WILL BE ABLE TO GAIN THEM BACK FROM STREET CORNERS AND LOCAL BARS AND THEREFORE WE MAY BE ABLE TO CUT DOWN ON STELLING AND OTHER CRIMES COMMITTEE BY OUR TEEN AGERS, AND EQUIP THEM BETTER TO HOLD JOBS.

THE PURPOSE OF THE ADULT PROGRAM IS TO PROVIDE FACULITIES FOR THE ADULTS WHO DIDN'T HAVE THE OPPUNITY TO FINISH GRADE OR HIGH SCHOOL AND WHO WOULD ALSO LIKE TO ##### TAKE UP A TRADE. WITH THESE PROGRAMS WE WOULD BE ABLE TO BETTER OUR LIVING CONDITIONS AND AT THE SAME TIME BETTER OURSELVES. INSTEADE OF UNSKILLED WORKERS WE CAN BECOME SKILLED WORKERS BY LEARNING TRADES.

WE ALSO WANT A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROGRAM TO LEARN OUR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AS CITIZENS AND BECOME MORE USEFUL AND ACTIVE CITIZENS OF OUR TOWN, COUNTY, AND STATE, AS WELL AS OF THE UNITED STATES.

May 17, 1966

Mr. Jesse Morris
Liberty Outlet House
P. O. Box 3193
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Jesse:

Enclosed is a check for $160, representing payment to Miss Emma Jones and Mr. Bob Rubin for the period of May 20th to June 20th for consultant work with the Poor People's Corporation.

It is understood that during this time Miss Jones will work with the individual co-op groups in the areas of bookkeeping, tax records, ledger entries, social security, etc., and begin helping each group make application for Cooperative Charters. You also mentioned, I believe, the possibility of Miss Jones organizing regular workshops dealing with what co-ops are, how they work, etc. I hope she can do this and if I can be of any assistance in this area please let me know.

Mr. Rubin's responsibilities are understood to be primarily those of a temporary co-op manager, spending approximately one-week at a time with the various co-op groups working on effeciency and production procedures.

I would very much appreciate it if you would ask Miss Jones and Mr. Rubin to write a brief report concerning their work, especially emphazing problem areas and any techniques or solutions they find useful in dealing with these problems, which might be passed on to other groups.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh
Encl. $160 check

June 23, 1966

Mr. Jesse Morris
Liberty Outlet House
P. O. Box 3193
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Jesse:

Enclosed is a check for $160 representing the salaries for Miss Emma Jones and Mr. Bob Rubin from June 20th. to July 20th--consultants to the co-ops affiliated with the Poor People's Corporation.

Best wishes,

Al Ulmer

AU:eh
Encl. $160 check # 1065

POOR PEOPLE'S CORPORATION

P. O. Box 977, Jackson, Mississippi (601) 352-9791
5 Beekman St., New York 10038 (212) RE 2-3996

SPONSORS

Ella J. Baker
Fay Bennett
Paul Blackburn
Mr. & Mrs. Len Chandler
Clarence Coleman
Ossie Davis
Dorothy Day
Ruby Dee
James Farmer
James Forman
Mrs. Allen Funt
Mrs. Louis S. Gimbel, Jr.
Mitchell Goodman
Rev. Donald Harrington
Michael Harrington
Ralph Helstein
Nat Hentoff
John Killens
Denise Levertov
John Lewis
Oscar Lewis
Viveca Lindfors
Robert Lowell
Will Maslow
Floyd B. McKissick
Dr. Rollo May
Rev. Howard Moody
Rev. A. J. Muste
Dr. Benjamin F. Payton
A. Philip Randolph
Mrs. Louis Rudin
Bayard Rustin
Nathan Schwerner
Dr. Harold Taylor
Norman Thomas

(incomplete - final list
in preparation)

12 October 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

Just a brief note (we're all back into the New York pace) to say thanks for your hospitality while we were in Atlanta. I can only speak for myself, but I certainly can say that your knowledge of cooperatives gave me plenty of food for thought and hopefully action.

Again, many thanks...and regards to your wife.

Sincerely,

Linda M. Henry
New York Coordinator

For address file

Appendix I

POOR PEOPLES CORPORATION
BY-LAWS

Name and Domicile

Section 1. The name of this corporation shall be: Poor Peoples Corporation.

Section 2. The principal office shall be in Jackson, Mississippi.

Purposes

Section 3. To assist low-income groups in their efforts to receive financial assistance to initiate and sustain self-help projects of a cooperative nature that are designed to offset some of the effects of poverty.

Section 4. To secure technical assistance in connection therewith.

Section 5. To assist low income groups in obtaining such assistance as may be available from federal, state and municipal programs designed to alleviate the effects of poverty.

Section 6. To provide a mechanism through which persons disirous of giving financial and technical assistance to poor people may channel such assistance.

Section 7. To receive and administer grants, contributions, or funds from governmental agencies, private foundations, private corporations, and/or private citizens.

Section 8. To conduct such other programs as may be deemed relevant to the fulfillment of the above purposes.

Section 9. To solicit, receive, borrow, and hold money and other property, real or personal, whether the same be acquired by gift, device, bequest, or otherwise, and to make such disbursement and distribution thereof from time to time as may be determined best in the general interest of the above purposes.

Board of Directors

Section 10. A Board of Directors consisting of five shall be elected at every May membership meeting.

Section 11. The term of office of each Director shall be one year and no Director can succeed himself.

Powers of the Board of Directors

Section 12. The Executive staff of the corporation shall be appointed and removed by the Board of Directors.

Section 13. The day-to-day operations of the corporation shall be vested in the Board of Directors. It may delegate whatever authority the directors may think proper to executive staff.

The Executive Staff

Section 14. The executive staff shall consist of (1) President, (2) Vice President, (3) Secretary, and (4) Treasurer, (5) Fianancial Secretary.

Section 15. The President of the corporation or in his absence the Vice President, shall preside at all membership meetings of the Board of Directors.

Section 16. The Secretary of the corporation shall be the executive officer. He shall be the custodian of the charter of the corporation and its records.

The Secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of the Board of Directors and of the members.

The Secretary shall hire any person or persons needed to assist in fulfilling the purposes of the corporation.

Section 17. The Treasurer shall keep an accurate account of all funds that are received by the corporation and of all disbursements made. He shall make a report to the Board of Directors as requested by them and a quarterly report at each membership meeting of the corporation.

Capital Stock

Section 18. There shall be no stock issued in the corporation and it shall be a non-profit organization ~~insofar as its~~ members are concerned.

Section 19. A Certificate of Membership shall be issued by the Treasurer of this corporation. The certificate will be in the form of a membership card and given in receipt for the annual dues of 25¢. Such membership is non-transferable and all rights thereunder shall terminate at the end of the year for which such membership receipt is issued.

Corporate Funds

Section 20. All money received by the corporation shall be deposited in a bank in Jackson, Mississippi.

No money shall be disbursed by the Treasurer unless specifically authorized by the members at membership meeting.

Membership Meetings

Section 21. Four Times a year there shall be membership meetings. At these meetings groups of ten or more people can request funds for purposes of initiating self-help enterprises.

Also, the Secretary or Treasurer can request funds for debts or expenses for the period between membership meetings.

Section 22. One tenth of the membership shall constitute a quorum for business.

Amendment Procedures

Section 23. Changes in or additions to the by-laws can be suggested by any member at any time and will either be approved or rejected by the members present.

Additional Information
(not contained in the by-laws)

V. The New York Office

The New York Office of the PPC is located at 5 Beekman St. Rm. 1037, New York, New York. It employs three persons; their tasks are primarily to solicit, receive, and borrow money for the revolving fund of the PPC from persons in the New York area.

VI. The Jackson Office

The Jackson Office of the PPC is located at 900 N. Farish St., Jackson, Mississippi. The personnel who work out of the office are primarily responsible for (1) making contact with low-income people, (2) organizing them into work-co-ops and (3) working with them until they are on the road to success or have failed.

VII. Structure of the PPC

Membership in the PPC is open to all low-income people who pay 25 cents per year in membership dues. The membership at every May meeting selects a board of directors. The board of directors consists of five persons. The board of directors appoints the officers of the corporation. The officers are five in number and are considered to be the executive staff, President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Financial Secretary. The Secretary is the executive officer and hires the staff personnel.

Appendix II

COMMITTEES

COORDINATING COMMITTEE:

Ellen Maslow-Coordinator, NY/PPC, 5 Beekman St. Rm. 1025.
Julie Taylor-designs and manufactures womenswear--The Curio 65 St. Marks Place, New York, New York.
Sandy Weinman-Sales representative, Bronzini Menswear, 176 Lexington Ave., New York, New York.
Lynne Hollander-NY/PPC, 5 Beekman St., Rm. 1025.

DESIGN AND PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT:

Julie Taylor-designs and manufactures womenswear-- The Curio 65 St. Marks Place, New York, New York.
Laura Sinderbrand-Fashion Institute of Technology, Placement Office, 227 W. 27th St., New York, New York.
Barbara Shaum-owner and manager of retail leather shop, leather craftsman. 13 E. 7th Street, New York, New York.
Sandy Weinman-Sales representative, Bronzini Menswear 176 Lexington Ave., New York, New York.
Nancy Chandler-leather craftsman, 645 Water St., NYC, New York.

PRODUCTION:

Ben Frank-owner and manager of retail womenswear store-Corduroy Corner, 649 Lexington Ave., NYC, New York.
Morris Pavloff-Fashion Institute of Technology, Management Dept., 227 W. 27th St., NYC, New York.
Joe Ferby-Fashion Institute of Technology, Management Dept., 227 W. 27th St., NYC, New York.
Milton Heimlich-of Heimlich Bros., industrial machinery, 32 W. 25th St., NYC, New York.

MARKETING AND CONTRACTING:

Sandy Weinman-Sales representative, Bronzini Menswear, 176 Lexington Ave., New York, New York.
Joe Josephs-Bennington Brush Company, manufacturing, 357 5th Ave., Rm. 407, NYC, New York.
Morris Fox-retired manager-Cooperative Distributors, 1155 Park Ave., NYC, New York.
Sandy Michaels Mann-760 Riverside Drive, NYC, New York.
Bob Price-Armon Distributors, 37 W. 19th St., New York, New York.
Fred Darsey-owner and manager of retail craft shop-Terracotta, NYC, New York.
(PPC Staff: Bob Rubin
Don Shaw-manager, retail craft store, SNCC General Store, % the Plowshares, Brattle Sq., Cambridge, Mass.
Abby Hoffman-PPC sales representitive, New England Area 65 Hadwen R., Worcester, Mass.
Sheila Hoffman-craft product design, 65 Hadwen R., Worcester, Mass.
Harvey Berman-Manager, Liberty Outlet House
Jesse Morris-Secretary of the Corporation. Coordinator, PPC, P.O. Box 977, Jackson, Miss.

PULLING TOGETHER

POOR PEOPLES' CORPORATION

CO-OP HANDBOOK NO. 1

WHAT IS A CO-OP?

MOST PEOPLE WHO WORK IN CO-OPS THAT HAVE BEEN GIVEN LOANS BY THE POOR PEOPLES' CORPORATION ARE NOT TOO CERTAIN ABOUT WHAT A CO-OPERATIVE IS.

SOME OF THE GROUPS ARE HAVING PROBLEMS. SOME OF THE PROBLEMS HAVE TO DO WITH NOT MAKING ENOUGH MONEY. SOME HAVE PROBLEMS MAKING THEIR PRODUCTS GOOD ENOUGH SO THAT THEY WILL NOT BE SENT BACK BY LIBERTY HOUSE. SOME PROBLEMS COME FROM NOT HAVING ENOUGH SUPPLIES TO WORK WITH.

A LOT OF THESE PROBLEMS COULD BE SOLVED IF PEOPLE IN THE GROUPS WERE MAKING THEIR CO-OPS WORK THE WAY A CO-OP IS SUPPOSED TO WORK. BUT THAT IS HARD TO DO WHEN MOST PEOPLE DO NOT EVEN KNOW WHAT A CO-OP IS. WELL, THAT IS WHAT THIS HANDBOOK IS FOR--TO HELP THE PEOPLE IN THE GROUPS UNDERSTAND WHAT A CO-OP IS AND HOW CO-OPS ARE SUPPOSED TO OPERATE.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THIS BOOK BE READ AND UNDERSTOOD BY EVERYONE WHO WORKS IN THE WORK CO-OPS, BECAUSE THE ONLY WAY THE CO-OPS CAN MAKE PROGRESS IS IF EVERYONE IN THE CO-OP UNDERSTANDS WHAT THE CO-OP IS ALL ABOUT AND WHAT CAN BE DONE WITH IT.

THIS IS NOT A BOOK THAT YOU JUST READ. IT IS A BOOK THAT YOU NEED A PENCIL FOR BECAUSE YOU WILL DO SOME OF THE WRITING IN IT.

* * * * * *

A CO-OP IS A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES TO DO SOMETHING. THEY ORGANIZE BECAUSE THEY WANT TO DO SOMETHING FOR THEMSELVES.

NOW, YOU ARE A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO ARE TRYING TO ORGANIZE YOURSELVES TO DO SOMETHING. WHAT ARE THE NAMES OF THE PEOPLE IN YOUR GROUP? WRITE THEM ON THE LINES BELOW.

______________________________   ______________________________
______________________________   ______________________________
______________________________   ______________________________
______________________________   ______________________________
______________________________   ______________________________
______________________________   ______________________________
______________________________   ______________________________
______________________________   ______________________________
______________________________   ______________________________
______________________________   ______________________________
______________________________   ______________________________

THE NAMES OF THE PEOPLE YOU JUST WROTE DOWN A MEMBERS OF THE CO-OP YOU ARE IN. WHAT DO YOU CALL YOUR CO-OP? WRITE THE NAME ON THE LINE ______________________________________.

NOW, YOU AND YOUR FELLOW CO-OP MEMBERS ARE TRYING TO GET ORGANIZED TO DO WHAT? WRITE DOWN WHAT THE CO-OP IS TRYING TO DO.

DO YOU THINK YOUR DO-OP IS DOING A GOOD JOB SO FAR?

WRITE YES OR NO ON THE LINE__________.

WRITE THE REASONS FOR YOU ANSWER BELOW.

WHAT DO YOU THINK ARE YOUR CO-OP'S MAIN PROBLEMS?

AFTER WE ARE ALL SURE WE UNDERSTAND JUST WHAT A CO-OP IS, WE WILL TRY TO SEE HOW WE CAN GO ABOUT SOLVING SOME OF THESE PROBLEMS

THE TYPE OF CO-OP WE ARE WORKING WITH IS A PRODUCER'S CO-OP. WE CAN CALL THEM WORK CO-OPS. WHAT THAT MEANS IS THAT THE PEOPLE WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE CO-OP PRODUCE SOMETHING OR WORK ON SOME PRODUCT.

THERE ARE FIVE REQUIREMENTS THAT A WORK CO-OP MUST MEET. LISTED BELOW ARE TEN POSSIBLE REQUIREMENTS. DRAW A CIRCLE AROUND THE FIVE REQUIREMENTS THAT YOU THINK WORK CO-OPS MUST MEET.

1. FREEDOM NOW!
2. ONE MAN--ONE VOTE
3. MEMBERS ARE THOSE WHO WORK.
4. OPERATES ACCORDING TO BY-LAWS
5. BELIEVES IN NON-VIOLENCE
6. OWNED BY THE MEMBERS
7. CO-OP MEANS CO-OPERATION
8. CO-OP MEANS NO PROFIT
9. OPERATED BY THE MEMBERS
10. CO-OP MEANS TO GET A LOT OF MONEY FAST.

LISTED BELOW ARE THE FIVE REQUIREMENTS YOU SHOULD HAVE CIRCLED. WE WILL CALL THEM THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF WORK CO-OPS. IF WE WORK TO FOLLOW THE FIVE PRINCIPLES AND UNDERSTAND THEM, THEN WE WILL BE ON THE RIGHT TRACK TOWARD UNDERSTANDING WHAT A CO-OP IS.

1. ONE MAN--ONE VOTE
2. MEMBERS ARE THOSE WHO WORK
3. OWNED BY MEMBERS
4. OPERATED BY THE MEMBERS
5. OPERATES ACCORDING TO BY-LAWS

LET'S LOOK AT THESE ONE AT A TIME

ONE MAN--ONE VOTE

WHAT DOES ONE MAN--ONE VOTE MEAN TO YOU? WRITE YOUR ANSWER.

ONE MAN--ONE VOTE IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE OF CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS. WHAT IT REALLY MEANS IS THAT EVERY MEMBER HAS A VOTE IN DECIDING ON EVERY DECISION THAT THE CO-OP MAKES.

SOME OF THE CO-OPS LET A MANAGER OR A PRESIDENT MAKE ALL THE DECISIONS. THIS IS NOT THE WAY A CO-OP SHOULD FUNCTION. EVERY MEMBER SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO DISCUSS WHAT IS BEING DONE AND WHAT IS BEING DECIDED. IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EVERYONE IN THE GROUP TO VOTE ON ALL MAJOR DECISIONS.

IF YOUR CO-OP IS NOT WORKING THIS WAY NOW THEN IT IS NOT OPERATING AS A CO-OP SHOULD.

DO THE PEOPLE IN YOUR GROUP PARTICIPATE IN MAKING DECISIONS?

ANSWER YES OR NO ________.

WHO MAKES MOST OF THE DECISIONS? ______________________________

____.

IF THE GROUP DOESN'T MAKE DECISIONS, WRITE THE REASONS WHY.

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HOW CAN YOU AND YOUR FELLOW CO-OP MEMBERS MAKE SURE THAT THE CO-OP OPERATES ACCORDING TO THE ONE MAN--ONE VOTE PRINCIPLE?

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MEMBERS ARE THOSE WHO WORK

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN TO YOU? WRITE YOUR ANSWER BELOW.

YOUR ANSWER SHOULD SAY THAT THE PEOPLE WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE CO-OP ARE ONLY THOSE PEOPLE WHO COME TO WORK AND HELP MAKE THE PRODUCTS THE CO-OP PRODUCES. IT ALSO MEANS THAT ANY PERSON WHO DOESN'T WORK IN THE CO-OPS IS NOT A MEMBER.

A PERSON CAN ONLY BECOME A MEMBER OF THE CO-OP IF THEY WORK IN IT. THE CO-OP SHOULD ONLY PAY THE PEOPLE WHO ARE MEMBERS. PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT MEMBERS SHOULD NOT GET PAID, BECAUSE PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT MEMBERS DO NOT WORK IN THE CO-OP.

IS THERE ANYONE WHO THINKS THEY ARE A MEMBER OF YOUR GROUP WHO DOES NOT WORK IN THE CO-OP? WHY DOES THIS PERSON THINK THAT HE OR SHE IS A MEMBER?

OWNED BY MEMBERS

THE CO-OP THAT YOU WORK IN IS OWNED BY YOU AND YOUR FELLOW CO-OP WORKERS. MOST GROUPS RECEIVED LOANS FROM THE POOR PEOPLES' CORPORATION. WHEN THESE LOANS ARE RE-PAID THEN THE MACHINERY AND OTHER EQUIPMENT PURCHASED WITH THESE LOANS WILL BELONG TO THE PEOPLE IN THE CO-OPS.

MOST PEOPLE IN THE CO-OPS DO NOT UNDERSTAND THAT THEY ARE THE OWNERS OF THEIR BUSINESS. THEY HAVE NO PRIDE IN IT. THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN BUYING NEW EQUIPMENT. THEY DO NOT PUT ANY MONEY ASIDE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE CO-OP, BUT INSTEAD SIMPLY DIVIDE UP THE MONEY FOR THEMSELVES.

SOME PEOPLE THINK THAT EVERY TIME THEY NEED SOMETHING DONE OR NEED SOMETHING ALL THEY HAVE TO DO IS CALL LIBERTY HOUSE OR THE POOR PEOPLES' CORPORATION AND ASK FOR IT.

THIS IS NOT RIGHT. THE POOR PEOPLES CORPORATION GAVE YOU A LOAN TO GET STARTED. THE LIBERTY HOUSE WILL PURCHASE YOUR GOODS, IF THEIR QUALITY IS UP TO STANDARDS.

NOW, THE REST IS UP TO YOU AND YOUR FELLOW CO-OP WORKERS.

IF YOU DON'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY, THEN MAKE MORE THINGS FOR LIBERTY HOUSE TO BUY. IF YOU DON'T HAVE SUPPLIES TO MAKE THINGS, THEN USE SOME OF THE SALARY MONEY FOR ONE WEEK TO BUY MORE SUPPLIES.

YOUR CO-OP IS YOUR GROUP, OWNED AND OPERATED BY YOU AND YOUR FELLOW WORKERS. LIBERTY HOUSE AND THE POOR PEOPLES' CORPORATION REFUSES TO TREAT ANY OF YOU LIKE BABIES.

IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN YOUR CO-OP'S SUCCESS YOU WILL HAVE TO MAKE SACRIFICES AND PUT SOME OF YOUR OWN ENERGY INTO IT. YOU MUST DO MORE THAN JUST WORRY ABOUT HOW MUCH MONEY YOU CAN MAKE EACH WEEK.

IF THERE IS ANYONE WHO IS ONLY WORRIED ABOUT HOW MUCH MONEY THEY WILL MAKE, IT WOULD BE BETTER IF THEY LEFT THE GROUP AND GOT A JOB AS A MAID OR CHOPPED COTTON, AND LET THE PEOPLE WHO REALLY WANT TO DEVELOP AND BUILD A CO-OP GET DOWN TO SERIOUS WORK.

OPERATED BY THE MEMBERS

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN TO YOU? WRITE YOUR ANSWER BELOW.

MOST WORK CO-OPS ARE NOT OPERATED BY ALL THE MEMBERS. THEY ARE OPERATED BY ONE OR TWO PEOPLE. THESE ONE OR TWO PEOPLE HAVE TO KEEP THE BOOKS, CHECK THE GOODS, BE PRESIDENT OF THE GROUP, WRITE THE CHECKS, DEAL WITH LIBERTY HOUSE, ORDER SUPPLIES, CLEAN UP THE SHOP, PAY THE RENT.

REMEMBER, ON PAGE THREE OF THIS HAND BOOK YOU WROTE DOWN SOME OF YOUR PROBLEMS. NOW, LOOK AT THEM AND SEE HOW MANY HAVE TO DO WITH THE FACT THAT JUST ONE OR TWO PEOPLE IN YOUR CO-OP ARE HANDLING ALL THE MANAGEMENT JOBS.

THERE IS A NEED FOR A MANAGER IN EACH CO-OP, BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE MANAGER IS SUPPOSED TO DO ALL THE WORK. THE MANAGER'S MAIN JOB IS TO SEE THAT THE WORK GETS DONE. LET'S LIST SOME JOBS THAT HAVE TO BE DONE. BESIDE EACH JOB, WRITE THE NAMES OF THE PEOPLE WHO ARE SUPPOSED TO DO THAT JOB. THEN, LET'S TALK ABOUT THE JOBS AND WHAT EACH ONE MEANS.

SUPPLIES TO BE ORDERED____

SHOP CLEANED & TOOLS PUT AWAY_________________________________

MACHINES OILED & TOOLS SHARPENED______________________________

BOOK-KEEPING____

CHECK QUALITY OF GOODS____

DEAL WITH LIBERTY HOUSE_______________________________________

SECRETARIAL WORK____

MANAGER____

CAN YOU THINK OF ANY OTHER JOBS? LIST THEM BELOW

____

____

____

____

____

OPERATES ACCORDING TO BY-LAWS

EACH CO-OP HAS TO HAVE A SET OF BY-LAWS, THAT GOVERN THE CO-OP AND OUTLINE THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE MEMBERS. DRAWING UP BY-LAWS WILL BE COVERED IN THE NEXT HANDBOOK.

ALSO, IN THE NEXT HANDBOOK THERE WILL BE A LISTING OF ALL THE PROBLEMS THAT THE CO-OPS HAVE AND SOME OF THE WAYS IN WHICH THEY CAN BE SOLVED.

THE NEXT HANDBOOK WILL BE MAILED TO YOU, AND YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO WORK ON IT WITHOUT ANY ASSISTANCE.

* * * * * * * * *

NOW YOU ARE IN A BETTER POSITION TO TELL PEOPLE WHAT A WORK CO-OP IS -- A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO OWN AND

OPERATE THEIR OWN BUSINESS, UNDER A SET OF BY-LAWS, GOVERNED BY THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE MAN--ONE VOTE.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S. C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

April 25, 1966

Al -

Good luck! At meeting of Daufuskie people Friday Cliff announced that he got the go sign from D.C.

A group will visit the island this coming Friday, April 29:

Wayne Shields, Univ. of Ga., Athens will lead the group.

Bob Alexander of Columbia

Harry Hiott, E.D.A., Columbia

Senator James Waddell.

Tom has taken a job with the County EOA Commission. He will likely join the group Friday -

If you know any of this group or can add anything - give 'em a call - or perhaps you could be there, too.

Best regards.

Buddy

the business district. If the project is to support a market and service station, it will require a minimum of two hundred families.

2. Incorporate under the co-operative law or other suitable statutes. The services of an attorney are usually necessary in helping to draw up the Articles of Incorporation and the by-laws. He will also make arrangements for the permit to issue memberships and securities. Proceeds of sale of shares should first be impounded and then released upon the order of the corporation commissioner. The attorney should be retained in an advisory capacity after incorporation. Expenses at this stage should be kept at a minimum, so the incorporating group will not lose heavily if the project does not go ahead. All these preliminary expenses should not exceed $200 to $300.

3. Elect a board of directors to meet frequently and carry on the business of the corporation. It is highly desirable to have several persons of co-operative, business and housing experience in the group.

4. Set a membership fee which will be rather a substantial amount —say about $200—so that members will be making a definite commitment in joining. Provision for added investment necessary to purchase and develop land at a later date should be included with the application for membership. Membership and investment (in California) must be limited to persons holding legal residence in the state, or a permit must be secured from the Securities and Exchange Commission. (Note: Some states have no such limitations. Others require that a certain number or a certain percentage of the membership be legal residents of the state.)

5. Hold some small meetings with friends of the original group to present the general plan and get a reaction to it. Encourage questions. This will build up a method of presentation for larger meetings.

6. Prepare some mimeographed or printed material to mail to those who may be interested. A general statement of objectives should be made. A request for further information, perhaps in the form of a questionnaire, will reveal the interest of the prospective member. When the questionnaire is returned, a mailing, setting out the project in detail to date, should be made. From these returns, a mailing list should be built up. A small mimeographed news letter should be sent at regular intervals to all those on the mailing lists.

7. Hold public meetings with a well-qualified architect or engineer as the main speaker. Some of the members should explain the project and discuss the merits of co-operative housing. Build up the mailing list by asking those present to leave names and addresses if they are interested in further information.

8. When the membership grows enough to indicate success of the project, get a reliable real estate agent to locate suitable tracts of land. Try to get an option on a desirable site and use it to make a more positive appeal for membership. The owner should be told frankly that a rather long period is required to build up membership to complete purchase. The owner should be kept advised of progress.

9. The directors should appoint members to work on various phases of development and planning. These phases may include: membership and publicity, site development and utilities, architecture, land ownership and restrictions, and finances.

10. Draw up an estimate of finances required to purchase the land and develop it, with roads, and utilities (water, sewerage, electricity), ready for building. Make the required investment an obligation of membership.

11. When the membership reaches twenty or thirty, it will be necessary to have about half-time office help to carry on the mailing-mimeograph-bookkeeping work. Some paid help will have to be used before this time. Volunteer work should be used to a large extent at all times. Not only will it keep expenses down; it also educates members and keeps up interest.

12. An architect and affiliated engineers should be engaged, at least in an advisory capacity, to aid in site selection and help in different phases of planning and committee work.

13. Purchase the land as soon as it is financially feasible. A mortgage can be secured to aid member-financing in the purchase.

14. Prepare a printed and illustrated pamphlet for use in promoting membership.

15. Architect and engineers should prepare a site plan outlining the complete development contemplated. This should include roads, commons, business district, recreation areas, as well as residence lots.

16. Allocate building sites to members. Prices should be established by the paid staff of the architect.

17. Employ a permanent community manager. A thoroughly qualified and trained man should be selected and paid an adequate salary.

18. The architect should prepare plans and specifications for the houses and the community and business buildings.

19. Install roads, utilities, and sewer facilities—all work preliminary to home construction.

20. Join your regional wholesale so you can secure wholesale prices on the building materials and household appliances available through National Co-operatives, Inc.

21. Let contracts for home construction in as large lots as feasible, preferably one hundred or more.

Small housing co-operatives which do not contemplate more than thirty or forty houses may modify any of the above steps to suit the extent of their project and the size of their pocketbooks. Thus a corps of architects and engineers would not be feasible on a small project, but some architectural supervision is an absolute necessity. The York Center Co-operative Community, Villa Park, Illinois, perfected a plan whereby members submitted their individual plans to an architectural firm for advice and revision at the rate of $6 an hour.

Likewise, smaller co-operatives which cannot afford a community manager may utilize the services of one of their members, preferably one with building experience, during the construction period, paying him so much an hour with a limit to the amount he may charge in any one month. The veterans in Aquino Homes, San Jose, California, operated very satisfactorily under such an arrangement. At the conclusion of construction, instead of the "permanent community manager" suggested for the big projects, the small co-op may turn over the operation of the community to its member directors.

The last step outlined by the Peninsula Housing Association Incorporated, calling for the construction of homes "in lots of one hundred or more," for the purpose of economizing through mass production, would not, of course, apply to the small co-op.

Savings should be made on the simultaneous construction of any number of houses, however small. It has been the experience of several housing co-operatives that builders are willing to make concessions and reduce their profit percentage if awarded contracts for a minimum of ten houses. Materials may frequently be bought more economically for several residences than for one.

As a whole, Peninsula's outline may serve as a guide for any housing co-operative, regardless of the size of its membership or the extent of its project.

ing out faster than it comes in. The co-op will get off to a good start with a good-sized equity down-payment.

7. *Commitments for the houses.* Members of the organization should commit themselves to lease or purchase a unit of a particular size or type at an early stage in the planning of the project. The commitment must be tentative, for the cost of producing the units and the monthly charges will not be known at the time the commitment is made. The organization should take precautions to ascertain that the member will be able to meet his monthly charges out of his current and anticipated income without difficulty and, of course, should not encourage a member to assume more than he can carry.

Most of the housing associations set up membership selection committees or "screening committees" during the early weeks of a membership drive. The sole purpose of such groups is to find out, by means of a questionnaire, if the applicant will be able to carry the financial obligations he seeks to assume.

8. *Equity requirements.* It should be possible to determine the approximate equity required from members and to collect a substantial down-payment or share money from each individual. In the case of the corporation, "equity" refers to the difference between the amount of the mortgage and the total cost of the completed project. This difference is made up of the capital stock outstanding, cash, land-value, and any paid-in surplus. In the case of the individual member, the equity is represented by his down-payment. In either instance, the equity represents the amount contributed by the members. In most co-operatives, it is understood that the individual's equity increases each time he makes a monthly payment and that his mortgage indebtedness is thereby reduced.

On a twenty-year loan, under the level-payment plan, the individual's equity is increased by half of the original loan by the end of thirteen years, minus the amount which must be charged for depreciation.

The cash for the equity financing is raised through the purchase of shares by members of the association. A subscription agreement is signed by each member, binding him to the purchase of a stated amount of the shares or debentures of the corporation. A sample share subscription agreement may be found in the appendix of Bulletin No. 858, published by the U. S. Department of Labor and obtainable from the Superintendent of Documents in Washington, D. C., or from any of the regional co-operative wholesales, for twenty cents. Some of the corporations term the shares "members' interest." In any case, the shares, the equity, or the member-interest constitute the same thing—the down-payment.

How big should the down-payment be? In the case of a large rental type project such as an apartment house, the member's equity must equal the equity required by the corporation for the apartment the individual is to lease. The amount of that equity will be determined by the size of the mortgage. The larger the mortgage, the smaller the necessary equity.

In the case of dwellings individually owned, the down-payment is usually 10 per cent of the total cost of the house and the improved lot, that is, if a 90 per cent mortgage is planned. If, on the other hand, an 80 per cent mortgage is secured, then the down-payment must be at least 20 per cent of the total cost. If a 60 or 65 per cent straight bank mortgage is obtained, then the down-payment must be 35 or 40 per cent of the total cost.

In any case, the down-payment should be sufficient to cover the cost of the lot and its improvements, including the installation of roads, sewerage, and water.

As a general rule, the required equity or down-payment should be paid in full before construction starts. Members unable to pay the full amount of the equity at first, sometimes are allowed to pay on installments. If the co-operative is formed long enough ahead of time, the equity can be built up month by month so that members will have sufficient equity to make the necessary cash contribution when construction starts. In such manner did each member of Usonia Homes, Inc., White Plains, New York, build up a $2000 equity over a period of four years.

9. *Buying the land.* Purchase the property as soon as feasible. Before financing can be arranged and construction begun, the association must demonstrate outright ownership of the land, or must produce a contract for the use of the land (a "ground lease"). If the land is leased, the terms of the lease must extend beyond the terms of the mortgage, to protect the lender, and should exceed the estimated physical life of the improvements (buildings) on the land, to protect the association. Taking title to the land is the most common method of acquiring control. Remember that the title must be searched to see if there are any mortgages, liens, or assessments against the property.

10. *Construction loans.* The construction loan, sometimes called a building loan, is of temporary duration. It is for the purpose of financing the physical construction of the properties and generally terminates after the completion of the structures. Not all mortgage lenders engage

lation that a normal community faces. When a family has put over three thousand hours of hard labor into the building of a home, that home no longer represents a speculative investment. The family's life is built into it, and the owner, therefore, has no temptation to sell for profit."

The miner's hope of being able to save $3 a month—the difference between his old $10 rent and his new $13-a-month carrying charge—has been realized through the produce from his garden. It was estimated that the fifty families had spent $25,000 a year for perishable foods, or about $10 a week apiece. A goodly portion of such food is now grown right in the backyards. Acreage at Penn-Craft is utilized in two ways. Each homesteader owns two acres on which he raises berries, vegetables, and poultry. The rest of the land—about 110 acres—is operated as a commercial farm. One of the tenants, Bill Baum, rents the property from the American Friends on a three year lease at $250 a year. The dairy of thirty cows provides milk at several cents less than the local market price; and hogs, slaughtered on the farm, provide pork at seven to ten cents a pound below current prices.

Greatest help to the housewife is the Co-op store, which was started in a cow shed with a capital of $25 and now grosses more than $100,000 a year. The new stone building has five hundred frozen food lockers.

Early in 1939, the homesteaders started a new project. Beset by frequent strikes and layoffs, they thought it best to provide a supplementary source of income. Result: a knitting mill which has been turning out six thousand dozen sweaters a year. Gross sales are $400,000 yearly and total wages are $120,000 yearly. The building is stone, and it, too, was erected by the miners, each man donating one hundred hours of labor. There are seventy employees, thirty from Penn-Craft and forty from neighboring communities, who work under the direction of Superintendent Louis Gallet. Mr. and Mrs. Gallet left Austria just before the Nazi purge. Gallet, a knitter by trade, introduced imported hand-knitting machines and is now operating and buying the mill property. Two additions have been made to the structure since it started. Employees subscribe to a benefit fund over which they have complete control. In the planning is a credit union, which will include not only workers in the mill, but also any of the homesteaders who may want to participate.

Heart of activities at Penn-Craft is the old farmhouse which has been remodeled into a community center. Here are the library, the club rooms, a hall for dancing, and indoor games. Activities include the Mothers' Club, a baby clinic, a maternal health center, a nursery school, a girls' club group, a Scout group, a baseball team, a hobby club, the Young People's Council, lectures on parenthood, husband's nights, and health talks. Special rates for tonsil operations have been arranged by the co-op. Membership in the center costs $5.

A new community center will be built when the Penn-Craft Recreation Co-operative is incorporated and can hold property. At that time, the American Friends Service Committee will deed the community hall, the baseball grounds, and land for a shopping center to the Co-op. The Co-op will thereupon enlarge the scope of its activities by building a new hall for dances, roller skating, and bowling, and by providing store space to be leased on a concession basis for shoe-repairing, hairdressing, and barber shops.

The new Co-op will be independent of the Penn-Craft Co-operative Association which runs the store, the feed business, and the frozen food locker plant.

It was inevitable that the success of the first project should give rise to a second; and while Project No. 2 differs in a great many respects from the first, it offers wider scope for experimentation than the original development. It is being built on a tract of land 165 acres in size, a stone's throw from Penn-Craft. The property has been divided into lots averaging ten acres, and each individual will manage his own farm. There will be fifteen homes when the development is complete.

It has become increasingly apparent to the Friends Service Committee that the day is not far distant when most of the coal shafts in the vicinity will "run out," leaving the miners with no means of livelihood. The best replacement would seem to be agriculture, since the land is fertile and can well support mixed farms devoted to truck gardening, fruit growing, and cattle raising.

To convert miners into farmers is a job in itself, but the success of the first project, wherein the miners learned to raise at least enough produce for their own families, encouraged the American Friends to try a second project on a larger scale. That the idea appealed to the miners may be seen in the rapidity with which the second project is taking form and in the enthusiasm with which the individuals are building their houses and planning the development of their ten acre plots. One of the new homesteaders already has his entire acreage set out in young fruit trees.

Costs have advanced alarmingly since completion of the first project. Nevertheless, the new homes will be built at a price far below the current market figures, mainly because most of the labor will be supplied by the miners themselves.

Materials will cost about $4,500. Add to this, four thousand hours of labor at $1 an hour and you have a total cost of $8,500 for a structure which would easily bring $13,000 in the open market. Labor is exchanged under the same plan followed in Penn-Craft's first project. Those homesteaders who are engaged full time in outside employment hired skilled mechanics to help. Penn-Craft enjoys amicable relations with all unions.

Most of the houses will have six or seven rooms and full cellars, and most of them will be built of cinder blocks made on the property. Penn-Craft owns four hand-operated cinder block machines which were purchased at a cost of $60 apiece. At the time, supply companies were charging fifteen cents each for the blocks. The co-ops made their own for eight. The blocks are waterproofed after erection with Thoro-Seal and then stuccoed or painted white. One house has utilized block for the first story and finished the second in brick veneer. Two others are of frame construction, stone veneered.

Interior partitions are of rock lath and plaster, painted or papered. Kitchens include built-in cabinets, electric stoves, and washing machines. Homes are heated by a hot-air system, coal fired.

Much of the wood used in the houses was cut out from the Taylor Farm, Penn-Craft Project No. 3, a half-mile distant. Cherry, ash, beech, maple, and walnut are in abundance. John Kellam, manager at Penn-Craft, told me there were at least 30,000 board feet of flooring in standing timber on the Taylor Farm and another 30,000 feet which could be converted into two-by-fours, two-by-sixes, and two-by-eights.

Flooring is kiln-dried, tongue and grooved at Scottsdale Wood Products Co. in a neighboring community. Since Penn-Craftsmen cannot bear to waste anything, a good deal of the flooring is in narrow widths, one and a half inches, so that the last sliver of hard wood can be used. It makes surprisingly durable floors.

Savings have been effected through the use of Army surplus doors; and while some of the members made their own window frames, several of them purchased Truscon steel casements.

Nothing was spent on architects. House plans, acquired from the Farm Security Administration, were "cut to fit the cloth" by Kellam. "A good deal of the fitting was done right on the job," laughed Kellam. "Houses were going up so fast I couldn't keep ahead of them.

CANA-RAM

However, we have one consolation. If mistakes are made, they can be corrected at little cost beyond our own labor."

The houses in both Project No. 1 and Project No. 2 have septic tanks. Water is purchased from the General Water Co. on individual meters. The proximity of water supply lines was a prime reason for choice of the property. A second reason was the fact that county and town roads are so located as to touch every homestead, and the houses can be built along these roads.

A number of roads had to be constructed through the first project, and each homesteader was charged a proportionate share of the cost. Eventually the Town will take over the maintenance of these highways.

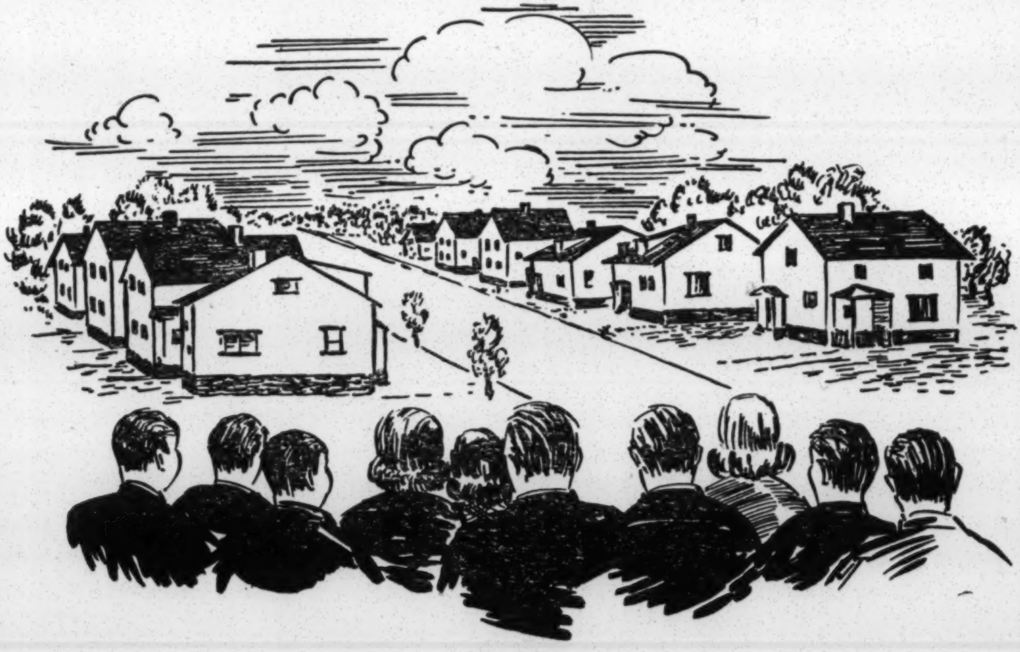
Under the financial plan set up for Project No. 2, homesteaders may borrow up to $4,000 from the American Friends Service Committee for the duration of the construction period at 4 per cent interest. This figure must cover cost of house, land, share of the water system, and a proportion of the project manager's salary. The contract states that within one year after occupancy the homesteader must refinance with a bank on a mortgage basis so that the money loaned him may be returned to the Friends' revolving fund, ready for use in the development of the next project—in this case the Taylor Farm. If he is unable to secure a mortgage, however, the Friends will carry him until he can arrange his own financing.

The monthly payment is not fixed, as it is in the usual plan based on the number of years of amortization, but varies according to the monthly earnings of the individual. Thus John Jones, earning $90 a month, will pay $10 a month on his loan; while John Brown, earning $217 a month, will pay $40. In each case the monthly payment includes payment on the principal, interest, taxes, and fire insurance. This idea of "variable payments" was adapted from a plan developed by the Farm Security Administration.

The Friends feel that when the educational process in community co-operation has sufficiently developed, it should be possible for the project manager to withdraw. In other words, there ought to be a time at which it can be said that the people have been rehabilitated.

"People are not re-made overnight," said A. Hurford Crossman, "and to inculcate the true spirit of community living, co-operative or otherwise, is not a short-time problem. In fact, I have many times expressed the real hope of Penn-Craft as being woven around the second and third generations. The fact that five of the second project families are sons of the first project homesteaders indicates some success in this direction.

CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING IN NOVA SCOTIA



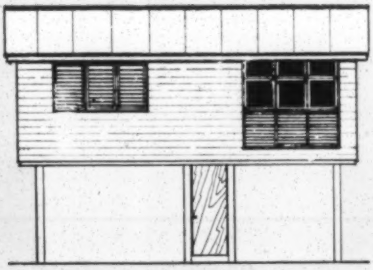
"NOVA SCOTIA FINDS AN ANSWER TO THE HOUSING PROBLEM."

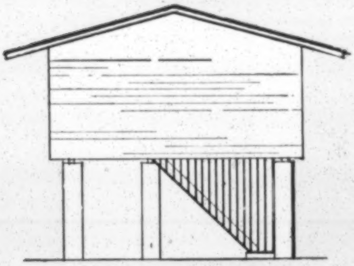
By Dr. Alex Laidlaw, Dec., 1950

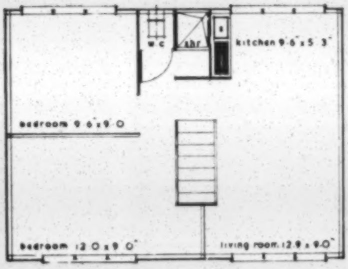
Revised by Joe Laben, June, 1961

Extension Department
ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY
Antigonish, Nova Scotia

50 CENTS



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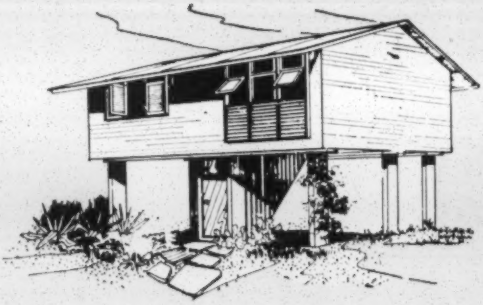
bedroom 9' 6" x 9' 0
bedroom 12' 0 x 9' 0"
living room 12' 9 x 9' 0"



SELF-HELP HOUSING

A Handbook for Village Workers

AN OCEANA PUBLICATION

SELF HELP HOUSING, INC.

December 3, 1965

Mr. Sargent Shriver, Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Shriver:

With this letter, Self Help Housing, Inc. is submitting a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a grant to provide low income farm labor families with the opportunity to build new homes using the self-help technique. In particular, the grant will provide a staff to train the families and aid them in building their own homes.

This program is patterned after the Farmers Home Administration demonstration self-help housing project in Southern New Jersey (Cumberland County); the American Friends Service self-help housing project in Tulare County, California; and Self-Help Enterprises, Visalia, California. We will be working in close cooperation with the Farmers Home Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, who will provide loan funds to the families for building materials and building lots.

In addition, to acquiring adequate housing, the families will acquire pride of accomplishment and increased self-estimation, which will carry over into their relationship with the local community.

Sincerely yours,

Marion C. Staves, President
Self Help Housing, Inc.
R.D. 2
Kennett Square, Pennsylvania 19348

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 1. SUMMARY OF APPLICATION

1.1 TYPE OF APPLICATION

☒ INITIAL APPLICATION ☐ ADDITION OF COMPONENT PROJECTS
☐ AMENDMENT TO PREVIOUSLY APPROVED PROGRAM.
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

66-8562

1.2 IDENTIFICATION OF APPLICANT

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY: Self Help Housing, Inc.

MAILING ADDRESS: c/o Mr. Marion C. Staves
R.D. 2

POST OFFICE: Kennett Square
STATE: Penna.
ZIP CODE: 19348

1.3 TYPE OF APPLICANT

1.3.1 PUBLIC AGENCY *If applicant is a public agency, check if it is a:*
☐ CITY ☐ COUNTY ☐ STATE ☐ TRIBAL COUNCIL
☐ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

1.3.2 PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION *If applicant is a private organization, check if it is a:*
☒ NEWLY ESTABLISHED NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION
☐ NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION WITH A PRIOR CONCERN WITH POVERTY
☐ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

1.4 AREA TO BE SERVED BY THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM: Chester County

COUNTY(IES) IN WHICH AREA IS LOCATED: Chester County

STATE(S): Pennsylvania
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT(S): 9th.

1.4.1 POPULATION OF AREA

URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL
92,337(43.8%)	118,271(56.2%)	210,608

1.5 PERIOD OF GRANT *How long will the Community Action Program be financed by the grant requested in this application?*
NO. OF MONTHS: 12

1.6 COMPONENT PROJECTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPLICATION
(Use separate form if more space is required below.)

COMPONENT PROJECT NO.	BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE TITLE OF COMPONENT PROJECT	TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF COMPONENT	TITLE II-A PORTION ONLY: FEDERAL GRANT REQUESTED	TITLE II-A PORTION ONLY: NON-FEDERAL SHARE TO BE PROVIDED
7-1	Self-help Housing Project under Title IIIB	40,860		
	TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF ALL COMPONENT PROJECTS	40,860	▨	▨
	COST ATTRIBUTABLE TO TITLE II-A ONLY	▨		

1.7 ACCEPTANCE OF CONDITIONS

On the basis of all forms, exhibits, and supplementary statements attached hereto, application is hereby made for a grant pursuant to Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act in the amount specified above to support the Community Action Program proposed in this application. It is understood and agreed by the undersigned that any grant received as a result of this application is subject to the conditions contained in the COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM GUIDE. Assurance is given that the personnel policies of the applicant agency and of any delegate agencies will conform to the standards set forth in PART B, Section 8 of the CAP GUIDE (Selection of Personnel).

TYPED NAME AND TITLE OF INDIVIDUAL AUTHORIZED TO SIGN: Marion C. Staves, President

SIGNATURE: Marion C Staves

TELEPHONE NO. *(Include area code)*: Area code 215-793-1634

DATE: Dec 3, 1965

CAP FORM 1 JAN 65

GSA DC 65-11587

Office of Economic Opportunity APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM	FORM APPROVED. BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 2. PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY Self Help Housing, Inc.	DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

2.1 PROVISION OF NON-FEDERAL SHARE None provided

Attach a statement describing how the non-Federal share of total estimated program cost will be provided. The statement shall describe separately for each component:

a. The amount of the non-Federal share to be provided in cash and in-kind.

b. The basis for estimating the fair value of each of the in-kind contributions.

c. The name and nature of the agency or organization making a contribution to the non-Federal share (whether from public or private sources), and whether there are any conditions attached to the receipt of the local share.

2.2 INCREASE IN NON-FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION Not applicable

Attach a statement, including necessary data, explaining that the contributions from non-Federal sources for this Community Action Program (described in Item 2.1) are in addition to the aggregate expenditures or contributions for similar purposes from non-Federal sources which were being made prior to the submission of this application.

2.3 RESIDENT PARTICIPATION

Attach a statement describing the ways in which the maximum feasible opportunity to participate in program development, conduct, and administration will be provided to residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served. The statement shall describe:

a. The ways in which such residents and members have participated in the preparation of this application.

b. The roles that will be played by such residents and members in program direction, policy-making, and advisory capacities in carrying out the program proposed by this application.

c. The ways in which opportunities will be provided for participation by such residents and members as program employees.

2.4 MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES

Attach a statement describing the efforts being made to mobilize public and/or private resources through coordination of existing and proposed activities. The statement shall describe:

a. The ways in which existing public programs concerned with the problem of poverty will be coordinated with the Community Action Program.

b. The ways in which existing private activities concerned with poverty will be coordinated with the Community Action Program.

c. The ways in which the different component projects of the Community Action Program will be linked to one another and to existing public and/or private programs. This shall include an indication of why the component projects to be undertaken were selected (in terms of the characteristics and location of poverty in the community and in light of possible alternative projects).

2.5 ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Attach a fully executed copy of the Civil Rights Assurance Form for the applicant agency.

2.6 CHECKPOINT PROCEDURE ON COORDINATION

Attach a statement describing how the checkpoint procedure on coordination, as set forth in Part F of the CAP GUIDE, has been followed, and identifying the character of support by local public and private agency officials for the community action program and any existing problems of program inter-relationship.

Self Help Housing, Inc.
CAP FORM 2

2.3 Resident Participation

a) This application was prepared by the following: Marion Staves, President and Board Member of Self Help Housing, Inc. (SHH); Alston Meade, Treasurer and Board Member of SHH, President of Southern Chester County NAACP; Scott Nielsen, Board Member of SHH and Director of the Farm Labor Program in Southeastern Pennsylvania of the American Friends Service Committee; Beatrice Thomas, graduate student at Upland Institute, Crozier Foundation, Chester, Pennsylvania, and volunteer worker for SHH for three days a week. (Two of the above are Negroes and two are Caucasians).

b) The Board of Directors of SHH is responsible for determining major policy and for supervising the activities of the staff director. Included among the four Negroes and one Puerto Rican on this 16 man board is the head of the first farm labor family to sign up for the self help housing project. In addition each Building Association of 6 to 8 building families will elect one of their members to serve on the board. Thus, participating families will make up 20% of the board and other minority members will make up another 20% of the board.

The Building Associations formed by each 6 to 8 participating families, in addition to electing representatives to the board, will elect their own officers and their own labor manager. The labor manager is responsible for the order in which the houses will be constructed and the stage or stages each house will be brought to before moving on to the next house. He will administer the labor sharing agreement made by the members of the Associations. Other members of the Association will form a purchasing committee to buy materials.

Each participating family will select its own house plan and select and buy its own building site.

The American Friends Service Committee has invited Self Help Housing, Inc. to send two representatives to its National Conference on Self Help Housing in December, 1965. One of these will be a Puerto Rican nursery worker presently enrolled in the training course.

c) Program employees. Each participating family can be regarded as being employed on the project. Their employment is building a house and their pay is accumulated in the form of sweat equity in the house. In addition, as the skills of the participating members are discovered and developed, staff employment on a full or part time basis will be encouraged. The recruiting and preliminary training of future participating families might well be done by someone who has gone through the self help housing process himself. There will also be staff openings on a closely related project--the Operation Migrant Community Center proposal sponsored by the Chester County Migrant Committee.

2.4 Mobilization of Resources

c) The main coordinating body for EOA activities in the County is the Chester County Community Action Board (CCCAB.) This proposal has been submitted to the CCCAB to be included as a component of the county-wide Community Action Program. In addition, we have asked many other public and private organizations for their comments about this proposal, especially in the light of the relationship of this proposal to their own work. (See the letters of support filed in section 2.6.) The area of cooperation with these correspondents is wide, and their expressed desire to work with this self help housing program is very gratifying. We will take advantage of every opportunit to use their assistance.

We will be working very closely with at least two other projects either approved or pending in the Migrant Section of the Offic of Economic Opportunity: 1) Self Help Enterprises, Inc. (Visalia, California) and 2) Chester County Migrant Committee, Inc. Scott Nielsen has visited the Self Help Enterprises, Inc. project in Tulare County, California, and corresponds regularly with its director. We feel our Director, when selected, would benefit from a short orientation trip to California so that we could take full advantage of their 4 years experience working with the self help housing families.

A full time office will be established by the staff in cooperation with the Chester County Migrant Committee, Inc. and the Farm Labor Program in Southeastern Pennsylvania of the American Friends Service Committee. Not only will economics be achieved through the sharing of office space and secretarial services, but also the effectiveness of each organization will be enhanced through close cooperation and the sharing of information, insights and contacts with workers, growers, and others in the community. The Chester County Migrant Committee proposal includes funds for a survey to identify the Chester County farm labor population and staff to assist in community development work and to publish a farm labor mimeo newspaper. These activitie could greatly assist in recruiting for the self help housing project.

2.4 a) This program would not be possible without the cooperation and assistance of the Farmers Home Administration, U.S. Department of Agriculture. They will provide the loan funds necessary for the project:—about $7,500 per family or about $113,000 the first year. In addition, they will assist us in screening candidates through their independent investigation of each applicant family. We will draw on their own self help housing experience gained from their Cumberland County, New Jersey, project.

Self Help Housing, Inc. is cooperating with the following governmental agencies and members of its Board are active in: Chester County Citizens Advisory Committee to the County Commissioners; Pennsylvania Governor's Committee on Migratory Labor; Chester County Planning Commission; Kennett Borough Housing Advisory Committee; Chester County Community Action Board.

2.4 b) In our training program to date we have already drawn on the following volunteer people from the County:—a banker, lawyer, architect, builder, and an insurance man. This list will be expanded as the training program progresses and as construction begins. Our summer workcamp will involve additional community people in the self help housing process.

Of course, the American Friends Service Committee has given valuable help already and will continue to help us in at least three ways: 1) through sharing of their background of experience as pioneers in the self help housing process. Our program is patterned after their program. 2) through sharing an office with their Farm Labor Program in Southeastern Pennsylvania. 3) through inviting two of our members to their National Conference on Self Help Housing in December, 1965.

The local newspaper in southern Chester County, the Kennett News and Advertiser, has supported our program both with news stories and editorially. A copy of one of their editorials and news stories is included in section 2.6—letters of support.

Self Help Housing, Inc. is cooperating with the following additional private organizations and members of its Board are active in: Southern Chester County Day Care Center; Chester County Citizens Housing Committee; Southern Chester County Branch NAACP; Health and Welfare Council of Chester County; Fair Housing Council of Chester County; West Chester Human Relations Council; Chester County Migrant Committee; Pennsylvania Migrant Ministry; Southern Chester County Equal Employment Opportunities Committee.

We are particularly grateful to the Southern Chester County Branch of the NAACP for leadership demonstrated by them in the organization of Self Help Housing, Inc. and for their continued cooperation.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
Community Action Program

Assurance of Compliance with the Office of Economic Opportunity's Regulations under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

Self Help Housing, Inc. (hereinafter called the "Applicant")
(Name of Applicant or Delegate Agency)

AGREES THAT it will comply with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P. L. 88-352) and the Regulations of the Office of Economic Opportunity issued pursuant to that title (45 C.F.R. Part 1010), to the end that no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program or activity for which the Applicant receives Federal financial assistance either directly or indirectly from the Office of Economic Opportunity; and HEREBY GIVES ASSURANCE THAT it will immediately take any measures necessary to effectuate this agreement.

If any real property or structure thereon is provided or improved with the aid of Federal financial assistance extended to the Applicant either directly or indirectly by the Office of Economic Opportunity, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant, or in the case of any transfer of such property, any transferee, for the period during which the real property or structure is used for a purpose for which the Federal financial assistance is extended or for another purpose involving the provision of similar services or benefits. If any personal property is so provided, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which it retains ownership or possession of the property. In all other cases, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which the Federal financial assistance is extended to it either directly or indirectly by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

THIS ASSURANCE is given in consideration of and for the purpose of obtaining either directly or indirectly any and all Federal grants, loans, contracts, property, or discounts, the referral or assignment of VISTA volunteers, or other Federal financial assistance extended after the date hereof to the Applicant by the Office of Economic Opportunity, including installment payments after such date on account of applications for Federal financial assistance which were approved before such date. The Applicant recognizes and agrees that such Federal financial assistance will be extended in reliance on the representations and agreements made in this assurance, and that the United States shall have the right to seek judicial enforcement of this assurance. This assurance is binding on the Applicant, its successors, transferees, and assignee, and the person or persons whose signatures appear below are authorized to sign this assurance on behalf of the Applicant.

Date December 3, 1965

Self Help Housing, Inc.
(Name of Applicant or Delegate Agency)

By Marion C Staver
(President, Chairman of Board, or comparable authorized official)

R.D. 2

Kennett Square, Pennsylvania
(Mailing address)

CAP FORM 11 APR 65

GSA DC 65-15366

SELF HELP HOUSING, INC.

CAP form 2
2.6 Checkpoint procedure on Co-ordination

The sponsoring agency of this proposal has placed copies of it in the hands of the various persons mentioned in the CAP Guide and enclosed a letter asking for their comments on the program in relation to their work. They were asked particularly for their views on its relationship to any programs for which they have applied or intend to apply to the OEO for a grant. The letters in reply follow in this order:

a. The chief elected officials of the community: C. Gilbert Haslett, Russell B. Jones, and Leo D. McDermott, Chester County Commissioners.

b. Community Action Program official: Leo D. McDermott, President, Chester County Community Action Board.

c. The county director of the Pennsylvania State Employment Service, Norman Piersol. Mr. Piersol failed to reply. We will endeavor to make the fullest use of the Pennsylvania Employment Service.

d. Education: Chester County Superintendent of Schools, Stanley K. Landis.

e. Executive Director, Chester County Board of Assistance, Department of Public Welfare, Mrs. Sylvia Shunk.

f. The official of Lincoln University in charge of their Work-Study program under Title Ic: Dr. Marvin Wachman, President of Lincoln University.

g. The representative of the Neighborhood Youth Corps: Stanley K. Landis, County Superintendent of Schools. (See d above.)

h. Other appropriate officials:

1. Howard Washburn, Executive Director, Self Help Enterprises, Inc. Visalia, California.
2. Richard W. Hoover, County Supervisor, Farmers Home Administration, U.S. Department of Agriculture.
3. Charles C. Hearne, President, Chester County Migrant Committee, Inc.
4. Eleanor Eaton, Assistant Secretary, Community Relations Division, American Friends Service Committee (responsible for the AFSC self help housing program now successfully completed in Tulare County, California.)
5. Dudley M. Pruitt, Executive Secretary, Middle Atlantic Region, American Friends Service Committee (responsible for the AFSC Farm Labor Program in Southeastern Pennsylvania.)

SELF HELP HOUSING, INC.

CAP form 2

2.6 Checkpoint procedure on Co-ordination (Continued)

6. Mrs. Ann Louise Strong, Chairman, Housing Authority of the County of Chester.

7. Richard Worth, Chairman, Housing Advisory Board to the Chester County Commissioners.

8. Genevieve Blatt, Secretary of Internal Affairs, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

9. Charles C. Frazier, Director, Pennsylvania Migrant Ministry.

10. W. Robert Scott, President, Southern Chester County Day Care Association.

11. Russell J. Seibert, Director, Longwood Gardens, Kennett Square, Pennsylvania.

12. Leonard Pevar, Past President, Chester County Chamber of Commerce.

13. Editorial and News Story, Kennett News and Advertiser

14. Alston B. Meade, President, Southern Chester County Branch NAACP

15. H. Donald Burr, Executive Director, Health and Welfare Council of Chester County, Inc.

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP. 3 APPLICANT AGENCY

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY

Self Help Housing, Inc.

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For administrative use)*

3.1 **GOVERNING BODY**

What kind of governing body or policy making body is responsible for the community action program (Board of Directors or Trustees, Policy Board, etc.)? Attach a description of the governing body, its relationship to its own staff, and its relationship to other agencies in the community, using diagrams where feasible. Include an explanation of how members are elected or appointed to the governing body, both initially and as the terms of present members expire. See attached

3.2 **ROLE OF GOVERNING BODY**

Indicate the responsibilities exercised by the governing body by checking the appropriate box or boxes.

☒ NAMES KEY EXECUTIVE STAFF
☒ MAKES MAJOR POLICY DECISIONS
☒ APPROVES APPLICANT'S BUDGET
☒ APPROVES THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM DESCRIBED IN THE APPLICATION

OTHER *(Specify)*

Does the governing body have the power to authorize expenditures for the community action program without the need for concurrence by any other person or group? ☒ YES ☐ NO *If the answer is "No", attach an explanation.*

3.3 **MEMBERSHIP OF GOVERNING BODY**

List each member of applicant agency's governing body, the position he occupies on such body and the organization which such member represents or with which he is affiliated, if any.

See attached sheet

NAME OF MEMBER OF APPLICANT'S GOVERNING BODY	TITLE OR POSITION OF MEMBER ON APPLICANT'S GOVERNING BODY	OTHER ORGANIZATION WHICH MEMBER REPRESENTS OR IS AFFILIATED WITH *(if any)*

(Use Continuation Sheet if necessary.)

3.4 **BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON STAFF DIRECTOR**

Has the director or principal administrator of the staff of the applicant agency been selected? If answer is "YES", attach biographical data as required in Part F of the CAP GUIDE.

☐ YES ☒ NO

3.5 **IDENTIFICATION OF APPLICANT**

Insert the identification number assigned to the applicant agency by the Internal Revenue Service in the space provided.

INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

Self Help Housing, Inc.
CAP FORM 3

3.1 Governing Body Self Help Housing, Inc. is governed by a Board of Directors. The composition and functions of the Board is better understood by first identifying the other agencies which are involved in this program.

1. Farmers Home Administration
2. Office of Economic Opportunity
3. Self Help Housing staff (not yet appointed)
4. Building Associations (not yet organized.) The families actually building houses will be divided in groups of 6 to 8, each group being designated a Building Association. Members of a group will assist each other in building houses.

Composition of Board of Directors The Board of Directors will consist of not more than 25 members. One director will be elected by each building association from among its members, and will serve for one year.

The other Directors will be elected by a majority of votes of the existing Directors present at a duly held meeting to serve a term of two years.

The first Directors' meeting was held on September 14, 1965. There are now 16 Directors. Terms of office for 8 of these will terminate at the annual meeting in 1966, and the terms of the remaining 8 will terminate at the annual meeting in 1967.

Function of Board of Directors The functions of the Board of Directors are as follows:

1. Communicate with OEO and FHA
2. Appoint staff which will supervise building of houses
3. Assist in organizing Building Associations
4. Interpret to families and to staff the policies of OEO and FHA, and assist families in communicating with FHA. (Loans from FHA will be made directly to individual families.)

3.3 Officers and Directors

a) Officers

President:	Marion Staves
Vice President:	Ronald Saxton
Recording Secretary:	Helen Daiuta
Corresponding Secretary:	Jane Vincenti
Treasurer:	Alston B. Meade

b) Directors

H. Donald Burr	Executive Secretary Health and Welfare Council of Chester County; Member, Chester County Community Action Board
Lolo Collazo	Mushroom worker
Helen Daiuta	Member, Executive Committee Southern Chester County Branch NAACP; Member, Southern Chester County Equal Employment Opportunities Committee
Martin Green	Member, Executive Committee Southern Chester County Branch NAACP
Charles Hamilton	President, Fair Housing Council of Chester County; Psychologist and Professor, University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine
James Jenkins	Officer, Enon Baptist Church, West Grove, Pennsylvania
Robert Lentz	Attorney at Law; President, West Chester Human Relations Council
Alston B. Meade	President, Southern Chester County Branch NAACP
Scott Nielsen,	Director, Farm Labor Program in Southeastern Pennsylvania for American Friends Service Committee; member, Chester County Community Action Board; Member, Chester County Migrant Committee, Inc.; Member, Pennsylvania Governor's Committee on Migratory Labor
Leonard Pevar	Kennett Square Borough Councilman; Member, Chester County Community Action Board; Member, County Housing Advisory Board to the County Commissioners; Past President, Chester County Chamber of Commerce
Ronald Saxton	Vice President Southern Chester County Day Care Center; Board Member, Chester County Migrant Committee; Member, AFSC Farm Labor Committee in Southeastern Pennsylvania
Ernest Spriggs,	Officer, Mt. Tabor AME Church, Avondale, Pennsylvania; Member, Executive Committee Southern Chester County Branch NAACP
Marion Staves	Attorney at Law; active in civil rights and politics in Chester County

Self Help Housing, Inc.
CAP FORM 3

Philip Steel III	Practicing Architect (AIA); Consultant, Chester County Planning Commission
Jane Vincenti	Chairman, Housing Committee Southern Chester County Branch NAACP; Member, Southern Chester County Equal Employment Opportunities Committee
Richard Walter	London Grove Township Supervisor; Farmer
Eugene R. Beard	Builder

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLCATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP. 4. ELIGIBILITY OF APPLICANT

(This form is to be filled in by the applicant agency's counsel.)

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY
Self Help Housing, Inc.

DO NOT FILL IN *(For Administrative Use)*

4.1 TYPE OF APPLICANT
☐ PUBLIC
☒ PRIVATE NONPROFIT

4.2 PUBLIC AGENCY *If public, indicate whether applicant is an agency of:*
☐ STATE(S) ☐ COUNTY(IES) ☐ CITY(IES) ☐ INSTITUTION(S) OF HIGHER EDUCATION *(See Item 4.3 for definition)*
☐ TRIBAL COUNCIL(S)
OTHER *(Specify)*

If applicant is a public agency, proceed to Item 4.7; do not answer Items 4.3 through 4.6.2.

4.3 INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

☐ *Check here if applicant is an institution of higher education as defined in Section 401(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1963, Public Law 88-204. If this is the case, proceed to Item 4.7; do not answer Items 4.4 through 4.6.2.*

Was the institution in existence prior to August 21, 1964? ☐ YES ☐ NO

4.4 PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION

If applicant is a private nonprofit organization other than an institution of higher education, answer all of the following questions.

4.4.1 NONPROFIT STATUS

Has the applicant received a ruling from the Internal Revenue Service that it is tax-exempt and capable of receiving tax-deductible contributions? ☐ YES ☒ NO

4.4.2 *If the answer to Item 4.4.1 is "YES", give date of ruling by the Internal Revenue Service:*
DATE

4.4.3 *If the answer to Item 4.4.1 is "NO", has such a ruling been applied for?* ☒ YES ☐ NO
If "YES", give date of application for ruling: DATE November 15, 1965

4.4.4 *If the above-described ruling has not yet been granted by the Internal Revenue Service, do you certify to the best of your information and belief that the applicant qualifies for such a ruling?*
☒ YES ☐ NO

4.4.5 NONPOLITICAL
IS APPLICANT A POLITICAL PARTY?
☐ YES ☒ NO

4.5 CORPORATE STATUS

INCORPORATED	IF YES, GIVE DATE AND STATE OF INCORPORATION	IF NO, GIVE DATE OF ORIGIN
☒ YES ☐ NO	August 30, 1965, Pennsylvania	

4.6 CONCERN WITH POVERTY

4.6.1 PRIOR CONCERN *Has the applicant agency had a concern with problems of poverty prior to the submission of this application?*
☐ YES ☒ NO
If the answer is "YES", attach a statement describing the date on which this concern began, the way in which it has been expressed, and any results that have been achieved through such concern.

4.6.2 SPONSORSHIP *Is the applicant agency sponsored by a public agency or by a private institution or organization with a prior concern with problems of poverty?*
☐ YES ☒ NO
If so, attach a statement describing the sponsoring agency, institution, or organization and the nature of its sponsorship. A letter or resolution from the sponsoring agency should be included, expressing its agreement to be a sponsor of the applicant agency. Where the sponsor is a private institution or organization, the statement should include a description of its prior concern with problems of poverty. (See Item 4.6.1 above.)

4.7 CERTIFICATION OF AUTHORITY

I, the undersigned, as a duly licensed attorney at law, hereby certify that to the best of my information and belief, the applicant agency has the authority, under applicable principles of law, to carry out the program described in this application.

TYPED NAME OF COUNSEL
Robert W. Lentz

SIGNATURE
Robert W. Lentz

ADDRESS
34 East Market Street
West Chester, Pennsylvania

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 7. COMPONENT PROJECT: CONDUCT AND ADMINISTRATION

This form is to be used to apply for a conduct and administration grant under Section 205 of Title II-A Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	COMPONENT PROJECT NO.	DO NOT FILL IN *(For Administrative Use)*
Self Help Housing, Inc.	7-1	

7.1 BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE TITLE OF PROJECT
Self help housing project

7.1.1 SUMMARY OF PROJECT *Describe the component project, using only the space below:*

To provide low-income farm labor families with the opportunity to build new homes with the self-help technique and to improve their self-image in the process.

7.1.2 WORK PROGRAM *Attach a description of the work program for this component project, following the requirements for such a work program contained in the CAP GUIDE.*

7.1.3 AREA AND GROUP TO BE SERVED

7.1.4 LOCATION AND TYPE. *Describe the location within the community of the people to be served directly by this component project and the type of population to be served (pre-school, aged, families with children, etc.)*

Low-income farm families that have settled in Chester County.

7.1.5 POPULATION TO BE SERVED *How many people will be served directly by this component project?*
15 families(90 people) in construction plus 65 families in training program.

How many of these are poor? Almost all.

7.2 DELEGATION OF ACTIVITIES TO OTHER AGENCIES

The following information is to be provided if any part of this component project is to be carried out by an agency or organization other than the applicant.

NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATE AGENCY

TYPE OF AGENCY *Is the delegate agency a (check one):*
☐ PUBLIC AGENCY ☐ PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION ☐ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

7.2.1 SCOPE OF DELEGATION *Attach a statement describing:*
a. *The degree of responsibility that the delegate agency will have in carrying out the component project.*
b. *The qualifications of the delegate agency to undertake and complete the component project.*
c. *The way in which the applicant agency will supervise and/or coordinate the activities of the delegate agency.*

7.2.2 ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS *Attach a fully executed copy of the Civil Rights Assurance Form for each delegate agency.*

7.3 PREVIOUS APPLICATION

Has this component project, in substantially its present form, ever been the subject of a previous application for Federal financial assistance?
☐ YES ☒ NO *If "Yes", attach an explanatory statement.*

7.4 BUDGET

COST CATEGORY	ESTIMATED COST
1. PERSONNEL	$ 29,791
2. CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES	1,000
3. TRAVEL	5,150
4. SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	720
5. CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	360
6. RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	1,860
7. OTHER COSTS	1,979
TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF PROJECT	$ 40,860
NON-FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION	
FEDERAL GRANT REQUESTED UNDER TITLE ~~II-A~~ IIIB	$ 40,860

7.4.1 BUDGET DETAIL *Attach a statement giving the basis for estimating the cost of this component project, in accordance with the instructions set forth in the CAP GUIDE. Where convenient, the cost estimates should be shown on CAP Form 23 (Budget for Component Project).*

7.4.2 PERIOD OF GRANT *How long will this component project be financed by the grant requested in this application?*

12
NUMBER OF MONTHS

7.1.2a The purpose of this component project is to provide low income farm labor families with the opportunity to build new homes with the self-help technique. This project is viewed as a means to tackle the conditions of poverty which characterises the life of the farm laborer in Chester County. Of the total males employed in Chester County 7.69% are employed in agriculture. The median income of the employed males in the county is $5,056, while the median income of the farm laborers is $2,177. This project will be an attempt to break into the cycle of poverty and its accompanying problems by changing the living conditions of the farm laborer. The change in living condition and the process by which this change is brought about should foster a change in the self-image of the participants, which should give them the courage to initiate other changes. This development would have far-reaching results in terms of change in economic conditions, education performances of the children, and in the acceptance of these families into the life of local community.

The families who will benefit from this project are employed in nurseries and in mushroom production. During the winter months over 1,000 people are employed in mushroom production. The wage rate ranges from 90¢ to $1.25 an hour. Because of the production peculiarities of mushrooms, the work week provided by any one grower fluctuates between 20 and 120 hours per week. Because of low pay and large families, most workers are willing to work long hours but they cannot work for other growers because family housing is often tied to employment.

The families who will construct homes through this project must earn between 3,000 and 4,000 dollars a year. At the present time there are twenty-four families involved in the Self-Help Housing training sessions. Half of these are Negroes and the other half is composed of Puerto Ricans and native-born whites. Many of these workers have lived in Chester County for most of their adult lives. The median age of the heads of the families is 36 years. While the median age of the wives is 34 years. We can learn the following additional information from their applications:

Characteristic	Median Family	Range for all Families
grade completed by head	8th	3 - 12
number of children	4	1 - 15
years residence in county	14	3 - life
years residence in U.S. (Puerto Ricans)	13	8 - 40

We base our belief that this project will achieve the intended results on the experiences of other Self-Help Housing projects. This program is patterned after the American Friends Service Committee Self-Help Housing Project in Tulare County, California; Self-Help

Enterprises, Visalia, California; and the Farmers Home Administration demonstration self-help housing project in Southern New Jersey (Cumberland County.) In each of these projects the planned number of houses have either been completed or are being constructed on schedule. A typical result of these projects has been that individuals have gained enough confidence in themselves to seek better employemtn. For instance, in Southern New Jersey, one individual worked as a farm laborer when he began his house. After he began building he got a job as a carpenter's helper with a construction firm. Afterwards he was employed as a yardman in a lumberyard. Finally, he was promoted to a white-collar job as a salesman in the office of the lumber company. This took place over a period of twelve months.

According to BardMcAllister, A.F.S.C. Farm Labor Secretary, who has been involved with self-help housing in California, "the families get much more than a home out of do-it-yourself housing...they learn valuable building skills, develop self-confidence and leadership, gain pride of ownership, improve their credit standings, and make creative use of their period of unemployment during the off-farming season."

7.1.2b In this project we plan to start construction on 15 houses in the Spring of 1966; most of the families have already been recruited and are in the middle of a training program (explained below.) Since this is a continuing program, we will be recruiting and training families for the next cycle of building during the period of this grant. Our projected goal for the next three years is 15 houses in 1966, 25 houses in 1967, and 40 houses in 1968. The families in the present training program have been meeting on an average of twice a month since August 1, 1965. At these meetings they discussed such things as Factors to Consider in Selecting a Building Site, Farmers Home Administration Loan Program, Financial Management, Insurance Needs of Home Ownership, and Tool Use and Safety. In addition to this, they have taken an inspection trip to the Farmers Home Administration demonstration self help housing project in Southern New Jersey and an inspection tour of available house sites in Chester County. The future training program will assist the families in purchasing a house site, selecting a house plan, consider plans for labor exchange, record keeping, and work schedules. The following are the proposed topics for future meetings.

1. "Factors to Consider in Planning a House"—Both material and design, with an architect if possible. Meet with individual families to plan houses following this meeting.

2. "Building Code Requirements"—By County Building Inspector.

3. "Labor Sharing Arrangements"--A general discussion of how the group wishes to sharelabor; equal time credited for men and women? Children to what age? How to keep records of time worked?

4. "Legal Arrangements"

   a. Labor sharing guarantee
   b. Other legal questions--answered by a lawyer if possible.

5. "Taxes"--talk by an assessor to tell how taxes are determined and the approximate amount.

6. "Purchasing Material--Things to Consider"--Talk by builder. Select committee to get best contracts and material prices.

7. "Work Organization Meeting"--Select labor manager and arrange for work schedule.

   a. Which house to start first, etc., and how far to carry this house before starting others.
   b. Line up crews with special ability.
   c. Get approximate commitments of time each individual is available to work.

8. "Landscaping Possibilities"--have a gardeneror landscape architect speak.

9. "How to Maintain and Care for a Home"--Suggested speakers; Home Advisor of the U.S. Extension Service and a builder.

Any of these topics can be expanded. For example, planning a home may take several meetings, with one emphasizing interior decoration and painting or kitchen planning. An adult evening class will be established, where practical, to allow more training prior to construction on tool use, safety, home maintenance, etc.

The house construction stage will follow the meetings series. This will proceed as decided on by the group with the elected labor manager being responsible for arranging crews and scheduling activities in consultation with the construction supervisor. The labor manager will be responsible for daily record of work hours on each house. At least monthly meetings will be held to certify these hours and let everyone know how they stand. The community development advisor and construction supervisor will attend these meetings.

Teams will be formed where possible to take advantage of skills or abilities of different group members. One team, for example, may do most of the wiring, while another may lay most of the floor tile, etc. Sub contracts will be arranged by the construction supervisor in consultation with the materials purchasing committee. After house completion, the construction supervisor will continue with landscaping assistance where desired and as time and money permit.

7.1.2c Timetable Although this grant application is for 12 months, it is assumed the project will continue for at least 3 years with 15 houses started in 1966, 25 started in 1967, and 40 started in 1968. Construction of the first 15 houses will start in April, 1966. The Director/Construction Supervisor should join the project January 1 so he can contribute to the design of the houses, hire the rest of the staff and prepare for the start of construction. The Construction Assistant will be needed April 1 when construction starts. The Community Development Advisor should start in January to take over the training course and coordinate the construction work schedule. As soon as the first construction group is well under way, he should start the community education work preparatory to recruiting for the second training cycle. The training dropout rate is about 50%. Therefore, in order to start construction on 25 houses in 1967, 50 families must be recruited for the training program during the summer and fall of 1966. This recruiting will involve home visits with about 200 families.

Each house requires about 1,500 man-hours of work. In California, the families are completely unemployed for about 2 months and can complete construction of the house in about 6 months. Because there is more opportunity for some employment year round in Chester County, the construction period must be spread out during a greater part of the year. Construction on any one house will be completed within a 12 month period.

The recruiting and training of families starts slowly and is time consuming, with no resultant construction in place for the effort expended. To get the project rolling quickly and to increase the actual amount of construction during the first OEO grant period, most of the first training cycle will have been completed by volunteer staff by the time the first OEO grant is made.

7.1.2d The director of Self Help Housing, Inc. will act as administrator of the project and will report monthly in detail to the Board of Directors of Self Help Housing, Inc. on project progress as well as intermittent reports and consultations when necessary. The director will be responsible to the Board of Directors of Self Help Housing, Inc.

Close coordination with other CAP and EOA programs is anticipated. The Farmers Home Administration will be an important public resource for the loan funds besides its role as advisor. In addition, we will share an office with and work closely in cooperation with the AFSC Farm Labor Program in Southeastern Pennsylvania and the Chester County Migrant Committee (this latter organization has an OEO application pending.)

The following staff will be needed to carry out this project:

1) Director and Building Supervisor. This person will need to be a skilled builder and preferably be a licensed contractor who not only has skills but also the ability and patience to teach others. The person must be able to estimate, prepare plans, and make sure the job is accomplished within the allowed budget. This person will implement and coordinate all aspects of the project. He will divide staff responsibilities and in general administrate in such a way as to best accomplish the purposes and functions of Self Help Housing, Inc.

2) Community Development Advisor. This person will aid families in setting up meetings. He will help the group find the facts before reaching decisions, utilizing knowledgeable resource people. The Advisor will be responsible for relationships between different families in each group. He will make sure that labor sharing and record keeping systems decided on by the group are kept up to date. It will be his responsibility to work with all groups and individuals through completion of the project.

3) Construction Assistant. The Construction Assistant must be a skilled craftsman who has the ability to teach others.

4) Secretary-bookkeeper. This person must be a skilled typist with general bookkeeping knowledge. In addition, the person should know how to run an office and meet the public. One-third of her time will be for Self Help Housing, Inc. with the balance absorbed by the Chester County Migrant Committee and the Farm Labor Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

7.1.2e Evaluation will include the following:

1) The number of houses completed and the actual change in living conditions of the families involved documented with pictures before and after.

2) Measure the change in income level and determine the number of persons in participating families who change employment.

3) Measure the improvement in the ability to communicate (both speaking and writing) with particular attention to the people of Puerto Rican derivation.

4) Comparison of this project with other self help housing projects and with other low income housing methods.

5) Extent of community participation by the families, such as voter registration and use of community services.

7.1.2f Resident Participation. See CAP FORM 2.3 attachment. In recruiting, training, and during the construction phase, preference will be given to farm labor families with incomes in the poverty range who qualify for Farmers Home Administration loans.

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R01[illegible]

BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT

This form is to accompany each component project form (CAP 6, CAP 7, or CAP 8) in applying for a grant under Sections 204, 20 of Title II-A, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Applicants are not required to use this form -- they may substitute a typed budg contains the same information in the same order as on the form.

NAME OF APPLICANT
Self Help Housing, Inc.

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

BRIEF TITLE OF PROJECT
Self help housing project

COMPONENT PROJECT NO.
7-1

B-1.0

PERSONNEL

B-1.1

PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY

NUMBER OF PERSONS	POSITION OR TITLE	SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	COST
1	Director and Construction Supervisor	825	100	12	9,900
1	Construction Assistant	725	100	9	6,525
1	Community Development Advisor	650	100	12	7,800
1	Secretary/Bookkeeper	420	33	12	1,680

COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS *(Indicate basis for estimate)*

Unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, Social Security, health insurance (15% of wages)	3,886
SUB-TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY	$29,791

B-1.2

PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCY(IES)

NUMBER OF PERSONS	POSITION OR TITLE	SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	COST

COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS *(Indicate basis for estimate)*

SUB-TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCY(IES)	$ —
TOTAL, PERSONNEL	$ 29,791

APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT *(Continued)*

B-2.0 CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES

B-2.1 CONSULTANT SERVICES

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR FEE ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
Legal, Audit, Architectural		$ 1,000
	SUB-TOTAL CONSULTANT SERVICES	$

B-2.2 OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
		$
	SUB-TOTAL, OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES	$
	TOTAL, CONTRACT SERVICES	$

B-3.0 TRAVEL

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Automobile-staff travel	45,000 miles at 10¢/mile	$ 4,500
Airline travel to Tulare County, Calif.		350
Meals and lodging (one month in Tulare County at $10/day)		300
	TOTAL, TRAVEL COSTS	$ 5,150

B-4.0 SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Office rent	200 sq. ft. at 25¢/foot/month	$ 600
Utilities	$10/month for 12 months	120
	TOTAL, SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	$ 720

B-5.0 CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Office supplies	$30 per month for 12 months	$ 360
	TOTAL, CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	$ 360

B-6.0 RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Tools, trailer, ladders, etc.		$ 1,500
Office equipment rental	$30 per month for 12 months	360
	TOTAL, RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	$ 1,860

B-7.0 OTHER COSTS

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Communication expense	$30 per month	$ 360
Miscellaneous	4% of above costs	1,619
	TOTAL, OTHER COSTS	$ 1,979
	GRAND TOTAL, COST OF COMPONENT PROJECT	$ 40,860

Self Help Housing, Inc.
CAP FORM 23

B 1.1 Salaries have been set on the advice of local building contractors and employers of office personnel. In this area, a union carpenter makes $4.88 per hour or about $9,000 per year.

B 6.0 Tools, trailer, ladders, etc. — $1,500. The specific equipment to be purchased will be determined by the Director/Building Supervisor. The $1,500 figure was set on the advice of Self Help Enterprises, Inc. from their experience in a similar sized program.

Office equipment rental—$360. Includes rental of 2 desks, 4 chairs, 1 cabinet file, 1 typewriter, 1 adding machine, and necessary drafting equipment.

B 7.0 Miscellaneous—4% of costs—$1,619. This item will cover liability insurance and various contingent expenses. For example, it might be necessary to rent a barn where the construction families could prefabricate certain components before they break ground in the spring.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOcust 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

April 1, 1966

TO THOSE INVITED TO THE SELF-HELP HOUSING CONFERENCE
HELD AT AIRLIE HOUSE, WARRENTON, VIRGINIA

Dear Friends of Self-Help Housing:

We enclose a report of the Conference on Self-Help Housing held December 6 - 9, 1965 and sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. We hope you will find it useful. We want to thank again all those who participated in the Conference and who helped make this report possible.

As you will see from Section V of the report, the conference was a beginning not an end. International Self-Help Housing Associates (ISHHA) has come into being and the second attachment is the proposed statement of purpose and by-laws which were ratified by the organizing committee that met in Wallingford, Pennsylvania, on February 12 and 13, 1966.

You are invited to become a charter member of ISHHA by filling in the enclosed membership blank and sending it with your check to the temporary organizing secretary, Mariana Alcock, 522 Kerfoot Farm Road, Wilmington, Delaware 19803.

Charter members whose applications and dues have been received by May 1 will be invited to elect the first Board of Directors. Nominations will be presented by the organizing committee which is acting as a temporary Board of Directors.

Please note that membership is on an individual basis. We are not asking for organizational representatives. However, self-help housing associations, such as the Casa de Manana Associations in Tulare County, may elect one of their members to ISHHA and pool their resources in paying the dues. The question of organizational membership in addition to individual membership will be determined by the Board of Directors after it is selected.

The need for such an organization as ISHHA was very apparent in February. Today it is even more urgently needed. More and more self-help housing groups are being formed across the country. They are asking for services such as ISHHA is designed to provide. Overseas, there is rapid expansion of self-help housing. The international character of ISHHA will serve to strengthen projects around the world through an exchange of information.

We hope you will want to become a member.

Sincerely,

Eleanor A. Eaton

Eleanor A. Eaton
Community Relations Division

EAE:lw

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

May 19, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street North West
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

I received your letter this morning, and will plan to see you in Lake Worth Florida on the 25th.

I am sure that the meeting will be helpful in working with the Self-Help Housing Program.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene W. Hagans

Eugene W. Hagans
Field Representative

EWH/lmg

Self-Help Housing Meeting May 25-26

Morris Trimmer - Dept. of Architecture
AFA Bldg. U. of Fla.
Coll. of Arch. Gainesville, Fla.

Has done research on using low-cost materials + low cost design.

Bill Channell.

- "Mutual-help Housing" as another name for Self-help Housing.

"Sweat equity - 25% - 40% cost of house.
approx. 1000 hrs. of labor
4 months - 1 yr. time -
not a box house - 3BR Ranch type

Fewer than 600 self-help housing unit in U.S. at present
Puerto Rico, by contrast over 23,000 housing - self-help. - Govt. urged & sponsored financially.

Prior 1962 - AFSC + Flannery House only experimentors in self-help housing.
Penn-Craft in Penn. - U.S. Steel Corp. gave $125,000.
People built rather elaborate 2 story stone houses.
Sweater factory - Coop Store & swimming Pools. Full $125,000 came back to AFSC
Today - hardly any of the original families still there -

Perhaps can be said to have been a product of its own success.

Philad. Pa - [illegible] 83 apt building - bought + refurbished - all $125,000 out of Penn-Craft went down the drain - AFSC quit the urban housing self-help deal

In early 50's Flanner House in Indiana decided to try self help housing in Indianapolis in a predominately Negro low-income area. 1st house cost approx $17,000.
Now they build a better house faster for around $15,000. (this includes the labor cost)
Flanner House has built (351) houses to date. All Negro.
Problem of financing was great.

Flanner House is continuing - Problem - Contractors coming in with good low-cost housing units at approx same price.
F.H. sets $3,500/yr. income as a minimum for participants.

Figure 4 lots per Acre.
? FHA - says 8/Acre minimum

Financing –

1. "Seed" money – Land acquis – staff – supplies.
2. Long term credit

Ben Fraticelli · Migrant Ministry –
Orlando Office.

20-24 families – $36,000 OEO Title III B

Typical AFSC

Send for: Mutual Self-Help Housing
Guidelines:
FHA
USDA
April '68

OEO – income to qualify for Tech. assistant

		family #
Maximum Joint income	1990 –	2
	2440 –	3
	3130 –	4
	3685 –	5
	4140 –	6
	5090 –	7 or more

If III-B · Income from seasonal farm

or

an annual income less than above for preceding 3 yrs. + 35% from farm income

Send — Washburn

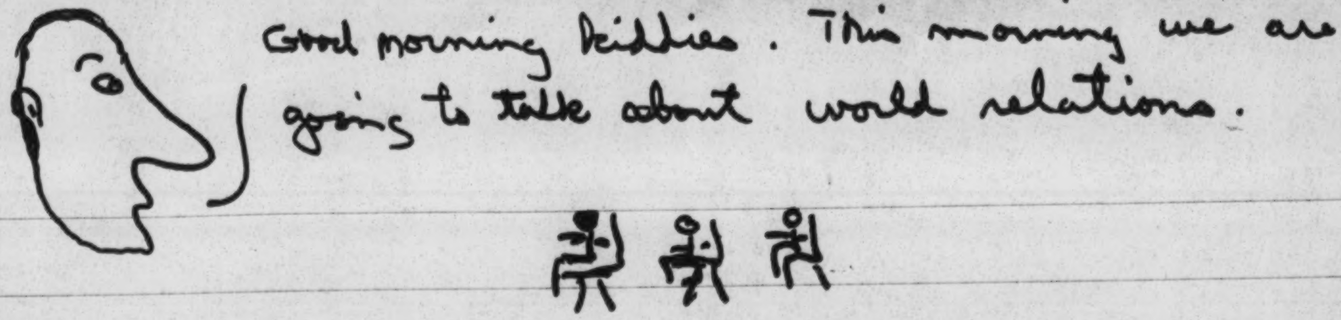
Sumter, S.C.

~~Chs~~ C. H. Mayer
8 Church St.

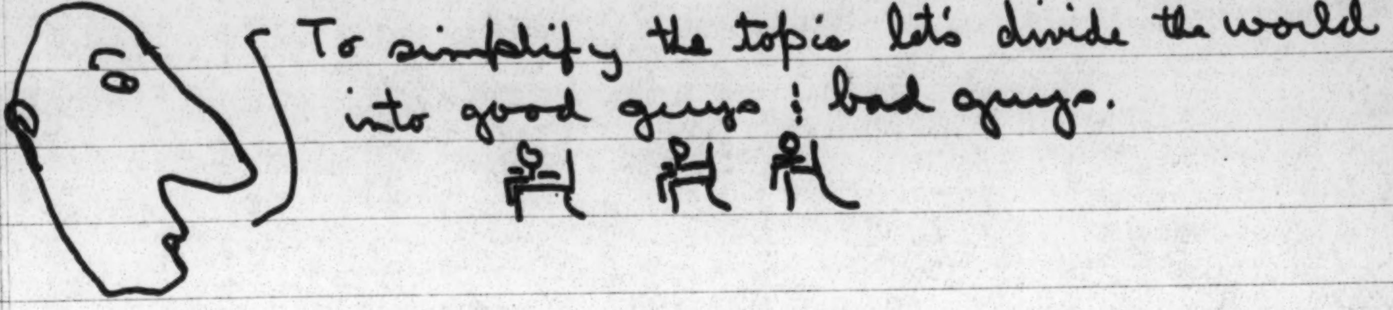
Has list of people interested in self-help housing.

$40,000 for 3 yrs. AFSC
20 houses built in this time
cost for supervision

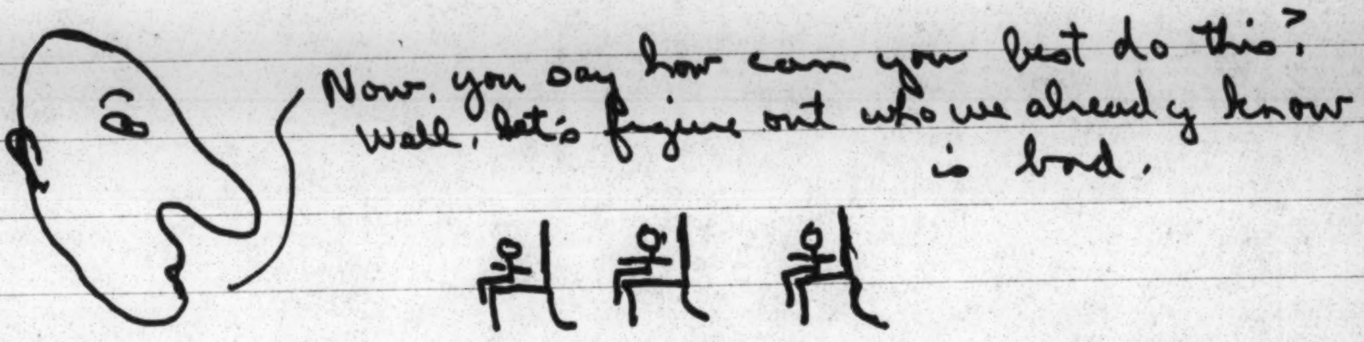
— Question of information concerning housing financing.



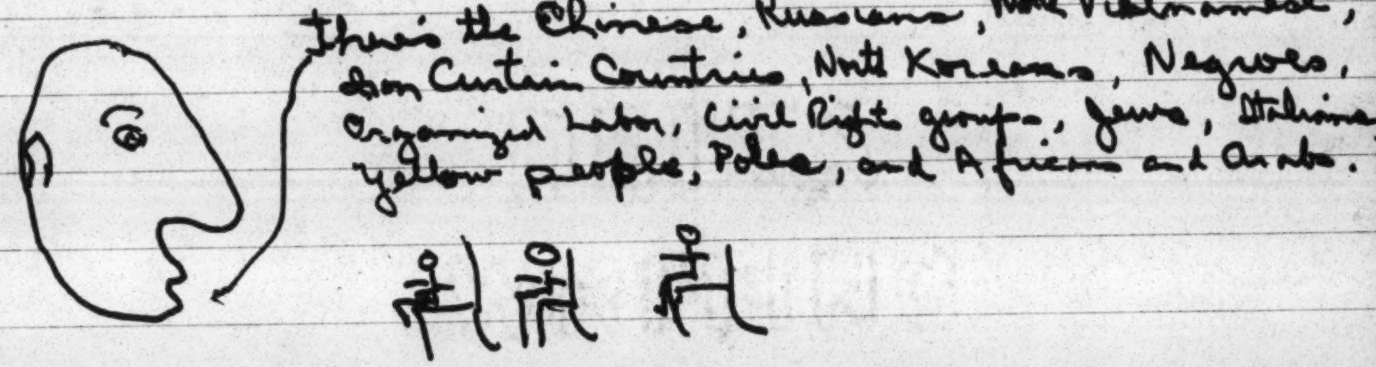
Good morning kiddies. This morning we are going to talk about world relations.



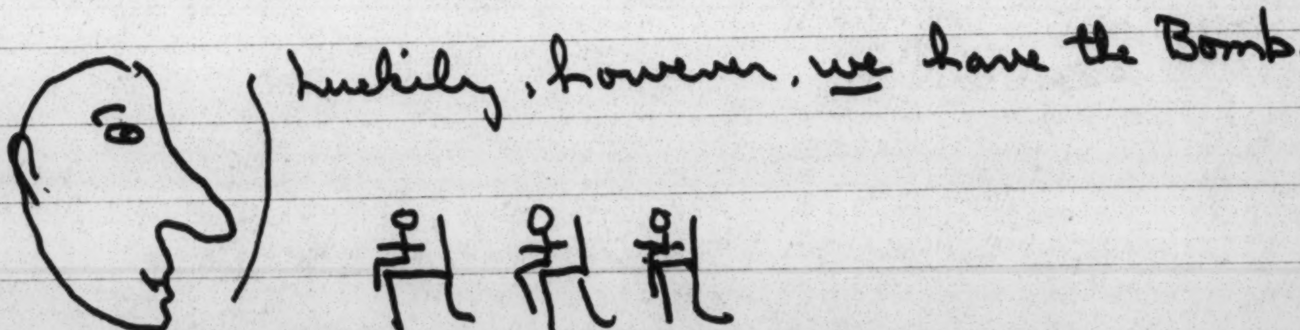
To simplify the topic let's divide the world into good guys & bad guys.



Now, you say how can you best do this? Well, let's figure out who we already know is bad.



There's the Chinese, Russians, North Vietnamese, Iron Curtain Countries, North Koreans, Negroes, Organized Labor, Civil Right groups, Jews, Italians, yellow people, Poles, and Africans and Arabs.



Luckily, however, we have the Bomb.

- Problem until legislation — This is primarily OEO's problem —
  - "Egrant" in money — flash peak needs to be made available to individuals in order to FHA

Recog. — limited OEO fund to fill the gap —

Leg.

1. FHA avail to all qual. applica that fell under OEO guidelines and not based on demonstrated ability to repay.

The government has committed itself, during the past three years, to ~~trying and~~ to solve both ~~the~~ problems of ~~racial~~ discrimination and poverty. The fact that it has made this commitment ~~done~~ so, is in itself an accomplishment of considerable merit.

However, rather the programs thus ~~far~~ designed to attack these problems, have only seemingly whetted the appitite of the poor and the Negro for the needed change.

Poor people in the South, especially the rural poor, and more especially, the Negro rural poor, badly need assistance if they are to have the chance to change their situations. And if one form of assistance should be given priority it is credit.

4A

Please ret.

CONFERENCE ON SELF HELP HOUSING
Lake Worth, Florida
May 25 - 26, 1966

Sponsored by:
International Self-Help Housing Associates
Southern Regional Council
Florida Christian Migrant Ministry
American Friends Service Committee

Consultant:
Howard Washburn, Executive Dir.
Self-Help Enterprises, Inc.
716 West Main Street
Visalia, California 93277

Wednesday, May 25

1:30 p.m. Introductions — Bill Channel
Statement of Purpose of Conference
Summary on Self-Help Housing
Film - Six Homes, Six Houses.

2:15 p.m. How do you organize self-help housing? — Ben Fraticelli.
1. Farm worker groups.
2. Established community leaders.
3. State and/or national relationships

3:15 p.m. BREAK

3:30 p.m. How do you finance self-help housing staff.
1. Private agency or religious group sponsorship. — Bill C.
    a. Community Development Adviser.
    b. Construction Supervisor.
2. Office of Economic Opportunity. — Ben F.

4:30 p.m. Need for inexpensive but adequate rental housing.
    a. Freedom from control by growers.
    b. Possibility of rent subsidy.

5:00 p.m. BREAK FOR DINNER AND MOTEL CHECK-IN.

All conference attenders are invited to have dinner at the Channel residence, 121 Summa Street, West Palm Beach. Evening Session will be held there after dinner.

7:30 p.m. Problems to consider in self-help housing. — Howard Washburn.
1. Organizational; local and state.
2. Financing of Homes and staff.
3. Staff Selection and Training.

THURSDAY, MAY 26.

9 a.m. Suggestions for implementing self-help housing.
1. Project areas and participants.
2. Site selection, purchase and preparation.
    a. Difficulties in acquiring land.
        Suitable sites
        Opposition to sale for self-help project.
        Available utilities.
3. Selection of a suitable house plan.
    a. What can people afford.
    b. Suitable construction material for region.
    c. What materials can inexperienced people handle?

10:15 a.m. BREAK

10:30 a.m. Proposal Preparation
1. Budgets
2. Education and training
3. Subsidies for participants.
4. Administrative relationships.
5. Farmers Home Administration Relationships.

12:00 noon LUNCH BREAK

1:30 p.m. What can WE do in Florida, Alabama, Mississippi.

General discussion on practical considerations
for local project throughout afternoon.

5:00 p.m. ADJOURNMENT.

6:00 p.m. Dinner.

There will be an "after session" with Howard Washburn
in the Channel home for those who are interested and free.
All are welcome.

Battelle Memorial Institute · COLUMBUS LABORATORIES

505 KING AVENUE COLUMBUS, OHIO 43201 · AREA CODE 614, TELEPHONE 299-3151 · CABLE ADDRESS: BATMIN

July 27, 1966

Mr. Moreland G. Smith, FAIA
Director
Urban Planning Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for your recent letter in which you request further information on our low-cost housing project for American Indian families. The project to which you refer was sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington. Consequently, we are not priviledged to provide detailed information regarding the development of low-cost housing in this project. In addition to evaluating the need for housing, consideration was given to determining (1) the type of financing scheme possible, (2) a method for reducing unemployment on the reservation, (3) a method for improving income on the reservation and (4) the type of program necessary to maximize community action in providing opportunities for self improvement.

Since you have an interest in low-cost housing, we would be most interested in discussing any particular problem you might have in this field. Our Construction Economics Group at Battelle has been involved with housing research for some time and is quite familiar with the major efforts in this country and the Caribbean area to develop self-help low-cost housing. If we can be of assistance to you, we would appreciate the opportunity to meet with you at your convenience.

Very truly yours,

John R. Hagely

John R. Hagely, AIA
Construction Economics Group
Department of Economics and
Information Research

JRH/jm

Al:
For Info
Moreland

DOOR SCHEDULE

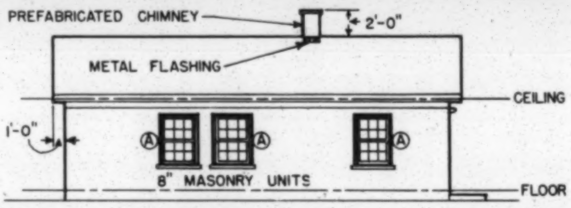
MARK	SIZE	TYPE	NO. REQ'D
1	3'-0" x 6'-8"	EXTERIOR-4 LITE	2
2	2'-8" x 6'-8"	INTERIOR-FLUSH PANEL	3
3	2'-6" x 6'-8"	INTERIOR-FLUSH PANEL	1
4	3'-0" x 6'-8"	SCREENED	2

INCLUDE SCREENED AND/OR STORM DOOR FOR ALL EXTERIOR UNITS.

WINDOW SCHEDULE

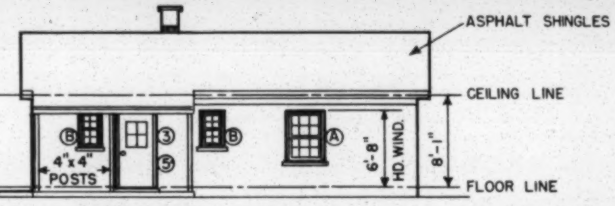
MARK	SIZE	TYPE	NO. REQ'D
A	3'-4" x 4'-2"	WOOD-DOUBLE HUNG	8
B	2'-0" x 3'-2"	" " "	2

OPERATING SASH TO INCLUDE SCREEN AND/OR STORM SASH.

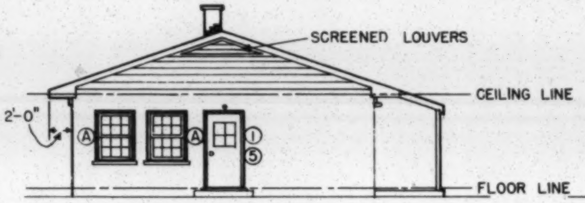

PREFABRICATED CHIMNEY
2'-0"
METAL FLASHING
CEILING LINE
1'-0"
A
8" MASONRY UNITS
FLOOR LINE

LEFT SIDE ELEVATION

SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"

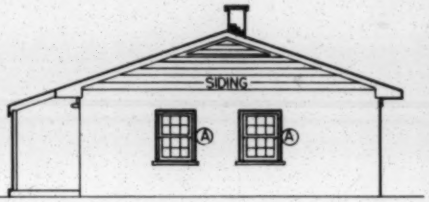

ASPHALT SHINGLES
CEILING LINE
B
3
5
A
4"x4" POSTS
6'-8"
HD. WIND.
8'-1"
FLOOR LINE

RIGHT SIDE ELEVATION


SCREENED LOUVERS
CEILING LINE
2'-0"
A
1
5
FLOOR LINE

FRONT ELEVATION

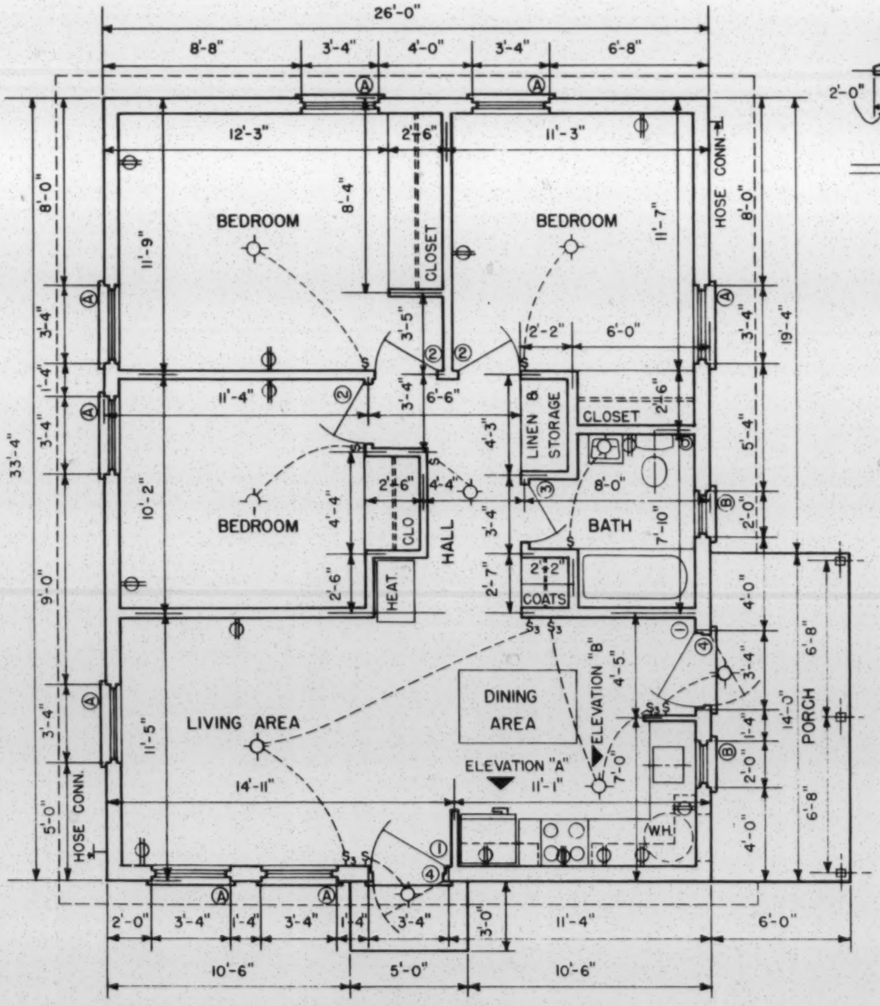
SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"



REAR ELEVATION

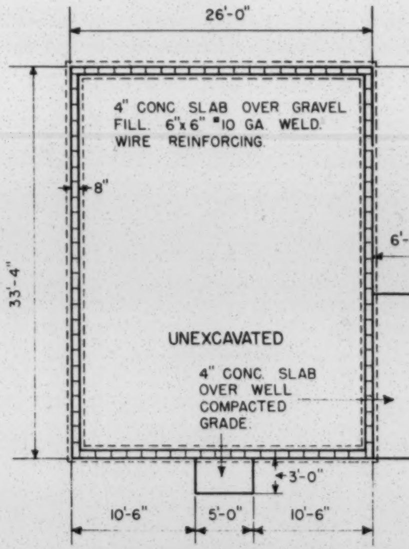
ELECTRICAL KEY

-◯-	CEILING OUTLET
⊖	CONVENIENCE OUTLET
⊜	RANGE OUTLET
S	WALL SWITCH
S_3	3 WAY SWITCH


26'-0"
8'-8"
3'-4"
4'-0"
3'-4"
6'-8"
12'-3"
2'-6"
11'-3"
BEDROOM
BEDROOM
BEDROOM
CLOSET
CLO
HEAT
HALL
LINEN & STORAGE
CLOSET
BATH
COATS
LIVING AREA
DINING AREA
ELEVATION "A"
ELEVATION "B"
W.H.
PORCH
HOSE CONN.
11'-9"
8'-4"
11'-7"
3'-5"
2'-2"
6'-0"
11'-4"
6'-6"
10'-2"
4'-4"
4'-3"
8'-0"
7'-10"
2'-6"
2'-7"
2'-2"
11'-5"
14'-11"
11'-1"
4'-5"
7'-0"
33'-4"
8'-0"
3'-4"
1'-4"
9'-0"
5'-0"
19'-4"
5'-4"
2'-0"
4'-0"
14'-0"
6'-8"
2'-0"
3'-4"
1'-4"
3'-0"
11'-4"
6'-0"
10'-6"
5'-0"
10'-6"

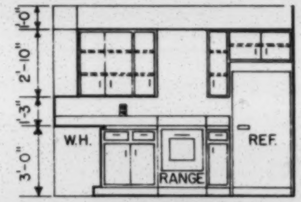
FLOOR PLAN

SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"

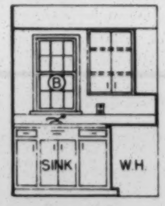

26'-0"
4" CONC. SLAB OVER GRAVEL FILL. 6"x6" #10 GA. WELD. WIRE REINFORCING.
8"
19'-4"
6'-0"
33'-4"
UNEXCAVATED
4" CONC. SLAB OVER WELL COMPACTED GRADE.
14'-0"
3'-0"
10'-6"
5'-0"
10'-6"

FOUNDATION PLAN

SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0


1'-0"
2'-0"
1'-3"
3'-0"
W.H.
RANGE
REF.

ELEVATION "A"



ELEVATION "B"

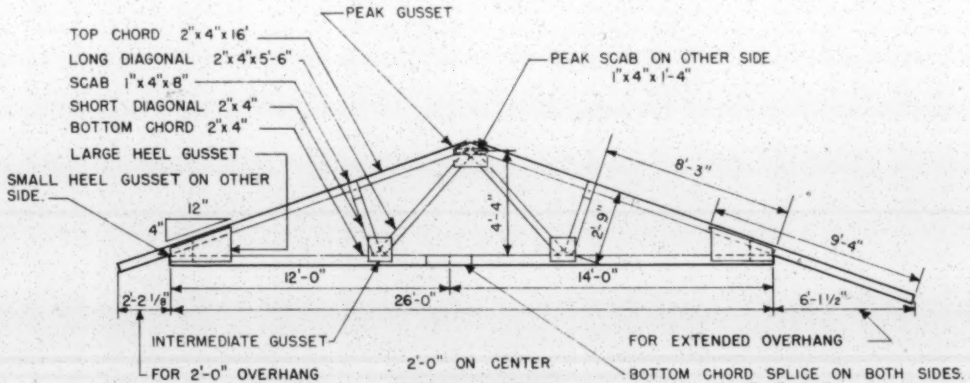
KITCHEN ELEVATIONS

SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION WORK IN
AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS
STATE OF GEORGIA
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE
AND
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE COOPERATING

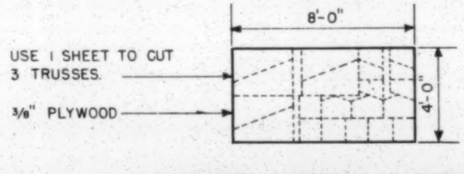
3 BEDROOM TENANT HOUSE
MASONRY CONSTRUCTION

USDA '65 | EX. 7178 | SHEET 1 OF 2


TOP CHORD 2"x4"x16'
LONG DIAGONAL 2"x4"x5'-6"
SCAB 1"x4"x8"
SHORT DIAGONAL 2"x4"
BOTTOM CHORD 2"x4"
LARGE HEEL GUSSET
SMALL HEEL GUSSET ON OTHER SIDE.
PEAK GUSSET
PEAK SCAB ON OTHER SIDE 1"x4"x1'-4"
12"
4"
4'-4"
2'-9"
8'-3"
9'-4"
12'-0"
14'-0"
26'-0"
2'-2 1/8"
6'-1 1/2"
INTERMEDIATE GUSSET
FOR 2'-0" OVERHANG
2'-0" ON CENTER
FOR EXTENDED OVERHANG
BOTTOM CHORD SPLICE ON BOTH SIDES. 1"x4"x2'-0"

TRUSS DETAILS

SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"


8'-0"
4'-0"
USE 1 SHEET TO CUT 3 TRUSSES.
3/8" PLYWOOD

GUSSET CUTTING LAYOUT

SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"

GLUE GUSSETS

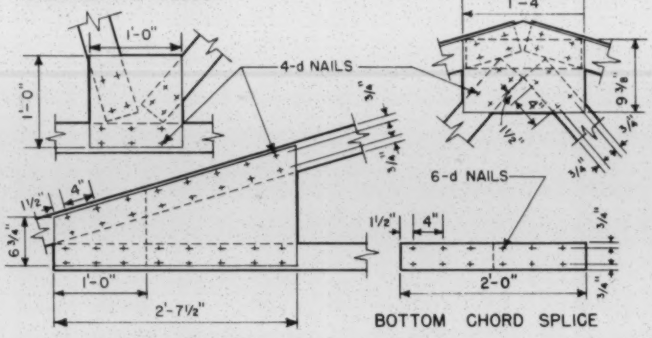
FOLLOW MANUFACTURER'S SPECIFICATIONS FOR RESORCINOL GLUE.

NAIL GUSSETS

USE 4-d NAILS FOR NAILING GUSSETS AND 6-d NAILS FOR SCABS AND SPLICE PLATES. SPACE NAILS 4 INCHES APART IN TWO ROWS. DRIVE NAILS SO HEADS ARE BURIED IN THE PLYWOOD.

INTERMEDIATE GUSSET

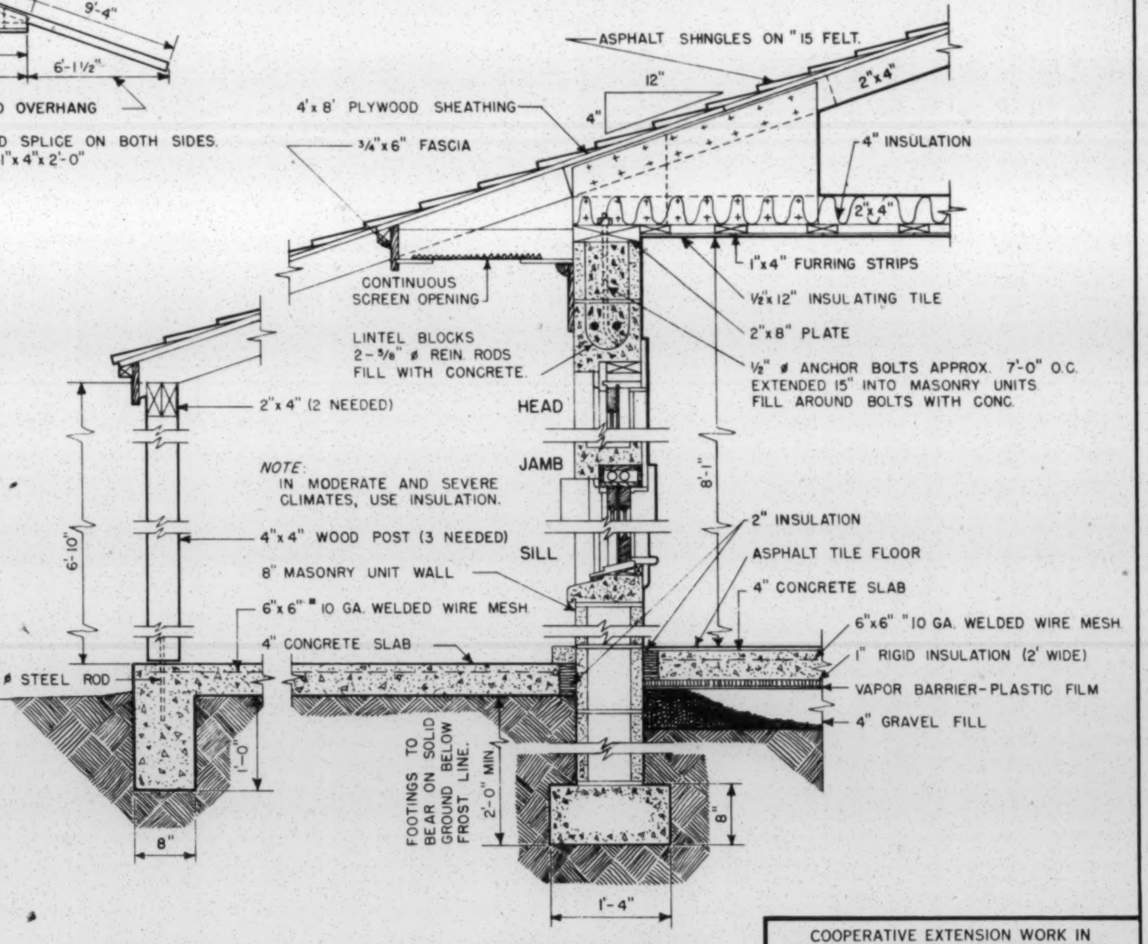
PEAK GUSSET


1'-0"
1'-0"
4-d NAILS
1'-4"
9 3/8"
3/4"
1 1/2"
6-d NAILS
1 1/2"
4"
6 3/4"
1'-0"
2'-7 1/2"
2'-0"
3/4"

HEEL GUSSET

BOTTOM CHORD SPLICE

SCALE 1" = 1'-0"


ASPHALT SHINGLES ON #15 FELT.
12"
4"
2"x4"
4'x8' PLYWOOD SHEATHING
3/4"x6" FASCIA
4" INSULATION
2"x4"
1"x4" FURRING STRIPS
CONTINUOUS SCREEN OPENING
1/2"x12" INSULATING TILE
2"x8" PLATE
LINTEL BLOCKS 2-3/8" ⌀ REIN. RODS FILL WITH CONCRETE.
1/2" ⌀ ANCHOR BOLTS APPROX. 7'-0" O.C. EXTENDED 15" INTO MASONRY UNITS FILL AROUND BOLTS WITH CONC.
HEAD
2"x4" (2 NEEDED)
JAMB
NOTE: IN MODERATE AND SEVERE CLIMATES, USE INSULATION.
6'-10"
8'-1"
4"x4" WOOD POST (3 NEEDED)
SILL
2" INSULATION
ASPHALT TILE FLOOR
8" MASONRY UNIT WALL
4" CONCRETE SLAB
6"x6" #10 GA. WELDED WIRE MESH
4" CONCRETE SLAB
6"x6" #10 GA. WELDED WIRE MESH
1" RIGID INSULATION (2' WIDE)
1/2" ⌀ STEEL ROD
VAPOR BARRIER-PLASTIC FILM
4" GRAVEL FILL
1'-0"
FOOTINGS TO BEAR ON SOLID GROUND BELOW FROST LINE.
2'-0" MIN.
8"
8"
1'-4"

WALL SECTION

SCALE 1" = 1'-0"

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION WORK IN
AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS
STATE OF GEORGIA
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE
AND
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE COOPERATING

3 BEDROOM TENANT HOUSE
MASONRY CONSTRUCTION

USDA '65	EX. 7178	SHEET 2 OF 2

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 1. SUMMARY OF APPLICATION

1.1 TYPE OF APPLICATION

☐ INITIAL APPLICATION ☐ ADDITION OF COMPONENT PROJECTS
☐ AMENDMENT TO PREVIOUSLY APPROVED PROGRAM.
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

1.2 IDENTIFICATION OF APPLICANT

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY

MAILING ADDRESS

POST OFFICE | STATE | ZIP CODE

1.3 TYPE OF APPLICANT

1.3.1 PUBLIC AGENCY *If applicant is a public agency, check if it is a:*

☐ CITY ☐ COUNTY ☐ STATE ☐ TRIBAL COUNCIL
☐ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

1.3.2 PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION *If applicant is a private organization, check if it is a:*

☐ NEWLY ESTABLISHED NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION
☐ NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION WITH A PRIOR CONCERN WITH POVERTY
☐ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

1.4 AREA TO BE SERVED BY THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

COUNTY(IES) IN WHICH AREA IS LOCATED

STATE(S) | CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT(S)

1.4.1 POPULATION OF AREA

URBAN | RURAL | TOTAL

1.5 PERIOD OF GRANT *How long will the Community Action Program be financed by the grant requested in this application?* | NO. OF MONTHS

1.6 COMPONENT PROJECTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPLICATION
(Use separate form if more space is required below.)

COMPONENT PROJECT NO.	BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE TITLE OF COMPONENT PROJECT	TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF COMPONENT	*TITLE II-A PORTION ONLY*	
			FEDERAL GRANT REQUESTED	NON-FEDERAL SHARE TO BE PROVIDED
	TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF ALL COMPONENT PROJECTS		■	■
	COST ATTRIBUTABLE TO TITLE II-A ONLY	■		

1.7 ACCEPTANCE OF CONDITIONS

On the basis of all forms, exhibits, and supplementary statements attached hereto, application is hereby made for a grant pursuant to Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act in the amount specified above to support the Community Action Program proposed in this application. It is understood and agreed by the undersigned that any grant received as a result of this application is subject to the conditions contained in the COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM GUIDE. Assurance is given that the personnel policies of the applicant agency and of any delegate agencies will conform to the standards set forth in PART B, Section 8 of the CAP GUIDE (Selection of Personnel).

TYPED NAME AND TITLE OF INDIVIDUAL AUTHORIZED TO SIGN | SIGNATURE

TELEPHONE NO. *(Include area code)* | DATE

CAP FORM 1 JAN 65 GPO : 1965 O—787-459 GSA DC 65-11587

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 2. PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

2.1 PROVISION OF NON-FEDERAL SHARE

Attach a statement describing how the non-Federal share of total estimated program cost will be provided. The statement shall describe separately for each component:

a. The amount of the non-Federal share to be provided in cash and in-kind.

b. The basis for estimating the fair value of each of the in-kind contributions.

c. The name and nature of the agency or organization making a contribution to the non-Federal share (whether from public or private sources), and whether there are any conditions attached to the receipt of the local share.

2.2 INCREASE IN NON-FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION

Attach a statement, including necessary data, explaining that the contributions from non-Federal sources for this Community Action Program (described in Item 2.1) are in addition to the aggregate expenditures or contributions for similar purposes from non-Federal sources which were being made prior to the submission of this application.

2.3 RESIDENT PARTICIPATION

Attach a statement describing the ways in which the maximum feasible opportunity to participate in program development, conduct, and administration will be provided to residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served. The statement shall describe:

a. The ways in which such residents and members have participated in the preparation of this application.

b. The roles that will be played by such residents and members in program direction, policy-making, and advisory capacities in carrying out the program proposed by this application.

c. The ways in which opportunities will be provided for participation by such residents and members as program employees.

2.4 MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES

Attach a statement describing the efforts being made to mobilize public and/or private resources through coordination of existing and proposed activities. The statement shall describe:

a. The ways in which existing public programs concerned with the problem of poverty will be coordinated with the Community Action Program.

b. The ways in which existing private activities concerned with poverty will be coordinated with the Community Action Program.

c. The ways in which the different component projects of the Community Action Program will be linked to one another and to existing public and/or private programs. This shall include an indication of why the component projects to be undertaken were selected (in terms of the characteristics and location of poverty in the community and in light of possible alternative projects).

2.5 ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Attach a fully executed copy of the Civil Rights Assurance Form for the applicant agency.

2.6 CHECKPOINT PROCEDURE ON COORDINATION

Attach a statement describing how the checkpoint procedure on coordination, as set forth in Part F of the CAP GUIDE, has been followed, and identifying the character of support by local public and private agency officials for the community action program and any existing problems of program inter-relationship.

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP. 3 APPLICANT AGENCY

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For administrative use)*

3.1 GOVERNING BODY

What kind of governing body or policy making body is responsible for the community action program (Board of Directors or Trustees, Policy Board, etc.)? Attach a description of the governing body, its relationship to its own staff, and its relationship to other agencies in the community, using diagrams where feasible. Include an explanation of how members are elected or appointed to the governing body, both initially and as the terms of present members expire.

3.2 ROLE OF GOVERNING BODY

Indicate the responsibilities exercised by the governing body by checking the appropriate box or boxes.

☐ NAMES KEY EXECUTIVE STAFF
☐ MAKES MAJOR POLICY DECISIONS
☐ APPROVES APPLICANT'S BUDGET
☐ APPROVES THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM DESCRIBED IN THE APPLICATION

OTHER *(Specify)*

Does the governing body have the power to authorize expenditures for the community action program without the need for concurrence by any other person or group? ☐ YES ☐ NO *If the answer is "No", attach an explanation.*

3.3 MEMBERSHIP OF GOVERNING BODY

List each member of applicant agency's governing body, the position he occupies on such body and the organization which such member represents or with which he is affiliated, if any.

/

NAME OF MEMBER OF APPLICANT'S GOVERNING BODY	TITLE OR POSITION OF MEMBER ON APPLICANT'S GOVERNING BODY	OTHER ORGANIZATION WHICH MEMBER REPRESENTS OR IS AFFILIATED WITH *(if any)*

(Use Continuation Sheet if necessary.)

3.4 BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON STAFF DIRECTOR

Has the director or principal administrator of the staff of the applicant agency been selected? If answer is "YES", attach biographical data as required in Part F of the CAP GUIDE.

☐ YES ☐ NO

3.5 IDENTIFICATION OF APPLICANT

Insert the identification number assigned to the applicant agency by the Internal Revenue Service in the space provided.

INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

CAP FORM 3 \ JAN 65

GSA DC 65-11589

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLCATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP. 4. ELIGIBILITY OF APPLICANT

(This form is to be filled in by the applicant agency's counsel.)

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	DO NOT FILL IN *(For Administrative Use)*

4.1 TYPE OF APPLICANT

☐ PUBLIC

☐ PRIVATE NONPROFIT

4.2 PUBLIC AGENCY *If public, indicate whether applicant is an agency of:*

☐ STATE(S) ☐ COUNTY(IES) ☐ CITY(IES) ☐ INSTITUTION(S) OF HIGHER EDUCATION *(See Item 4.3 for definition)*

☐ TRIBAL COUNCIL(S)

OTHER *(Specify)*

If applicant is a public agency, proceed to Item 4.7; do not answer Items 4.3 through 4.6.2.

4.3 INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

☐ *Check here if applicant is an institution of higher education as defined in Section 401(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1963, Public Law 88-204. If this is the case, proceed to Item 4.7; do not answer Items 4.4 through 4.6.2.*

Was the institution in existence prior to August 21, 1964? ☐ YES ☐ NO

4.4 PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION

If applicant is a private nonprofit organization other than an institution of higher education, answer all of the following questions.

4.4.1 NONPROFIT STATUS

Has the applicant received a ruling from the Internal Revenue Service that it is tax-exempt and capable of receiving tax-deductible contributions? ☐ YES ☐ NO

4.4.2 *If the answer to Item 4.4.1 is "YES", give date of ruling by the Internal Revenue Service:*

DATE ______________________

4.4.3 *If the answer to Item 4.4.1 is "NO", has such a ruling been applied for?* ☐ YES ☐ NO

If "YES", give date of application for ruling: DATE ______________________

4.4.4 *If the above-described ruling has not yet been granted by the Internal Revenue Service, do you certify to the best of your information and belief that the applicant qualifies for such a ruling?*

☐ YES ☐ NO

4.4.5 NONPOLITICAL

IS APPLICANT A POLITICAL PARTY?

☐ YES ☐ NO

4.5 CORPORATE STATUS

INCORPORATED ☐ YES ☐ NO	IF YES, GIVE DATE AND STATE OF INCORPORATION	IF NO, GIVE DATE OF ORIGIN

4.6 CONCERN WITH POVERTY

4.6.1 PRIOR CONCERN *Has the applicant agency had a concern with problems of poverty prior to the submission of this application?*

☐ YES ☐ NO

If the answer is "YES", attach a statement describing the date on which this concern began, the way in which it has been expressed, and any results that have been achieved through such concern.

4.6.2 SPONSORSHIP *Is the applicant agency sponsored by a public agency or by a private institution or organization with a prior concern witn problems of poverty?*

☐ YES ☐ NO

If so, attach a statement describing the sponsoring agency, institution, or organization and the nature of its sponsorship. A letter or resolution from the sponsoring agency should be included, expressing its agreement to be a sponsor of the applicant agency. Where the sponsor is a private institution or organization, the statement should include a description of its prior concern with problems of poverty. (See Item 4.6.1 above.)

4.7 CERTIFICATION OF AUTHORITY

I, the undersigned, as a duly licensed attorney at law, hereby certify that to the best of my information and belief, the applicant agency has the authority, under applicable principles of law, to carry out the program described in this application.

TYPED NAME OF COUNSEL	SIGNATURE
ADDRESS	

CAP FORM 4 JAN 65

GSA DC 65-11590

Office of Economic Opportunity **APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM**	FORM APPROVED. BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 7. COMPONENT PROJECT: CONDUCT AND ADMINISTRATION

This form is to be used to apply for a conduct and administration grant under Section 205 of Title II-A Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	COMPONENT PROJECT NO.	DO NOT FILL IN *(For Administrative Use)*
	7-	

7.1 BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE TITLE OF PROJECT

7.1.1 SUMMARY OF PROJECT *Describe the component project, using only the space below:*

7.1.2 WORK PROGRAM *Attach a description of the work program for this component project, following the requirements for such a work program contained in the CAP GUIDE.*

7.1.3 AREA AND GROUP TO BE SERVED

7.1.4 LOCATION AND TYPE *Describe the location within the community of the people to be served directly by this component project and the type of population to be served (pre-school, aged, families with children, etc.)*

7.1.5 POPULATION TO BE SERVED *How many people will be served directly by this component project?*	*How many of these are poor?*

7.2 DELEGATION OF ACTIVITIES TO OTHER AGENCIES

The following information is to be provided if any part of this component project is to be carried out by an agency or organization other than the applicant.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATE AGENCY

TYPE OF AGENCY *Is the delegate agency a (check one):*
☐ PUBLIC AGENCY ☐ PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION ☐ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

7.2.1 SCOPE OF DELEGATION *Attach a statement describing:*

a. *The degree of responsibility that the delegate agency will have in carrying out the component project.*
b. *The qualifications of the delegate agency to undertake and complete the component project.*
c. *The way in which the applicant agency will supervise and/or coordinate the activities of the delegate agency.*

7.2.2 ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS *Attach a fully executed copy of the Civil Rights Assurance Form for each delegate agency.*

7.3 PREVIOUS APPLICATION

Has this component project, in substantially its present form, ever been the subject of a previous application for Federal financial assistance?
☐ YES ☐ NO *If "Yes", attach an explanatory statement.*

7.4 **BUDGET**

COST CATEGORY	ESTIMATED COST	
1. PERSONNEL	$	7.4.1 BUDGET DETAIL *Attach a statement giving the basis for estimating the cost of this component project, in accordance with the instructions set forth in the CAP GUIDE. Where convenient, the cost estimates should be shown on CAP Form 23 (Budget for Component Project).*
2. CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES		
3. TRAVEL		
4. SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS		
5. CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES		
6. RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT		7.4.2 PERIOD OF GRANT *How long will this component project be financed by the grant requested in this application?*
7. OTHER COSTS		
TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF PROJECT	$	
NON-FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION		NUMBER OF MONTHS
FEDERAL GRANT REQUESTED UNDER TITLE II-A	$	

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT

This form is to accompany each component project form (CAP 6, CAP 7, or CAP 8) in applying for a grant under Sections 204, 205, or 206 of Title II-A, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Applicants are not required to use this form -- they may substitute a typed budget which contains the same information in the same order as on the form.

NAME OF APPLICANT	DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*
BRIEF TITLE OF PROJECT	COMPONENT PROJECT NO.

B-1.0

PERSONNEL

B-1.1

PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY

NUMBER OF PERSONS	POSITION OR TITLE	SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	COST

COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS *(Indicate basis for estimate)*

SUB-TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY	$

B-1.2

PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCY(IES)

NUMBER OF PERSONS	POSITION OR TITLE	SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	COST

COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS *(Indicate basis for estimate)*

SUB-TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCY(IES)	$
TOTAL, PERSONNEL	$

APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT *(Continued)*

B-2.0 **CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES**

B-2.1 **CONSULTANT SERVICES**

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR FEE ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
		$
	SUB-TOTAL CONSULTANT SERVICES	$

B-2.2 **OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES**

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
		$
	SUB-TOTAL, OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES	$
	TOTAL, CONTRACT SERVICES	$

B-3.0 **TRAVEL**

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
		$
	TOTAL, TRAVEL COSTS	$

B-4.0 **SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS**

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
		$
	TOTAL, SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	$

B-5.0 **CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES**

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
		$
	TOTAL, CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	$

B-6.0 **RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT**

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
		$
	TOTAL, RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	$

B-7.0 **OTHER COSTS**

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
		$
	TOTAL, OTHER COSTS	$
	GRAND TOTAL, COST OF COMPONENT PROJECT	$

CAP FORM 23 (Page 2 of 2) JAN 65

GSA DC 65-11596

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Community Action Program

Assurance of Compliance with the Office of Economic Opportunity's Regulations under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

(hereinafter called the "Applicant")

____

(Name of Applicant or Delegate Agency)

AGREES THAT it will comply with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P. L. 88-352) and the Regulations of the Office of Economic Opportunity issued pursuant to that title (45 C.F.R. Part 1010), to the end that no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program or activity for which the Applicant receives Federal financial assistance either directly or indirectly from the Office of Economic Opportunity; and HEREBY GIVES ASSURANCE THAT it will immediately take any measures necessary to effectuate this agreement.

If any real property or structure thereon is provided or improved with the aid of Federal financial assistance extended to the Applicant either directly or indirectly by the Office of Economic Opportunity, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant, or in the case of any transfer of such property, any transferee, for the period during which the real property or structure is used for a purpose for which the Federal financial assistance is extended or for another purpose involving the provision of similar services or benefits. If any personal property is so provided, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which it retains ownership or possession of the property. In all other cases, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which the Federal financial assistance is extended to it either directly or indirectly by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

THIS ASSURANCE is given in consideration of and for the purpose of obtaining either directly or indirectly any and all Federal grants, loans, contracts, property, or discounts, the referral or assignment of VISTA volunteers, or other Federal financial assistance extended after the date hereof to the Applicant by the Office of Economic Opportunity, including installment payments after such date on account of applications for Federal financial assistance which were approved before such date. The Applicant recognizes and agrees that such Federal financial assistance will be extended in reliance on the representations and agreements made in this assurance, and that the United States shall have the right to seek judicial enforcement of this assurance. This assurance is binding on the Applicant, its successors, transferees, and assignee, and the person or persons whose signatures appear below are authorized to sign this assurance on behalf of the Applicant.

Date ____________________

____
(Name of Applicant or Delegate Agency)

By ______________________________________
(President, Chairman of Board, or
comparable authorized official)

____

____
(Mailing address)

CAP FORM 11 APR 65

GSA DC 65-15366

INTERNATIONAL SELF-HELP HOUSING ASSOCIATES
PROPOSED
BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I - Name

The name of this organization shall be the International Self-Help Housing Associates.

ARTICLE II - Policy and Purpose

There exists, worldwide, a critical and insistent shortage of adequate housing. More than half the world's population suffers in consequence of this shortage. Their condition reflects a disastrous, widening gap between what modern technology has made possible -- adequate shelter for all -- and what modern society has, thus far, found achievable.

We believe that Self-Help Housing, if boldly employed, can substantially narrow this gap. The technique has already proven itself in hundreds of poverty-stricken communities throughout the world. Quite simply, it is a means of mobilizing the energies and capabilities of people for action in their own behalf. By acting in concert, individuals may acquire sufficient muscle and morale to transform their living conditions -- either by building new homes or by rehabilitating their old homes.

The self-help technique, then cuts with three separate edges: first, it creates adequate shelter where none has heretofore existed; second, it cultivates individual initiative; third, it encourages community action. None of this is easy; all of it is necessary.

We submit that the time is right for formation of an independent organization that will work to bring self-help housing to all who might benefit from its use. We conceive of this organization as: (1) international in scope; (2) exclusively committed to the concept of Self-Help Housing; and (3) broadly based, transcending the interests of any single agency, group or individual.

Purpose

The general purpose of International Self-Help Housing Associates is four-fold:

1. To provide a central information point where experience and data can be collected, evaluated and be made available to self-help housing groups and sponsors. At present no single organization interested in self-help housing is large enough to meet this need.

2. To take the lead in developing and encouraging new and unorthodox techniques within the self-help framework.

3. To give organizations and individuals a sense of identity with self-help housing and a chance to participate in its growth.

4. To inform, educate and influence important outside institutions, including government, foundations and financial institutions.

ARTICLE III - Membership

Section 1. This organization shall be a membership organization made up initially of the charter members, i.e. all persons invited to the Airlie House Conference, December 6-9, 1965 who elect to become members and pay the initial dues.

Section 2. The Board of Directors shall consist of not more than 25 members, 18 of whom shall be elected by the membership; seven additional Directors may be elected by the Board.

Section 3. At least six of the members of the Board shall be participant builders in self-help housing projects.

Section 4. The members of the Board shall be elected for three-year terms; the first year they shall draw lots for one, two and three-year terms and thereafter only one-third of the members shall be elected annually, except that the Board shall fix its own rules on rotation of the Board-elected members since their election in whole or in part is not mandatory; provided that those so-elected shall also be put on a three-year, staggered term schedule.

Section 5. The Board of Directors shall elect an Executive Committee of five members, one of whom shall be the Chairman of the Board. The Executive Committee shall be elected annually.

Section 6. Election of members of the regular 18-member Board of Directors is a function of the membership, but the Board may fill vacancies of offices and Board-elected Directors.

Section 7. The Board of Directors and the Executive Committee shall conduct the affairs of this organization in accord with the Statement of Policy.

Section 8. No member of the Board shall be elected for more than two three-year terms in succession.

ARTICLE V - Officers and Administration

Section 1. The Officers of this organization, elected by the Board of Directors for three-year terms, shall be a Chairman of the Board, Vice-Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer. (For the first year the election of officers shall take place before the drawings for 1, 2 and 3-year terms in order that the officers may all have three-year tenure.)

Section 2. The chief executive officer of the organization shall be the Chairman of the Board (or, in his absence or inability to function, the Vice-Chairman) who shall have all of the usual and ordinary authority of such an office including the orderly operation of the organization in accordance with these by-laws.

Section 3. The Chairman of the Board shall automatically be a member of and Chairman of the Executive Committee which shall be the governing body of the organization between meetings of the membership and the Board of Directors.

Section 4. The Vice-Chairman and the Secretary-Treasurer shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee, but this shall not be construed as precluding their election to that Committee.

ARTICLE VI - Committees

Section 1. The Board of Directors or the Executive Board may authorize such committees, standing and special, as may be necessary to the orderly functioning of the organization, except that the nominating and personnel committees shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at a regular session.

ARTICLE VII - Nominations and Elections

Section 1. For the first year the organizing committee shall submit a list of 18 names to the charter members for approval as the first Board of Directors.

Section 2. Subsequently, a nominating committee of five members, two of whom shall be non-members of the Board of Directors, shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors. The Nominating Committee shall nominate six candidates for election to the Board of Directors for submission to the membership at its annual meeting. Other nominations may be made from the floor.

Section 3. All Directors shall be members of this organization in good standing.

Section 4. The Nominating Committee shall also nominate a slate of officers every third year, or nominate a candidate to fill a vacancy.

ARTICLE VIII - Meetings

Section 1. The Board of Directors shall meet at least twice annually, time and place to be fixed by the Board with 10 days written notice thereof. One of these meetings shall be held at the same time as the annual meeting. Notice of the annual meeting shall be sent to all members one month prior to the time it is to be held.

Section 2. A quorum of the Board of Directors is seven members, and a quorum for the annual membership meeting shall be 15.

Section 3. The Board of Directors by a majority vote or 20% of the members by petition may instruct the Chairman to fix a date and place for a special membership meeting.

ARTICLE IX - Dues and Finances

Section 1. Annual dues shall be $5 on a calendar year basis. No person shall be considered a member whose dues are more than six months delinquent.

Section 2. Charges for subscriptions shall be fixed and other financial decisions shall be made by the Board of Directors and/or the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE X - Legislative and Financial Policy

Section 1. No person or committee shall lobby in the name of this organization, nor shall it be involved in partisan political affairs in any manner whatsoever.

Section 2. No part of the income of this corporation shall innure to the benefit of any private individual, and no substantial part of its activities shall be the carrying on of propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation.

Section 3. In case of dissolution of this organization all of its remaining assets shall be transferred to a non-profit or charitable educational organization.

ARTICLE XI - Operations

Section 1. Upon recommendation of the Executive Committee, subject to discussion, review and ratification by the Board of Directors, subsidiary or affiliated organizations may be established to administer or execute specific projects or programs and to accept contractual obligations for such purpose.

ARTICLE XII - Staff

Section 1. An Executive Director may be employed by the Chairman with the approval of the Board of Directors.

Section 2. The Standing Committee on Personnel shall present to the Board of Directors, standards of selection and employment which, as revised or adopted by the Board of Directors, shall govern selection of the Executive Director. The Chairman shall consult with the Personnel Committee on the location and selection of the Executive Director.

Section 3. All other personnel shall be hired by the Executive Director, at his discretion.

Section 4. The Executive Director shall serve at the discretion of the Board.

ARTICLE XIII - Amendment Procedure

Section 1. Except as otherwise required by the laws of International Self-Help Housing Associates, these by-laws may be amended by two-thirds of those present at a meeting of the membership, provided that the proposed amendment or amendments have been submitted to the membership at least one month in advance of the meeting at which the action is taken. Amendments may be proposed by the Board of Directors or by petition signed by 20% of the membership.

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 1. SUMMARY OF APPLICATION

1.1 TYPE OF APPLICATION

☒ INITIAL APPLICATION ☐ ADDITION OF COMPONENT PROJECTS
☐ AMENDMENT TO PREVIOUSLY APPROVED PROGRAM
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

1.2 IDENTIFICATION OF APPLICANT

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY
Delta Opportunity Corporation

MAILING ADDRESS
Box 457

POST OFFICE: Greenville
STATE: Miss.
ZIP CODE:

1.4 AREA TO BE SERVED BY THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
See Attachment "A"

COUNTY(IES) IN WHICH AREA IS LOCATED
See Attachment "A"

STATE(S): Mississippi
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT(S):

1.3 TYPE OF APPLICANT

1.3.1 PUBLIC AGENCY *If applicant is a public agency, check if it is a:*

☐ CITY ☐ COUNTY ☐ STATE ☐ TRIBAL COUNCIL
☐ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

1.3.2 PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION *If applicant is a private organization, check if it is a:*

☒ NEWLY ESTABLISHED NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION
☐ NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION WITH A PRIOR CONCERN WITH POVER
☐ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

1.4.1 POPULATION OF AREA

URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL

1.5 PERIOD OF GRANT *How long will the Community Action Program be financed by the grant requested in this application?*
NO. OF MONTHS: 12

1.6 COMPONENT PROJECTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPLICATION
(Use separate form if more space is required below.)

COMPONENT PROJECT NO.	BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE TITLE OF COMPONENT PROJECT	TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF COMPONENT	TITLE II-A PORTION ONLY: FEDERAL GRANT REQUESTED	TITLE II-A PORTION ONLY: NON-FEDERAL SHARE TO BE PROVIDED
7-1	Education and self-help housing program for dispossessed farm workers in the Mississippi Delta	555,745		
TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF ALL COMPONENT PROJECTS		555,745		
COST ATTRIBUTABLE TO TITLE II-A ONLY				

1.7 ACCEPTANCE OF CONDITIONS

On the basis of all forms, exhibits, and supplementary statements attached hereto, application is hereby made for a grant pursuant to Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act in the amount specified above to support the Community Action Program proposed in this application. It is understood and agreed by the undersigned that any grant received as a result of this application is subject to the conditions contained in the COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM GUIDE. Assurance is given that the personnel policies of the applicant agency and of any delegate agencies will conform to the standards set forth in PART B, Section 8 of the CAP GUIDE (Selection of Personnel).

TYPED NAME AND TITLE OF INDIVIDUAL AUTHORIZED TO SIGN
Clarence Hall, Jr. Chairman

SIGNATURE
Clarence Hall Jr

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 2. PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*
Delta Opportunity Corporation	

2.1 PROVISION OF NON-FEDERAL SHARE

Attach a statement describing how the non-Federal share of total estimated program cost will be provided. The statement shall describe separately for each component:

a. The amount of the non-Federal share to be provided in cash and in-kind.

b. The basis for estimating the fair value of each of the in-kind contributions.

c. The name and nature of the agency or organization making a contribution to the non-Federal share (whether from public or private sources), and whether there are any conditions attached to the receipt of the local share.

2.2 INCREASE IN NON-FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION

Attach a statement, including necessary data, explaining that the contributions from non-Federal sources for this Community Action Program (described in Item 2.1) are in addition to the aggregate expenditures or contributions for similar purposes from non-Federal sources which were being made prior to the submission of this application.

2.3 RESIDENT PARTICIPATION

Attach a statement describing the ways in which the maximum feasible opportunity to participate in program development, conduct, and administration will be provided to residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served. The statement shall describe:

a. The ways in which such residents and members have participated in the preparation of this application.

b. The roles that will be played by such residents and members in program direction, policy-making, and advisory capacities in carrying out the program proposed by this application.

c. The ways in which opportunities will be provided for participation by such residents and members as program employees.

2.4 MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES

Attach a statement describing the efforts being made to mobilize public and/or private resources through coordination of existing and proposed activities. The statement shall describe:

a. The ways in which existing public programs concerned with the problem of poverty will be coordinated with the Community Action Program.

b. The ways in which existing private activities concerned with poverty will be coordinated with the Community Action Program.

c. The ways in which the different component projects of the Community Action Program will be linked to one another and to existing public and/or private programs. This shall include an indication of why the component projects to be undertaken were selected (in terms of the characteristics and location of poverty in the community and in light of possible alternative projects).

2.5 ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Attach a fully executed copy of the Civil Rights Assurance Form for the applicant agency.

2.6 CHECKPOINT PROCEDURE ON COORDINATION

Attach a statement describing how the checkpoint procedure on coordination, as set forth in Part F of the CAP GUIDE, has been followed, and identifying the character of support by local public and private agency officials for the community action program and any existing problems of program inter-relationship.

ATTACHMENT "A"

This project will serve farm worker families who now reside or who resided in nine (9) Mississippi counties listed below, which comprise an area referred to as the South Delta:

Bolivar
Tallahatchie
Washington
Issaquena
Leflore
Sharkey
Sunflower
Yazoo
Madison

The houses to be built through this grant will be located in Issaquena County. This county is centrally located; it is located in a rural community, conveniently located close to an urban center, Greenville, which offers future non-farm employment opportunities. This county is also one of the lowest income counties in the Nation.

C.A.P. 2 Program Characteristics

2.1 Not applicable: However, land is being contributed free and clear of all encumbrances. This land will be financed by the people themselves or by agencies working with them. All funds for the land purchase have been obtained already.

2.2. Not applicable:

2.3 (a) Program is designed for farm workers. They have a family income of less than $1,000 per annum. These persons have shared in the planning of this proposal, expressing by majority vote preferences contained within. Some of these farm worker families, having been evicted from their shacks on planations, are presently living at the Mount Beulah conference center, operated by the Commission of the Delta Ministry, National Council of Churches.

(b) Policy-making in carrying out the program proposed in this application will be vested in an Advisory Committee elected by the persons involved. They will solicit such technical advise as may be from time to time required, subject always to their own Advisory Committee's policy control.

(c) This proposed program is a self-help program and will actually engage one or more members of each family involved. In effect, this program is presently under way at Mount Beulah on a limited scale.

2.4 (a&b) The Delta Opportunities Corporation has been developed with intent of funding ways to materially assist poverty stricken persons and families of the Delta region. It seeks to ally with both public and private agencies in this endeavor.

The proposed program will have the active support of the Delta Ministry of the N.C.C. This agency will have enlisted resources, nation-wide, looking toward the purchase of the land required. This agency will continue, as need may from time to time arise, to give such active support as may be required.

The Medical Committee of Human Rights is affiliated with the Delta Ministry and is knowledgeable in matters of public health as affecting the Delta area. M.C.H.R. will keep a close check on persons and their children involved in this proposed program at no cost to the Migrant Proposal submitted herein.

(c) The component project related to literacy and job training will seek to make more effective the total impact of the entire program. It will transfer its responsibility to MDTA or any other education or vocational training program with weekly stipends as soon as these programs become operative in Issaquena County and as soon as the trainees in this grant proposal are accepted for training.

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP. 3 APPLICANT AGENCY

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY
Delta Opportunities Corporation, a non-profit corporation in organization

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For administrative use)*

3.1 GOVERNING BODY

What kind of governing body or policy making body is responsible for the community action program (Board of Directors or Trustees, Policy Board, etc.)? Attach a description of the governing body, its relationship to its own staff, and its relationship to other agencies in the community, using diagrams where feasible. Include an explanation of how members are elected or appointed to the governing body, both initially and as the terms of present members expire.

See Attached By-Laws

3.2 ROLE OF GOVERNING BODY

Indicate the responsibilities exercised by the governing body by checking the appropriate box or boxes.

☒ NAMES KEY EXECUTIVE STAFF
☒ MAKES MAJOR POLICY DECISIONS
☒ APPROVES APPLICANT'S BUDGET
☒ APPROVES THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM DESCRIBED IN THE APPLICATION

OTHER *(Specify)*

Does the governing body have the power to authorize expenditures for the community action program without the need for concurrence by any other person or group? ☒ YES ☐ NO *If the answer is "No", attach an explanation.*

3.3 MEMBERSHIP OF GOVERNING BODY

List each member of applicant agency's governing body, the position he occupies on such body and the organization which such member represents or with which he is affiliated, if any.

NAME OF MEMBER OF APPLICANT'S GOVERNING BODY	TITLE OR POSITION OF MEMBER ON APPLICANT'S GOVERNING BODY	OTHER ORGANIZATION WHICH MEMBER REPRESENTS OR IS AFFILIATED WITH *(if any)*
Clarence Hall	Chairman	Paid staff member of the Delta Ministry(Born and raised in Issaquena county)
Thelma Barnes	Secretary	Born and raised in Issaquena Cou now resides in Washington County Paid staff member of the Delta Ministry
Jesse Thompson	Member	Minister, born and raised in Tallahatchie County
Sidney Alexander	Member	Carpenter
James Smith	Member	Farm Worker

(Use Continuation Sheet if necessary.)

3.4 BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON STAFF DIRECTOR

Has the director or principal administrator of the staff of the applicant agency been selected? If answer is "YES", attach biographical data as required in Part F of the CAP GUIDE.

☐ YES ☒ NO

3.5 IDENTIFICATION OF APPLICANT

Insert the identification number assigned to the applicant agency by the Internal Revenue Service in the space provided.

INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER
Not yet obtained

Office of Economic Opportunity **APPLCATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM**	FORM APPROVED. BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP. 4. ELIGIBILITY OF APPLICANT

(This form is to be filled in by the applicant agency's counsel.)

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY Delta Opportunity Corporation, a non-profit corporation in organization	DO NOT FILL IN *(For Administrative Use)*

4.1 TYPE OF APPLICANT

☐ PUBLIC

☒ PRIVATE NONPROFIT

4.2 PUBLIC AGENCY *If public, indicate whether applicant is an agency of:*

☐ STATE(S) ☐ COUNTY(IES) ☐ CITY(IES) ☐ INSTITUTION(S) OF HIGHER EDUCATION *(See Item 4.3 for definition)*

☐ TRIBAL COUNCIL(S)

OTHER *(Specify)*

If applicant is a public agency, proceed to Item 4.7; do not answer Items 4.3 through 4.6.2.

4.3 **INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION**

☐ *Check here if applicant is an institution of higher education as defined in Section 401(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1963, Public Law 88-204. If this is the case, proceed to Item 4.7; do not answer Items 4.4 through 4.6.2.*

Was the institution in existence prior to August 21, 1964? ☐ YES ☒ NO

4.4 **PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION**

If applicant is a private nonprofit organization other than an institution of higher education, answer all of the following questions.

4.4.1 **NONPROFIT STATUS**

Has the applicant received a ruling from the Internal Revenue Service that it is tax-exempt and capable of receiving tax-deductible contributions? ☐ YES ☒ NO

4.4.2 *If the answer to Item 4.4.1 is "YES", give date of ruling by the Internal Revenue Service:*

DATE ______________

4.4.3 *If the answer to Item 4.4.1 is "NO", has such a ruling been applied for?* ☐ YES ☒ NO

If "YES", give date of application for ruling: DATE ______________ In process

4.4.4 *If the above-described ruling has not yet been granted by the Internal Revenue Service, do you certify to the best of your information and belief that the applicant qualifies for such a ruling?*

☒ YES ☐ NO

4.4.5 **NONPOLITICAL**

IS APPLICANT A POLITICAL PARTY?

☐ YES ☒ NO

4.5 **CORPORATE STATUS**

INCORPORATED	IF YES, GIVE DATE AND STATE OF INCORPORATION	IF NO, GIVE DATE OF ORIGIN
☐ YES ☒ NO	See attachment "C:	

4.6 **CONCERN WITH POVERTY**

4.6.1 PRIOR CONCERN *Has the applicant agency had a concern with problems of poverty prior to the submission of this application?*

☐ YES ☐ NO See attachment "C"

If the answer is "YES", attach a statement describing the date on which this concern began, the way in which it has been expressed, and any results that have been achieved through such concern.

4.6.2 SPONSORSHIP *Is the applicant agency sponsored by a public agency or by a private institution or organization with a prior concern with problems of poverty?*

☐ YES ☐ NO

If so, attach a statement describing the sponsoring agency, institution, or organization and the nature of its sponsorship. A letter or resolution from the sponsoring agency should be included, expressing its agreement to be a sponsor of the applicant agency. Where the sponsor is a private institution or organization, the statement should include a description of its prior concern with problems of poverty. (See Item 4.6.1 above.)

4.7 **CERTIFICATION OF AUTHORITY**

I, the undersigned, as a duly licensed attorney at law, hereby certify that to the best of my information and belief, the applicant agency has the authority, under applicable principles of law, to carry out the program described in this application.

TYPED NAME OF COUNSEL Gerald L. Rosen	SIGNATURE Gerald L. Rosen
ADDRESS 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif. 90067	

CAP FORM 4 JAN 65 GSA DC 65-11590

ATTACHMENT "C"

Delta Opportunity Corporation
Attachment to CAP Form 4

A charter was filed October 21, 1965 with the Mississippi Secretary of State but was rejected. Our consel is of the opinion that the rejection violates the Federal Constitution and a suit has been filed in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of Mississippi James Smith, et al, vs. Heber Ladner, Secretary of State of Mississippi, number 3905.

The Delta Opportunity Corporation was organized to deal specifically with the poverty stricken people of the Delta. Local leaders, who solicited advice and assistance from the Delta Ministry, stimulated the development of the Delta Opportunity Corporation in order to better handle poverty in the Delta. Most of the persons participating in the development of the Delta Opportunity Corporation have been involved for years in problems of poverty.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
Community Action Program

Assurance of Compliance with the Office of Economic Opportunity's Regulations under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

Delta Opportunity Corporation (hereinafter called the "Applicant")
(Name of Applicant or Delegate Agency)

AGREES THAT it will comply with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P. L. 88-352) and the Regulations of the Office of Economic Opportunity issued pursuant to that title (45 C.F.R. Part 1010), to the end that no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program or activity for which the Applicant receives Federal financial assistance either directly or indirectly from the Office of Economic Opportunity; and HEREBY GIVES ASSURANCE THAT it will immediately take any measures necessary to effectuate this agreement.

If any real property or structure thereon is provided or improved with the aid of Federal financial assistance extended to the Applicant either directly or indirectly by the Office of Economic Opportunity, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant, or in the case of any transfer of such property, any transferee, for the period during which the real property or structure is used for a purpose for which the Federal financial assistance is extended or for another purpose involving the provision of similar services or benefits. If any personal property is so provided, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which it retains ownership or possession of the property. In all other cases, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which the Federal financial assistance is extended to it either directly or indirectly by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

THIS ASSURANCE is given in consideration of and for the purpose of obtaining either directly or indirectly any and all Federal grants, loans, contracts, property, or discounts, the referral or assignment of VISTA volunteers, or other Federal financial assistance extended after the date hereof to the Applicant by the Office of Economic Opportunity, including installment payments after such date on account of applications for Federal financial assistance which were approved before such date. The Applicant recognizes and agrees that such Federal financial assistance will be extended in reliance on the representations and agreements made in this assurance, and that the United States shall have the right to seek judicial enforcement of this assurance. This assurance is binding on the Applicant, its successors, transferees, and assignee, and the person or persons whose signatures appear below are authorized to sign this assurance on behalf of the Applicant.

Date March 1, 1966.

Delta Opportunity Corporation
(Name of Applicant or Delegate Agency)

By Alfred R. [illegible]
(President, Chairman of Board, or comparable authorized official)
attorney in fact.

Box 457
Greenville, Miss.
(Mailing address)

CAP FORM 11 APR 65

GSA DC 65-15366

PROPOSED BY-LAWS
DELTA OPPORTUNITY CORPORATION

SECTION 1. BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1.1 The Board of Directors shall consist of nine (9) persons, showing representation of laboring people, the Churches and the poor.

1.2 The Board of Directors shall be divided into three classes of three (3) directors each. One class of three (3) directors shall be elected by the Board of Directors each year at the annual meeting of the Board of Directors.

1.3 At the organization meeting of the initial Board of Directors of the corporation, the initial Board of Directors shall by lot, or such other method as it shall deem advisable, divide the entire Board of Directors into three (3) classes with each member of one such class to serve for a term of one (1) year, with each member of the second such class serving for a term of two (2) years, and each member of the third such class to serve for a term of three years. Thereafter, each director shall be elected for a term of three years.

1.4 Vacancies in the term of any director shall be filled by the election by the Board of Directors at any meeting, and any person elected to fill a vacancy shall be elected to serve for the unexpired term of his predecessor director.

SECTION 2. MEETINGS

2.1 The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held on the first Monday in May each year, or at such other time during the month of May as the Board of Directors shall designate.

2.2 Regular meetings of the Board of Directors may be held at such times and upon such notice as the Board of Directors shall prescribe.

2.3 Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held from time to time at such times as shall be designated in a call by the chairman; and such meeting shall be called by the chairman upon written application, signed by three directors stating the purpose for which the meeting is desired.

2.4 Notice of each meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given to each director either by mail or telephone; and proper notice shall have been mailed to him at his residence or business address, sufficiently far in advance that by normal course of mail it should have been delivered prior to the scheduled time of the meeting, or if a telephone message shall have been left at such address in advance of such meeting.

2.5 In selecting directors to serve on the Board of Directors, the Board shall attempt to assure that the Board of Directors shall be truly representative of the community as a whole.

SECTION 3. RELATIONSHIPS

3.1 The corporation shall work in conjunction with representative organizations formed by persons in its constituency that is, organizations of indigenous beneficiaries of the coprorations programs.

SECTION 4. OFFICERS

4.1 The officers of the corporation shall be a president, a vice president, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary and a treasurer, and their respective duties shall be as follows:

a. The president shall be the principal executive officer of the corporation, shall preside at all meetings of the Board, and shall be a member of all committees.

b. The Vice President, in the absence of the President, or in case of a vacancy in the Office of the President shall exercise the president's duties and authority until at such later time as the Board of Directors shall act with respect thereto.

c. The recording secretary shall keep the minutes of all minutes of all meetings of the Board of Directors, and perform all duties incident to the position of secretary.

d. The corresponding secretary shall take care of all correspondence and shall keep a file of all correspondence sent and received.

3. The treasurer shall be responsible for the custody of all funds and accounts of the organization, and shall appoint a bank or trust company to act as his agent subject to the approval of the Board of Directors.

4.2 The Board of Directors may also elect such other officers or assistant officers, including one or more assistant treasurers or assistant secretaries, as they shall deem advisable from time to time.

4.3 Each officer shall be elected by the Board of Directors at its annual meeting to serve for a term of one (1) year; but the Board of Directors may remove any officer from office at any time by a vote of a majority of the entire Board of Directors, Any vacancy which occurs in any office may be filled by election by the Board of Directors.

SECTION 5. COMMITTEES

5.1 The executive committee shall be composed of all of the elected officers of the corporation, namely, the president, the vice president, the recording secretary, the corresponding secretary and the treasurer. The initial executive committee shall be elected by the initial Board of Directors at

Section 5. Committees

its organization meeting to serve until the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors. Any vacancies in the executive committee may be filled by election by the Board of Directors at any meeting.

5.3 A majority of the members of the executive committee shall constitute a quorum of the executive committee; and the vote of a majority of the members of the executive committee present and voting at a meeting at which a quorum is present shall constitute the act of the executive committee. Meetings of the executive committee shall be called in the same manner and upon the same notice as is provided by these by-laws for meetings of the Board of Directors.

5.4 The corporation shall have such additional committees which shall have such authority and responsibility as the Board of Directors shall establish and provide from time to time. Members of each such additional committee shall be appointed by the chairman, and may include persons who are not officers or members of the Board of Directors.

SECTION 6. FISCAL AFFAIRS

6.1 Disbursements of funds of the corporation shall be made only upon written authorization of two persons designated for such purpose by the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors shall designate persons authorized to disburse funds of the corporation, and in addition to such other persons as the Board may designate from time to time, checks, drafts or other authorizations for disbursements of corporate funds shall be signed by the treasurer or an assistant treasurer and shall be countersigned by the president or by the executive director of the corporation, if one shall have been employed by the corporation.

6.2 A fidelity bond, in an amount which shall be determined by the Board of Directors to be sufficient adequately to protect the corporation, shall be furnished by each person authorized to disburse or otherwise to handle funds belonging to the corporation prior to the effectiveness of any authority granted to such person with respect to the handling of or any disbursement of funds of the corporation.

6.3 The books and financial affairs of the corporation shall be audited each year by such firm or firms of independent certified public accountants as shall be employed for such purpose by the Board of Directors of the corporation.

SECTION 7. AMENDMENTS

7.1 The by-laws of the corporation may be amended at any meeting of the Board of Directors by the vote of a majority of all the directors then holding office.

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 7. COMPONENT PROJECT: CONDUCT AND ADMINISTRATION

This form is to be used to apply for a conduct and administration grant under Section 205 of Title II-A Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	COMPONENT PROJECT NO.	DO NOT FILL IN *(For Administrative Use)*
Delta Opportunity Corporation	7. 1	

7.1 BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE TITLE OF PROJECT
Education and self-help housing program for dispossessed farm workers in the Mississippi Delta

7.1.1 SUMMARY OF PROJECT *Describe the component project, using only the space below:* To provide basic education and pre-vocational programs for 200 unemployed farm workers in order to prepare them for jobs, manpower training programs or self sufficiency. To assist 100 poverty stricken farm worker families, many dispossed with no current income, to build their own homes.

7.1.2 WORK PROGRAM *Attach a description of the work program for this component project, following the requirements for such a work program contained in the CAP GUIDE.*

7.1.3 AREA AND GROUP TO BE SERVED

7.1.4 LOCATION AND TYPE. *Describe the location within the community of the people to be served directly by this component project and the type of population to be served (pre-school, aged, families with children, etc.)*

100 farm worker families, many now dispossessed, nearly all with no current income, living in the Mississippi Delta.

7.1.5 POPULATION TO BE SERVED *How many people will be served directly by this component project?*	*How many of these are poor?*
100 families, 200 adults, at least 500 children	Everyone

7.2 DELEGATION OF ACTIVITIES TO OTHER AGENCIES

The following information is to be provided if any part of this component project is to be carried out by an agency or organization other than the applicant.

NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATE AGENCY

TYPE OF AGENCY *Is the delegate agency a (check one):*
☐ PUBLIC AGENCY ☒ PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION ☐ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

7.2.1 SCOPE OF DELEGATION *Attach a statement describing:*
a. *The degree of responsibility that the delegate agency will have in carrying out the component project.*
b. *The qualifications of the delegate agency to undertake and complete the component project.*
c. *The way in which the applicant agency will supervise and/or coordinate the activities of the delegate agency.*

7.2.2 ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS *Attach a fully executed copy of the Civil Rights Assurance Form for each delegate agency.*

7.3 PREVIOUS APPLICATION

Has this component project, in substantially its present form, ever been the subject of a previous application for Federal financial assistance?
☐ YES ☒ NO *If "Yes", attach an explanatory statement.*

7.4 BUDGET

COST CATEGORY	ESTIMATED COST
1. PERSONNEL	$ 132,660
2. CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES	4,150
3. TRAVEL	4,000
4. SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	3,500
5. CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	2,800
6. RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	11,335
7. OTHER COSTS	397,300
TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF PROJECT	$ 555,745
NON-FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION	-0-
FEDERAL GRANT REQUESTED UNDER TITLE II-A	$ 555,745

7.4.1 BUDGET DETAIL *Attach a statement giving the basis for estimating the cost of this component project, in accordance with the instructions set forth in the CAP GUIDE. Where convenient, the cost estimates should be shown on CAP Form 23 (Budget for Component Project).*

7.4.2 PERIOD OF GRANT *How long will this component project be financed by the grant requested in this application?*
One year

NUMBER OF MONTHS
12

ATTACHMENT CAP 7

7.1.2 Work Program

The Problem - The decline in the need for hand labor in the Mississippi Delta stems from 2 major causes:

1. Mechanization and chemical agriculture greatly reduces the need for unskilled hand labor on each acre of cotton. Mechanization reduces the need for hand picking almost to the vanishing point. Chemical weed control greatly reduces the need for cotton choppers who have been used up to the present for controlling weeds. Last year a breakthrough was made in using chemicals. Consequently, farm workers who depended primarily or solely for their economic livelihood on $3 a day for 4 or 5 months of the year when they were used for chopping or picking cotton are no longer needed.

2. Acreage in the Delta used for cotton production is to be reduced by 35 percent below past levels.

   In addition, Negro aspirations are rising and Negro farm workers now realize that they can do more with their lives than pick or chop cotton while living in shacks on other people's land.

Some farm worker families have been dispossessed already and others are leaving voluntarily. Tens of thousands of other persons are on the verge of leaving their shacks seeking better housing and an economic future.

About 20 of the 100 farm worker families to be served by the project are now living at the Mount Beulah Conference Center of the Delta Ministry. The remaining 80 farm worker families will be selected from the farm worker families in the 9 South Delta expected to seek a new life through this project.

The prime purpose of this project is to show to the Delta farm workers that they have not been forgotten by their government; that opportunities for decent housing and education are available to all farm workers.

Educational Program

The basic goal of this project is to make its participants full functioning members of our society. To achieve this, they must have basic operating and communication skills. Such skills are essential to functioning in the self-help program contimplated under this proposal. That is, the vocational skills necessary to complete the project are dependent upon the participants' ability to read and write and perform simple arithmetic.

It is proposed that the adult members of each household receive a one-year literacy and pre-vocational training course on the basis of each such person attending class for 15 hours a week and receive a weekly stipend of $15. An adult is a person aged 21 years of age and over, or a married person, or a youth aged 16-21 who is responsible for the family's well being.

The problem of creating sufficient motivation has been difficult in many previous literacy programs. This program will contain an interaction between the literacy program and the self-help construction project. It is hoped that as the participant observes the day to day results of his efforts in the building of his home he will be spurred on in his basic educational training.

The purpose of this literacy program is to help the participant in his efforts to construct his life as well as his house. Also, this literacy program is aimed at getting this person into a decent job or, if needed, into a vocational training program with weekly stipends. We estimate that it will take an average of 5 months to prepare and enroll them in such MDTA or similar vocational program. In some cases, this may happen sooner, and in other cases it will take a year or longer. We are asking, however, for a 5-month literacy program with the understanding that this time may have to be extended if such MDTA programs are not forthcoming or if these participants are not accepted for training.

Literacy Program

The method for literacy training will be to work with the 200 adults on the development of a literacy approach and literacy training materials for themselves. The work will be oriented around several objectives: the establishment of a working vocabulary of words common to the locale and the experiences of rural people in Mississippi; the writing of simple, graded workbooks introducing this vocabulary; the writing of simple, interesting supplementary reading materials; and the identification of the most workable teaching techniques for adults in Mississippi with rural backgrounds. It is expected that by working with the group to accomplish these ends, and by providing a minimum of systematic, guided instruction in communication skills for the members of the literacy training program itself, a high level of mastery of reading, writing and mathematics will be achieved, in addition to the creation of relevant, useful teaching materials for adults of primarily rural background.

The pre-vocational training aspect of the training will include classroom consideration of basic principles of bricklaying, electrical wiring, plumbing, etc. The focus of this training will be to prepare students for entry into vocational training programs which will either be offered by MDTA or through other means. In addition individuals will be prepared through this pre-vocational program to find and hold jobs. This will include methods of seeking job openings, interview techniques, and human relations aspects of work in jobs other than hand labor in agriculture.

It is proposed that members of the literacy group participate in the decisions regarding ordering and purchasing materials to be used in the self-help housing project, thus giving them a valuable learning experience useful in their future lines. This will prepare them for better employment opportunities. This same philosophical approach will permeate the entire self-help housing program so that the entire day - involving both time spent on literacy and on housing construction - will become a valuable learning experience in practical matters.

The actual literacy, citizenship, consumer education, pre-vocational program will be developed and supervised by Mary Holmes, Jr. College, at West Point, Mississippi. Staff members of this college will be employed as consultants to train and supervise the teachers and teacher aides. These consultants will also design the curriculum and prepare for OEO a package of literacy materials appropriate for other literacy programs in Mississippi.

The following subjects or educational elements will be included in the curriculum:

1. Reading, including alphabet recognition, phonetics and practice reading at appropriate beginner and progressive rates. As soon as possible individuals will be encouraged to read to each other or to groups.

2. Writing - printed and written. Major stress will be placed on filling out job applications, citizenship forms, credit applications, home loans, and other forms of vital interest to farm workers.

3. Grammar, including sentence structure, and building gradually to paragraph structure.

4. Arithmetic, including addition, subtraction, multiplication, division and fractions. Practical lessons in computing interest on loans will be included.

5. Citizenship, history and geography, including a basic understanding of their city, state and nation, an understanding of the development and structure of local, county, state and national organizations and agencies, and an understanding of the rights, obligations and duties of all citizens.

6. Vocational or work improvement, including the development of a work vocabulary, knowledge of how to seek and find a job. This will include trips to employment agencies and to potential employers.

7. Homemaking, home management and family living activities including budgeting, food purchasing and preparation, food preservation, child care and sewing.

8. Health Education - An effective anti-poverty program will progress in direct proportion to the maintenance and the improvement of the health conditions, personal and environmental, of its participants.

Self-Help Housing Program

The 100 farm worker families to be served by this project are homeless, without savings, and, in practically all cases, with no current income. They are living on private charity and surplus foods. They have been dispossessed from their shacks or left voluntarily because they had no opportunity to work in the cotton fields to support their families.

They have no access to regular long-term, low-interest loans for construction materials from the Farmers Home Administration because they lack regular sources of income. Consequently, it is necessary to include much of the cost of materials as an outright grant.

However, the farm worker families will be contributing substantially to the cost of these houses. They will be arranging for the land. They will contribute their own sweat equity. They will make or purchase the furniture and furnishings to go into the house. Finally, they will pay for at least ¼ of the cost of materials. In this way, they will be stimulated to economize in the purchase and utilization of all materials going into these houses. Nails, paint, wood, wire and other materials are not going to be wasted because the farm workers will have paid for at least ¼ of everything that will go into their homes, and people as they who are near starvation are not likely to waste one penny, one nail or one inch of wire.

The purpose of this component project is to provide homes with the self-help technique. The opportunity to build new homes not only improves family health and safety, but has important by-products; an education in the broadest sense, from how to participate in group ownership. Home construction knowledge is gained, and a sense of accomplishment with successful construction contributes to individual confidence and community pride. The significance extends to all members of the family and community.

Method of Selection

The Board of Delta Opportunity Corporation will be responsible for selecting participants in the program. This selection will be based on recommendations made by groups of farm workers, and will follow the criteria listed below.

Criteria for selecting 100 families for the program:

1. Farm worker families who have no permanent residence.

2. Farm worker families who had net cash incomes under $1,000 last year. Those farm worker families who have no present income and no reasonable possibility of earning any income are to be given top priority. Additional priority will be given to large families.

3. Farm worker families that show an eagerness to build their own homes.

Qualifications for Project Participation

Inasmuch as this is a project to alleviate poverty, its participants must necessarily be impoverished to be eligible. A means test shall be used based on a 1965 income of $1,000 or less and the non-ownership of real property or personal property other than personal effects, furniture and applicances.

Wherever possible the 1965 income shall be determined by checking financial records. If such records are not available then the income requirement shall be met by a sworn affidavit. An affidavit shall be also used to satisfy the property ownership requirements.

Since this is a self-help project, prospective members must demonstrate a favorable attitude towards cooperative work effort. A favorable disposition towards literacy and vocational training will also be required.

Scope and Content

The following pages describe in detail the scope and content of the project at the participant level, starting with the formation of a group through to the completion of the house.

Formation of a Group

There are several ways in which families can be called together to discuss self-help housing. A simple flyer, giving in elementary outline an explanation of how self-help housing works may bring a group together.

Visits to a completed project, by families of a propsective group, will be an inspiration!

One of the most effective means, if time and volunteers are available, is a door-to-door canvass of a low-income district to explain how a self-help housing project might work there.

Group Meetings - It takes time for a group to chart a path into self-help methods, a technique new to most people. It also takes time for a group to develop confidence in its community development advisor who is probably a stranger to everyone.

It is the community development advisor who is the key to a successful project.

It takes time to develop a relationship of mutual trust in one another, in the self-help plan. A trust must be fostered if the group is to achieve its goal - a new home for all members.

The following series of topics will be used as the focal point of consecutive meetings.

INITIAL MEETING - At the introductory meeting, the community development advisor will outline briefly the self-help housing method. He will describe in general terms the requirements for participation and will tell families how they can tailor their homes to individual needs and tastes.

This meeting is to provide information, and the speaker will allow ample time for questions from the audience.

BACKGROUND OF SELF-HELP HOUSING - At the second meeting, members will see how self-help housing has worked in other parts of the United States and of the world. Some members may read an account of other projects and report to the group.

ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING - Permanent officers for local responsibilities dealing with the construction activities should be elected as soon as families decide they are interested in the self-help plan.

A president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer are needed early. The labor manager is better selected just before construction begins, after families have grown to know one another.

Also, at the early stages of the organizational meetings, a grievance committee will be established.

Conflict is a natural phenomenon in any social group, and it is necessary to have an apparatus for its resolution. A grievance committee composed of 2 representatives of the Delta Opportunity Corporation and 5 representatives from the existing indigenous group is to be created at the inception of the project, to serve for one year. The chairmen of the corporation and the conference shall designate their respective representatives initially and annually thereafter. The grievance committee shall meet once a month or oftener at the call of its chairman. Complaints may be registered by an aggrieved person by contacting the secretary of the grievance committee and this procedure shall be appropriately publicized within the project.

The grievance committee shall make recommendations to the corporation or the conference according to the jurisdiction or interest of each organization.

COSTS OF HOME OWNERSHIP - A banker, a credit union specialist or other financial specialists will explain the obligations of home ownership. He should discuss interest, explaining rates charged for automobile loans, finance company loans, charge accounts, savings and loan financing and bank loans. His objective should be to make his listeners understand the importance of obtaining the lowest possible interest in order to stretch their incomes.

He also should explain taxes, insurance and maintenance costs, so that his listeners can understand plainly the responsibility of home ownership.

The knowledge gained here can help family budgeting of income for years to come.

The group may want to establish a bank account at this time, to begin saving for fire insurance and other costs. Some groups bring a stated amount, perhaps $5, to every meeting.

LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS - A lawyer will meet with the group to discuss questions on legal aspects of relationships within the association.

At this time, the method of guaranteeing labor exchange is approved by the group. Also he will assist them in arranging for the legal transfer of land from the Corporation to the individual farm workers. during the course of this project.

If the participants in the self-help housing project decide prior to such transfer to own the property in a manner different from individual ownership, such as corporate or cooperative, then evidence of ownership or participation in such relationships shall be devised by counsel but shall not be acted upon unless written approval is obtained from OEO.

WHAT TO CONSIDER WHEN PLANNING A HOME - An architect or contractor will be invited to this meeting to discuss design, materials, and room arrangement. The construction supervisor who will help families with their individual plans also should participate.

PRELIMINARY PLANS AND WORKING DRAWINGS - Within 30 days after the funding of this project a city plan and layout showing offsite improvements, including streets, utility services and a housing subdivision shall be prepared and submitted to the Delta Opportunity Corporation for approval. Within 10 days after such submittal, the city plan is to be forwarded to the Office of Economic Opportunity. Work on the offsite improvements is to commence within 30 days thereafter.

Within 30 days after the funding of this project several preliminary plans, each with a different scheme, shall be submitted to the combined building committee of the Delta Opportunity Corporation and the participants in the project. A plan or plans shall be selected, after consultation with the architect within 21 days thereafter and also forwarded to OEO. The architect shall commence working drawings immediately and they are to be completed within 30 days thereafter.

Work on individual houses shall be commenced within 30 days after completion of working drawings with a completion schedule of one year thereafter.

BUILDING CODE REQUIREMENTS - A specialist who can discuss requirements, if any, for home building will attend this session. He will explain the periods during construction when inspections are made. It is his job to help members of the group understand the importance of building code requirements. He should be prepared to explain the schedule of building permit fees applicable to the area.

THE LABOR EXCHANGE - At this point in the meeting schedule, homes probably are planned and loan applications made. Now is the time to discuss how the group wishes to exchange labor. Members should consider whether men and women should receive equal credit for each hour worked; when children's hours of work will be considered equal to an adult's hours; who should keep records; and how often they should meet to check and approve records during the construction period.

TAXES - Participants will be anxious to know what taxes to expect. A representative of the assessor should explain how taxes are determined, what the rate is in the area where the homes are being constructed.

SAFETY AND USE OF TOOLS - More than one meeting may be justified to cover safety. Representatives of compensation insurance companies or the construction supervisor are good choices to conduct the discussion on safety. The use and safe handling should be carefully explained for ruler, square, level, hammer, skilsaw, hand saw, cut-off saw, jointer, ladder, axe, pick, shovel and sledge.

PURCHASING MATERIAL- The group, with the building supervisor, should decide how members plan to purchase materials. A Committee will be appointed to work with the supervisor on materials purchased with maximum participation in such purchases by each participant in the program.

WORK ORGANIZATION - This session should be held just before construction begins. Signed membership agreements must be returned at this meeting if they have not been received earlier. This is so that it is understood that all members of the group plan to build, and all are in agreement on earlier decisions.

If priority of home construction hasn't been established, it must be decided at this meeting. Circumstances of seniority in the association and house locations usually determine construction priority. To save time and money, houses standing near one another should be built consecutively. How far construction proceeds on each house before work begins on the next is a decision to be left to the construction supervisor and the labor manager.

The number of people working at any one time will vary. Sometimes the construction supervisor will need several persons on the job at once. He must do his planning well, so that members of the group will know when the heavy need for labor are anticipated.

Again, there will be periods when a number of people are available for work. If the construction supervisor has advance notice of this, he will be prepared to make good use of the larger crews.

It is recognized that a rigid schedule of hours can't be set for farm workers, who are governed by weather conditions and crop seasons.

LANDSCAPING - A nurseyman or a landscape architect should be invited to give pointers on landscaping and lawn painting. The aesthetic value of plantings, as well as the increased value of a nicely landscaped home should be pointed out.

CARE OF A HOME - An agricultural extension service home advisor, and a builder, are good choices of speakers for this meeting. This is when members of the group learn such things as how often to paint, when to replace screens, roofs, and floors, and how to prepare a cooler for winter and to put it into operation again in the summer.

ATTACHMENT CAP 7
Cont. Page 9

Community Center

The project calls for substantial group activity. In accordance with basic notions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, project members are to participate in the planning, development and management of the program to the fullest extent possible. This will entail group meetings. The literacy and vocational training component will also involve group activity. These activities make a community center essential.

A number of northern and western colleges have shown an interest in providing student labor for the construction of simlar centers and it is believed that a center in this project would receive enthusiastic support.

The money for material for such a center will be obtained from private sources.

OFF SITE COSTS FROM FHA - No request is included herein for off-site costs, such as water and sewage disposal, etc. Application is currently being made to Farmers Home Administration of the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture for this need. However, if such support is unavailable, a supplemental request will be made.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT - It is appreciated that members of the self-help housing project, having erected homes and having learned basic skills, will need permanent jobs.

Planning toward this goal, the following steps have been taken.

(1) A request is in to the State Director, Farmers Home Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, asking for technical assistance in acquiring a processing plant for garden vegatables, advice on farm management, and considerations of the problem of diversification of crops. A preliminary affirmative answer has been received.

(2) Conversations have been entered into with the President of a leading national food processing company. He is enthusiastic about the decentralization of his firm's plants, has within the last three months opended a plant in Texas; and promises to give consideration to a similar plant in the Mississippi Delta. He is tentatively hopeful that, in due time, such an operation may come to fruition.

(3) Other industrialists have been approached and are cautiously considering the idea pending investigation by their technical men on the physical problems (rates, waste disposal, transportation, etc. involved.

(4) Heifer Project, Inc. a church agency, has been approached and has given its promise of help in establishing herds of beef cattle. It remains to pin-point the extend of this help to be expected.

Stipends

Weekley stipends of $15 will be paid to two adult members in each household participating in the housing program. This is for a minimum of 15 hours a week in basic literacy, citizenship and pre-vocational programs described below.

It is estimated that each participant in this program will need at least one year of such education programs leading to employment or to vocational training. However, it is expected that some will be enrolled soomer in special vocational training programs financed under the Manpower Development and Training Act. Consequently, we are asking for only 5 months for stipends although we may require additional stipends if MDTA programs are delayed or are not available for this group. 200 person at $15 per week per person for 20 weeks equals $60,000.

ATTACHMENT CAP 7

Job Description

Program Director - is an ex-officio member of the board of directors of Delta Opportunity Corporation. He has the responsibility for the over-all coordination of the project. He will supervise all work. He will be directly responsible to the board for the execution of the project.

Construction Supervisor- The self-help approach for a large scale tract development is unique and obviously there is no ready supply of skilled supervisory personnel available. The project director must have 2 basic skills: one, he must be a licensed general contractor, or equivalent, with large size tract development experience; and secondly he must be able to teach, direct and manage relatively unskilled workers. It, of course, will be necessary for him to retain journeyment from various building trades such as electricians and plumbers, to provide specific guidance and instruction. He will work closely with architects.

He must have substantial experience in purchasing building materials and also must be familiar with scheduling and layout of various phases of the construction program.

Accountant - will keep the books and clear all checks as per budget category. His initials are needed on all vouchers before checks are signed by program director.

Construction Crew Leaders - are responsible for working with the teams, as outlined by the contractor. They will be persons skilled in the building trades. They will be responsible for the accuracy and efficiency of the men and their self-help work. They will take time to assist and do training wherever feasible and necessary.

Supervisor Teacher - will, in effect, have responsibility for the educational aspect of the program and will report to the program director. He will direct the activities of the teachers and will procure adequate educational materials.

Teachers - will conduct two 15 hour teaching sessions per week for the 200 adults in the program, who will be divided into two groups for teaching. They will make bi-weekly progress reports to the project director and will meet monthly to assess the progress of the students and to adjust teaching methods accordingly. Before they begin teaching, they will spend one week of intensive training in the most current adult education techniques.

Services of a CPA

The bookkeeping will be established by Ernst and Ernst, a national CPA firm with offices in Jackson, Miss. This firm will be responsible for conducting audits semi-annually.

ATTACHMENT CAP 7

Evaluation and Documentation

The evaluation will start after project initation and continue until the conclusion of the grant period. It will include monthly visits to the project by the staff of the evaluation group. The group chosen to do the evaluation will develop the evaluation method and organizations. We want the evaluation method and organization to draw on the broad spectrum of social scientific skills involved in the question of adult education and group development and housing; this may call for the inclusion of such persons as labor economists, psychiatrists, sociologists, etc. The group selected to do the evaluation should have sufficient capacity to do an inter-displinary evaluation.

The evaluation would cover project operation, staffing and administration, potential for large scale development of current techniques, group development study, financial resources for construction, loans and technical assistance as related to needs and effectiveness, user characteristics and housing need and aspirations of seasonal farm workers, plan arrangements, self-help construction techniques, cost identification and documentation of problem areas, the impact of the self-help housing experience on the aspirations of the group in the program and their families, the validity of the basic education approach, and other items.

Office of Economic Opportunity **APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM**	**FORM APPROVED.** **BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019**

BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT

This form is to accompany each component project form (CAP 6, CAP 7, or CAP 8) in applying for a grant under Sections 204, 205, or 206 of Title II-A, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Applicants are not required to use this form -- they may substitute a typed budget which contains the same information in the same order as on the form.

NAME OF APPLICANT Delta Opportunity Corporation	**DO NOT FILL IN:** *(For Administrative Use)*
BRIEF TITLE OF PROJECT Education and self-help housing program for dispossessed farm workers in the Mississippi Delta	**COMPONENT PROJECT NO.** 7-1

B-1.0 PERSONNEL

B-1.1 PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY

NUMBER OF PERSONS	POSITION OR TITLE	SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	COST
1	Program Director	1,000	100	12	12,000
1	Construction Supervisor	900	100	12	10,800
5	Construction Crew Leaders	500	100*	12	30,000
1	Accountant	700	100	12	8,400
2	Secretaries	300	100*	12	7,200
1	Supervisor Teacher	600	100	12	7,200
6	Teachers	425	100*	12	30,600
4	Community Aides	300	100*	12	14,400
					120,600
	COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS *(Indicate basis for estimate)* 10%				12,060

*Could be hired on an hourly basis, if full time people can not be found. Could be as much as $7,000 per yr. for a skilled electricial and as little as $5,000 for a carpenter.

SUB-TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY $ 132,660.

B-1.2 PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCY(IES)

NUMBER OF PERSONS	POSITION OR TITLE	SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	COST

COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS *(Indicate basis for estimate)*

SUB-TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCY(IES) $

TOTAL, PERSONNEL $ 132,660

APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT *(Continued)*

-2.0 CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES

-2.1 CONSULTANT SERVICES

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR FEE ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
udit	To establish bookkeeping system and to pay for two audits	$ 1,000.00
gal service--does not include itigation	10 days @ $75.00 a day	750.00
	SUB-TOTAL CONSULTANT SERVICES	$ 1,750.00

-2.2 OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
asic education consultants or evaluation and technical ssistance in establishing nd operating program	40 days, not to exceed $60 a day	$ 2,400.00
	SUB-TOTAL, OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES	$ 2,400.00
	TOTAL, CONTRACT SERVICES	$

-3.0 TRAVEL

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
taff travel--Local	10¢ a mile--20,000 miles	$ 2,000.00
istant travel for staff and consultants	at coach rates	2,000.00
	TOTAL, TRAVEL COSTS	$ 4,000.00

-4.0 SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
ffice Space	500 square	$ 1,000.00
lassroom space	1,000 sq. ft. @ $2.50 per Sq. Ft.	2,500.00
	TOTAL, SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	$ 3,500.00

-5.0 CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
ic Educational Materials	$10 a student	$ 2,000.00
ice Supplies		800.00
	TOTAL, CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	$ 2,800.00

-6.0 RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
fice equipment	See attachment	$ 1,690.00
ols	See attachment	1,683.00
uipment to be purchased		3,962.00
ipment to be rented	Tractor w. attachments $10 per hr. 400 hrs.	4,000.00
	TOTAL, RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	$ 11,335.00

-7.0 OTHER COSTS

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
lephone		$ 1,500.00
ostage		800.00
ucational Stipends	$15.00 x 200 persons x 20 wks.	60,000.00
nstruction materials	See attachment	225,000.00
mporary housing costs	see attachment	110,000.00
	TOTAL, OTHER COSTS	$ 397,300.00
	GRAND TOTAL, COST OF COMPONENT PROJECT	$ 555,745.00

TOOLS TO BE BOUGHT

100 Hammers @ $1.75	$ 175.00
20 Hand saws @ $6.25	125.00
50 Mason's Travel @ $1.10	55.00
30 Shovels @ $4.50	135.00
10 Picks @ $6.00	60.00
10 Mattock @ $7.25	72.50
30 Levels @ $6.75	202.50
15 Rafter squares @ $7.00	105.00
40 Small squares @ $2.75	110.00
10 Planes (Smoothing) @ $8.75	87.50
10 Planes (Block @ $3.25	32.50
100 Nail Punches @ $1.00	100.00
50 Balls (Marking Twine) @ $1.25	62.50
100 Screw Drivers @ $1.00	100.00
80 Pliers (Assorted) @ $1.75	140.00
20 Pipe Wrenches @ $3.75	75.00
5 Stapling Guns @ $7.00	35.00
Total	$ 1,682.50

EQUIPMENT TO BE BOUGHT

2 Second Hand Concrete Mixers @ $250.00	$ 500.00
5 Chain Saws @ $169.00	845.00
4 Radical Arm Saws @ $225.00	900.00
20 Skill Saws @ $60.00	1,200.00
5 Saber Saws @ $28.00	140.00
10 Power Drills--½" @ $26.00	260.00
3 Power Drills ½" @ $39.00	117.00
Total	$ 3,962.00

OTHER EQUIPMENT

3 Typewriters	$ 600.00
1 Calculator	450.00
3 File Cabinets	120.00
4 Desks	320.00
8 Chairs	200.00
Total	$1,690.00

ESTIMATED AMOUNT OF MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THE AVERAGE HOUSE

The Office of Economic Opportunity is asked to finance, for families with less than $1,000 in annual income, 75% of the cost of materials estimated below at $3,110.00 not to exceed $2,250 per family. The remaining amount of $860.00 will be obtained by the families through loans, grants or other means. The kind of materials to be included in this grant are listed below.

Roofing, siding and insulation	$ 349.00
Lumber	1,140.00
Brick and Mortar	105.00
Lowers, windows and doors	229.00
Wood moulding and trim	120.00
Sheet rock and plywood	292.00
Hardware and nails	89.00
Light fixtures and wiring	195.00
Bath and plumbing	230.00
Vents and attic fan	86.00
Two (2) gas heaters	175.00
Termite shield	100.00
	$ 3,110.00 (per house)

TEMPORARY HOUSING COSTS

There are no readily available places for these dispossessed people where they could live while constructing their homes. Rental quarters are not available within commuting distance where they will construct their homes. Furthermore, they have no funds.

One ready solution is the deactivated and presently unoccupied Greenville Air Force Base which is within easy commuting distance of the building site. Furthermore, the Base would provide recreational and educational space as well as temporary living quarters for the adults and their children.

Efforts are now being made to obtain the Base for the participants in this program and for many other dispossessed persons.

In the event this is not forthcoming, we will need to erect demountable temporary housing for use in this and subsequent self-help housing program

The cost for such stran-steel units, with a wood floor base, is $1,100, of which $897.00 is for the single stran-steel housing unit. The total cost requested for 100 units is $110,000.

PROGRESS REPORT OF SALT RIVER MUTUAL HELP PROGRAM

The Salt River Indian Reservation, located in the heart of the Phoenix metropolitan complex, is occupied by a group of 1800 Pima and Maricopa Indians who are as much in need of decent housing as is any community in the Nation. Part of a community larger than the reservation, the Salt River Indians are in daily contact with their non-Indian neighbors; and, the children especially must make almost daily unfavorable comparisons between the slum conditions in which many of them live and the middle class comfort of their public school classmates.

The potential wealth of the reservation cannot be underestimated in spite of the widespread poverty which presently prevails. The City of Scottsdale is contiguous with the reservation along an eight mile front. With houses of non-Indians along much of the common boundary, it is only a matter of time until urban development will extend onto leaseholds located on Indian land. The extent to which this movement is controlled by the Indian land owners depends greatly on how soon and how well the reservation residents gain self-confidence and develop managerial skills. These are not easy to acquire. They are virtually impossible of achievement by people who live an entire family in a single room and haul water from a common tap, as is now often the case. Mutual-Help Housing can help the Salt River Indians achieve a better life and is an important component in the reservation's community development program.

In February of 1963, the Salt River Tribal Council established the Salt River Housing Authority, the legal body necessary to administer a mutual-help housing program. The Council was quick to see it as a program which could, and should, be tribally-controlled. Four respected community members were appointed to the Authority; the chairmanship was delegated to the non-Indian Tribal business manager who wisely moved into a subordinate role, more or less that of executive secretary to the Authority, and has diligently avoided involving himself in the selection of mutual-help applicants which is left entirely to the Indian members.

A lengthy delay was experienced between the time the first applicants were chosen by the Authority and the start of actual construction, in spite of genuine efforts to cut red tape and speed actions both by the Public Housing Administration and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. During this period a basic function of the Housing Authority was defined: That it must serve as a buffer between the necessarily impersonal character of a bureaucratic program on the one hand, and the skeptical and easily discouraged Indian participants on the other. It had to personalize the mutual-help program to the needs of the Salt River Community.

One of the principal duties of the Authority was to maintain participant morale during the year which elapsed between the time the first 15 participants were selected and the actual start of construction. During this time, much effort was concentrated in welding the 15 participants into a social grouping. Three trips by participants were made to observe the pilot housing project at San Carlos, on which occasions the Salt River people had the opportunity to visit with the Apache mutual-help participants and to familiarize themselves with the San Carlos house plans, a design finally chosen with only minor modifications by the Salt River people. These outings were made enjoyable social occasions; for example, the Salt River visitors held on one occasion, a picnic in a partially completed San Carlos house. Additional social occasions, usually in the form of dinners, attended by participants and members of the Authority, were held. Participants became further acquainted with the house plans; were briefed on their duties as participants; and got to know the man chosen as their construction foreman by the Housing Authority.

In the pre-construction stage of the project, a tribally-employed community worker was an important link between the Authority and the participants. A member of the Salt River Tribe, he served as a trouble shooter, feeding back to the Authority Chairman, the questions, concerns, and minor gripes of the participants. A one-quarter inch to one foot scale model of the proposed house was provided this worker so that women especially could become thoroughly familiar with the design, plan interior colors, and think about the choice of furnishings for the house itself.

The participants were chosen by the Authority according to five criteria: Each had to be within prescribed income limits (the standards of the Phoenix Housing Authority have been applied to the Salt River Reservation); each had to be in a position to either themselves furnish a minimum of 20 hours of labor a week (a standard established by the Salt River Authority), or have this furnished by a family member; each had to be reliable -- the sort of person the Authority felt would stick with the job; each had to be in serious need of decent housing; and, finally, each had to have, or be able to acquire, a house site which could be legally conveyed to the Housing Authority until title is finally transferred to the participant.

The fifteen participants chosen are all employed more or less full time as follows: Three family heads work as night attendants at a nearby Public Health Service Hospital; one as a part-time draftsman for a Federal office in Phoenix; two work as laborers for an irrigation project; three work in service jobs; four as agricultural laborers; and, three are employed as casual day laborers.

When construction actually got underway on December 11, 1964, it was immediately apparent, with all participants working virtually full time at regular jobs, that the project was going to require very careful management in order to develop from an irregular flow of untrained participant labor, a steady record of construction progress of standards acceptable to PHA inspectors. Organization of the programs by capable management has proven to be second only to participant training and the maintenance of participant morale as a key to success.

A second fact that was immediately apparent to the Authority was that programs thought by administrators to be "community" programs may be thought by the participants to be "Government" programs. At least three persons initially balked at the idea of actually working on the project, claiming that "it had never been explained that we were going to have to do so much work"--that "we thought the Bureau was going to build the house for us." It is apparently virtually impossible to repeat the requirements of a mutual-help program to the participants too much; fortunately, only one of the three left the program; the other two have remained to become among the best participants.

A major crisis in the program was experienced when the construction foreman initially employed by the Authority was forced to resign because of ill health just after the project started. He was almost immediately replaced by Mr. Vernon Smith, a former President of the Salt River Tribal Council, and experienced in home construction. Two important decisions were immediately made by Mr. Smith and his associate, Mr. Floyd Sanger, employed by the Salt River Agency to assist the Housing Authority. First, that construction would be broken into various components, such as foundations and floors; masonry walls; roofs and porches; windows, interior walls, electric wiring, and plumbing; and final finish. Each component is completed in sequence for all 15 homes before starting the next component. The order for proceeding was decided by lot; as the program has developed, however, new components were started at the last house at which the previous one had been completed, and then to the next most convenient location. A second important decision was that participants would be trained to do as much of the actual construction as possible even though the PHA budget allowed for the limited employment of journeyman carpenters, plumbers, masons, and the like. The faith which Mr. Smith and Mr. Sanger have shown in the participants' ability to build their own homes has done much to assure the project's success to date, and to instill a sense of pride which is felt throughout the Salt River Indian community.

Participation has almost from the start remained at about the same level with a steady average of 8.5 persons per day reporting to the job site. Monday customarily has the poorest showing; Saturday, when participants are free from the regular job is often the occasion of virtually a full turnout. Organized work in the evenings has not proven practical although individual participants often contribute time following their regular work day. Sundays have remained days of rest.

Acceleration of construction is, of course, slowed by the fact that all participants work full time. Each participant has arranged his days off to provide time for working on the project a minimum of twenty hours per week, or have arranged with a relative (usually a son or a son-in-law) to contribute part of this time in his name. Three participants have unemployed male relatives living in their households, each of whom contribute far in excess of the twenty hour minimum. The additional hours put in for these participants, greatly needed by the project, will be compensated for by providing each with washing machines and bedroom furnishings acquired by the Housing Authority at no cost to it. During the summer vacation, in spite of the Arizona heat, teenage relatives of the participants made significant contributions.

The quality of the construction has been uniformly excellent, and participant pride in this achievement has been high. However, progress has been slower than expected. An untrained participant's output is initially only about one-fourth or one-fifth of that of an experienced man. This situation is further complicated in a mutual-help project such as Salt River's by the fact that a person trained, say, in installing pre-glazed windows may work for three days in a row then miss a week. This makes it necessary to go back to complete this component in a manner wasteful of supervisory time. The fact that fifteen houses are scattered over an area of eight square miles still further complicates this situation.

Participants have taken pride in their work and have learned their jobs well. The construction of the concrete block walls proved a particularly popular activity; possibly the most popular phase of the project. Once this skill was learned, participants worked without supervision freeing management for work elsewhere. Concrete finishing; the installation and finishing of interior "dry wall"; exterior painting; and electrical rough in are other activities which certain participants have learned sufficiently well that they are carried out without immediate supervision. Plumbing, wall framing, roof framing, and finish carpentry, each involving working to close tolerances, have proven to be tasks needing close supervision, although each has been carried out by participants trained by the two project supervisors.

The project is just over 76% completed, with about 4 to 5% additional completion per month. At this rate, participants should move into their houses by March 1, 1966. In spite of the protracted construction period, there seems to be no lessening of participant interest; in fact, the project has been steadily increasing in productivity as the houses near completion. As the end of the project nears, individual participants are tending more and more to work independently on their houses in the evenings, as well as to continue to participate with organized work crews during the day.

At the time of this report the Housing Authority has chosen twenty more mutual-help participants. Site surveys have been accomplished; land documentation completed; and participant use and occupancy agreements signed. Hopefully, actual construction will start about January 1, 1966 on the second phase of Mutual-Help Housing at Salt River.

The Salt River housing project has proved to be much more a relationship between people than simply an exercise in a novel construction method. While it has been important that those in charge be skilled in construction techniques, it has been fortunate indeed that they have also had the quality of being able to work with people (as opposed to the less valuable ability to "handle" people); and, that they are firm believers in the self-help method. They have seen the completion of the physical house as but one goal of the project, recognizing that the identification of the participants with the project and with the individual homes to be of at least equal importance. They have seen this method of construction of houses as a device for bringing pride and dignity into the lives of people -- many of whom have been dependent on the "Government" to do things for them. They have seen the project as a means of instilling a spark of creativity into the lives of some whose creativeness has been limited to picking cotton, or mowing non-Indian lawns.

The leaders of the Salt River housing project have proven to be teachers; they enjoy showing people how to do things for themselves even when it would be more efficient and economical to do the task for them. They have been willing to get up before work, or go out in the evenings to bolster the flagging spirits of some participant caught up in the complications of his daily life. On more than a few occasions they have put far more time into this activity than the hours of participant time returned for their efforts.

There are unquestionably more efficient and faster (but not necessarily less expensive) ways to build houses than by the mutual-help method. It is doubtful, however, that there are many more effective ways than by mutual-help for turning the four cold walls of a recently completed house into a unit for family living for persons who have often not known much family unity. It is in these difficult-to-measure areas that the real qualities of mutual-help housing lies; making it a well-worth defending plan, not only as a construction method but as a process for individual, family, and community development.

BEXAR COUNTY MIGRANT PROGRAM

ACTION FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, INC.

Component 7.4

Self-help Housing, Sanitation and Community Improvement

The areas where migrants live in Southwest Bexar County, particularly in Meadow Wood Acres, Linda Vista, Villa Coronado and parts of the West Side of San Antonio, lack basic sanitation facilities of water and sewerage and consist of totally inadequate, deteriorated or insecurely constructed homes, no community or recreational facilities.

This project would provide for a Migrant Aide Corps of 15 who would learn and work under expert supervision on necessary improvements. The aides would be paid $1.50 per hour as they would be unemployed heads of families. They would have the opportunity to learn and at the same time help develop the over-all community well-being of the areas where migrants live.

According to the 1960 census, the average annual income for farm workers in Bexar County was $919.00. Recently in Meadow Wood Acres we found fifty-three persons living in two small one-room houses - all one family. An outside kitchen served the eating needs.

In the Meadow Wood Acres area one resident succeeded in obtaining a loan on his house - a lumber company gave him what it claimed was $1,000 worth of lumber for which he is now paying 12% interest.

In trying to get some kind of a roof over their heads, the migrants in fringe communities do not have anything left for any community facilities.

These migrants and seasonal farm workers cannot qualify for financial assistance from FHA, H.H.F.A. or any other federal or civil finance agency at the present time. A letter from the San Antonio Housing Authority is attached. FHA would not put this in writing because each application is reviewed individually.

The migrant aides would work principally on self-help projects which will benefit the community as a whole rather than private individuals.

The Corps would assist private individuals when the local council or committee would establish the emergency nature of the needed improvement or when such improvement became necessary for the proper health of the family or community.

This work would be accomplished under an owner self-help-and-learn program assisted by the Migrant Corps. This will be based on the most needed status, condition of structure and the needs of the family or families occupying it.

A progressive program will be initiated starting with proper foundations or structural bearings, relevelling, bracing where necessary to maintain proper alignment, insulating and roof repair, replacing or putting in windows where none exist, installation or repair of electrical circuits.

Materials for community improvements will be obtained by salvage from condemned structures in highway construction areas and donations from contractors of salvagable residue remaining upon completion of their projects.

Members of these communities are poverty people and do not have the financial means to purchase the necessary materials to accomplish these needed improvements.

The A.C.D. staff checked with local FHA officials and bank presidents on whether or not these farm workers could qualify and it was obvious that the kind of families who would benefit from this project could not qualify for ordinary loans.

Sanitation work in a community like Meadow Wood Acres is essential. The community is 12 miles west of the city limits of San Antonio and tying in with city utilities is prohibitive. There are no sewerage facilities in Linda Vista and Villa Coronado.

Whatever would be possible relative to sanitation and water services would be aided by the Migrant Corps on a cooperative self-help basis. Efforts are now underway to finance a water system under the Farmers' Home Administration in Meadow Wood Acres and to have the City of San Antonio extend water mains to Linda Vista which is located just beyond the city limits. Sanitation and sewage disposal remain the greater problems. Here the Migrant Aide Corps could develop some simple but sanitary outdoor privies and devise some garbage disposal system.

Moreover, A.C.D. has three CINVA-RAM block presses and the Migrant Corps could make its own blocks for some of the construction projects.

The Migrant Aides will be selected from unemployed migrants who have an interest in learning skills in self-help housing, sanitation and community improvement and agree to work with the Corps for at least one month. Eventually some would become more skilled and be able to assist new recruits. What we wish to avoid is a feeling that the Corps is an opportunity for permanent employment. It is hoped it will become a stepping stone for migrants to move from the Corps into permanent employment.

In addition to work skills, the Corps members would also be required to take part in the voluntary educational programs on their own time which will be available at the centers. On days of bad weather the Corps would work at one of the Centers constructing items which are needed for the project or repairing items needed for home or community improvement. To make it possible for the aides to do efficient work a carpenter's tool kit will be needed by each Corps member. The kits will remain the property of the project and not the aides.

In order to transport the Corps members and haul materials which can be obtained from a variety of sources, a truck and a pick-up must be rented. It is foreseen that the trucks will be needed each day to accomplish the purposes of this project. After checking various sources, the cheaper rental is available from Consolidated Leasing Corporation.

The project will be under the supervision of a qualified construction engineer and a Migrant Project Assistant who has knowledge and skill in the area of general home improvement.

The supervisor will have had experience in organizing and instructing men and has supervised such projects in the past under very adverse conditions. He will have a knowledge of all phases of instruction, sewerage and sanitation, small home construction, alterations, improvements and experience in working with ethnic groups. The supervisor A.C.D. intends to hire for this project has these qualifications. Moreover, he is a licensed contractor in two states (only 14 states require this and Texas is not one).

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OUTLINE OF FARM LABOR AND SENIOR CITIZENS RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAMS - FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION

Type of Assistance	Purpose	Terms	Who May Qualify	Source of Funds
FARM LABOR HOUSING LOANS (SEC. 514)	Build or repair housing and related facilities for domestic farm labor.	5 percent Up to 33 years	Farmowners, associations of farmers, a state or political subdivision or a public or private nonprofit organization.	Private capital Insured loans
DIRECT SENIOR CITIZEN RENTAL HOUSING LOANS (SEC. 515 (a))	Build, improve, repair, or purchase rental housing for rural senior citizens with low or moderate income. Houses, duplexes, and apartments.	3 percent Up to 50 years $200,000 limit	Private, nonprofit corporations and consumer cooperatives with local control and broadly based ownership.	Rural Housing Direct Loan Account
INSURED SENIOR CITIZENS RENTAL HOUSING LOANS (SEC. 515 (b))	Build, improve, repair or purchase rental housing for rural senior citizens. Houses, duplexes, and apartments.	5-3/4 percent Up to 40 years $300,000 limit	Individuals, trusts, associations, partnerships, and corporations, including corporate agencies of a state or local government.	Private capital Insured Loans
DOMESTIC FARM LABOR HOUSING GRANTS (SEC. 516)	Provide low-rent housing and related facilities for domestic farm labor.	Applicant must provide as much of development cost as possible from its own resources or from funds borrowed from other sources including a Sec. 514 loan.	State or political subdivision or a public or broadly based private nonprofit organization that will provide housing as a community service. ✓	Direct appropriations

Farmers Home Administration, USDA
November 12, 1965

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FRIENDS HOUSING COOPERATIVE, FORMERLY CALLED FRIENDS SELF-HELP HOUSING

8th and Fairmount Avenue, Philadelphia

Since the purpose and beginnings of the project were covered in material included in Self-Help Housing in the United States and Canada (Eight Illustrations), this paper deals with (1) financing, (2) land acquisition, (3) construction, (4) difficulties and successes and the effect on the people and on the neighborhood, and (5) future prospects.

(1) Financing

When the planning was being done for Friends Housing Cooperative a new federal law had recently been written to finance cooperatives with 90% mortgage, insured by the FHA. This was known as Section 213 under Title 1 of the 1949 Housing Act. Under this financing arrangement the sponsor was required to sign up in advance 90% of the tenant occupants. These persons had to have a credit check and be approved individually by the FHA. Under the Act it was anticipated that these persons would put up in cash their 10% down payment, which would buy stock for them in the cooperative. A mortgage company would then place a mortgage for the other 90% upon completion of construction.

In our development the self-help labor was to take the place of the 10% cash. The great majority of persons did work off their complete down payment. Of the original occupants, approximately 80% worked off their full down payment and most of the rest worked off some of their down payment with only a very few paying cash in full. More about the self-help aspect later.

This particular requirement, that 90% of the families be signed up in advance, posed something of a problem here because we were trying to do so many things. We were trying to rehabilitate a block of 100-year-old homes in a slum. We were interested in having site occupants as well as others participate in the program. We were determined that the project should be interracial.

There was considerable initial interest in the idea by local residents. When we did sign up local people, nine out of ten were rejected by the FHA as poor credit risks. And when we got persons with high income the response on at least one occasion was that a guy making that much money can't be a Negro. We made it clear that our program was to be interracial, even though we were informed off the record by FHA that were we to make this an all Negro project they would give approval quickly. We of course did not agree to this and it was three years between the time of initial discussions on this project to the final FHA approval in June 1952.

One of the results of the difficulty of getting persons signed up who were approved by FHA was that we decided to tackle half of the block at a time and to go ahead with 52 apartments. Once this decision was made it was approximately six months until approval was given all down the line, with a mortgage commitment from PSFS, and mortgage insurance from FHA.

(2) Land Acquisition

The site selected, one block at 8th and Fairmount, was in the first Redevelopment area of the City of Philadelphia. This meant that acquisition was handled through the Redevelopment Authority of the city. The Authority used condemnation procedures and purchased the entire block from individual owners. The land was then sold to Friends Service, Incorporated, a subsidiary of the American Friends Service Committee, which acted as the fiscal agent for the two sponsoring groups -- Friends Neighborhood Guild and the American Friends Service Committee.

Sale price to Friends Service, Inc. was $78,000 and this represented approximately one-third of the cost which the city had paid for the properties. One corner property was sold to the Friends Neighborhood Guild. This was a facility suitable for a community center. It had a theatre and a large common room. One other corner property had been a bottling works and this was demolished. A third corner property was an ice cream factory, and this company was permitted to remain for about five years, and rented its facility first from Friends Service, Inc. and later from 8th and Brown Mutual Housing Corporation when that corporation came into existence. The ice cream factory was subsequently torn down and the residents living in the development at that time volunteered considerable labor to landscape that corner.

(3) Construction

The architectural firm of Oscar Stonorov had been engaged to draw the plans and provide architectural supervision. An excellent job was done by the architect. A Quaker construction company, Unkefer Brothers, was engaged to do the building. Since this was to be rehabilitation, it was agreed to work on a time and materials basis rather than a lump sum contract.

Ralph Unkefer had been on the board of Friends Neighborhood Guild prior to and during the discussion/planning phase of this program. When it was decided that he should be the builder, he resigned from the board. This firm gave full cooperation and did an excellent job. Their superintendent, Adam Arnet, was an unusual person, who was able to command the respect of all the sub-contractors, his own men, and the self-help workers. Prior to the commencing on the project, agreement was reached with the Philadelphia Trades Union Council so that they would not raise any objection to the self-help work program. There was no difficulty with the unions.

Although the self-help part of this is certainly written up in other material, certain aspects of it should be mentioned. There were three persons on the staff who were concerned with the signing up of prospective cooperators and the self-help work program. These were a manager and assistant in charge of self-help, and an office assistant. These persons were under the supervision of the Friends Neighborhood Guild, but salaries were paid by Friends Service, Inc. In addition, Friends Service, Inc. had one employee whose job was handling the technical, legal and fiscal aspects of the development.

The manager and assistant acted as the coordinators and supervisors for the self-help work program. All of the cooperators were employed elsewhere so that the work was done primarily in the evenings and on weekends. Some housewives and men on night shift were permitted to come in during the daytime to work.

The jobs handled by self-help were demolition of chimneys, walls not to be used, etc., removal of wallpaper, scraping, sanding, preparation of old walls for painting, interior painting, sanding and refinishing of old floors and, where needed, laying of tile floors, building kitchen cabinets in a newly established woodshop in the new Friends Neighborhood Guild Center; preparing basement floors, stuccoing basement walls on the inside, a certain amount of landscaping and brickwork in the yard, some common labor such as digging ditches for the plumbers, and clean-up. Workers were divided into crews with a supervisor for each crew. Building of the kitchen cabinets was the most skilled operation and we were fortunate to have a union carpenter who took on the crew leadership for this job. All of the others working with him were complete amateurs.

On all of the other jobs the crews did not remain fixed, but there was considerable flexibility. This was required because of the scheduling problem. Workers were expected to put in a minimum of ten hours a week, but this might be on one or more evenings plus Saturday and/or Sunday and it was not always the same each week for each person. The evening work was not as efficient as the weekend work because we had to string lights around and had to take lights to each place where we were working, and because the hours were more limited. However, workers did not complain and they did work very hard.

By and large the quality of the work was good: it was the equivalent of professional labor and in some cases it exceeded that standard. However, the time required to do the job was considerably more than for union workers and averaged out to about two and one-half times as long.

At first the Department of Labor insisted that these people should be paid union wages. The sponsoring groups, with the agreement of the cooperators, felt this would be entirely unrealistic and would make the cost of the project prohibitive. We finally prevailed upon the Department of Labor to agree to what amounted to a piecework form of compensation. The contractor gave us a price for each particular operation, such as interior painting, kitchen cabinets, etc. -- the price which it would have cost by a union sub-contractor. For example, if the interior painting took $10,000 and it took our workers 10,000 hours to do the job, they would receive $1.00 per hour. When the entire job was finished we figured up an hourly rate for each operation and then, with the agreement of the cooperators, averaged these out to a figure of $1.35 an hour. Each worker was then credited this rate for the number of hours which he had put in.

By and large, the morale was high and people learned to respect individuals for what they were able to produce in the construction period. Those who made good chairmen or officers of the working committee might not necessarily be as good on the job, so the more articulate learned to respect those who were able to work well but were not as articulate. Although it is now thirteen years after the beginning of construction on this project, the basic attitudes established during that self-help work period still have their influence today. Even those people who move in now sense a community spirit here which is unusual in an urban setting.

The first section was completed in a little under two years. The mortgage was placed, a Board of Directors was elected, and the operating phase was under way.

The main difficulty with the project besides the long delays in getting it started were the high costs. The high costs were of course partly due to the delays in getting started, but they were due also to the nature of rehabilitating 100-year-old structures -- it always costs more than the initial estimates. Because we had encouraged some site occupants and local people who were just barely able to meet the projected carrying charges to live here, the Friends agencies were very reluctant to increase the carrying charges immediately to the point necessary to make the project self-supporting. To do this would have meant a few families would not have been able to afford to remain. Friends Service, Inc. agreed to subsidize the operations of the project for the first five years, up to a maximum of $6,000 per year. At the end of each year the cash deficit was figured and the Service Committee made up the difference. This deficit ranged from approximately $4,000 to $6,000 each of those years.

In addition to this annual subsidy, Friends Service, Inc. had put almost $100,000 of its money into the venture, to pay for such things as vandalism, unusual legal expenses, etc. -- expenses which were considered pioneering rather than normal expenses which should be charged to the cost of the project.

Because of this financial difficulty the Friends agencies delayed two years before starting the second half of the project. Various ideas were explored -- that of doing a less comprehensive job, tearing the other properties down and landscaping, but it was finally decided to go ahead as originally planned, and so, in 1957, construction began on the second half of the project. This was completed in a little under 18 months. The services of a second Quaker builder were obtained in this development: The Paul Restall Company. This firm also did a very good job.

(4) Difficulties and Successes

In the foregoing material I have indicated the difficulties which were primarily financial and the red tape of dealing with large government agencies. I have also pointed to the successes in terms of the attitude of people on the job and subsequent to this. The project is now a financial success, having operated in the black for the last two years. Vacancies were a problem for a time, particularly due to the fact that when subsidies stopped the carrying charges were increased, and have been increased four times over the years to make the project completely self-supporting.

Another reason for vacancies in the past has been the deteriorated neighborhood around us. We were the first project to get under way in the 40-block urban renewal area, and now, 13 years later, the urban renewal area is about one-fourth completed. It is, however, a more sightly neighborhood than it was a few years ago, because the old buildings have been torn down and some new construction has been accomplished. In this past year vacancies were very low, and for the past six months we have had 100% occupancy.

Even more important than the financial success has been the interracial aspect of the development. In the beginning it was approximately 60% white and 40% non-white. In the last ten years it has been approximately 50% white and 50% non-white, and for the indefinite future it would appear that this ratio will continue. No quotas have been used, although the board of directors is interested in maintaining an interracial development and the residents themselves are the best source of new cooperators.

In the early years the residents were too involved in their own affairs and their own financial difficulties to become much involved in the neighborhood, except for the local elementary school. However, in recent years they have become much more involved in community affairs, and at their monthly socials have invited others from the community to participate.

There are two other difficulties the cooperative has encountered which come to mind. In the early years after completion of construction it was agreed to have a self-help maintenance program. Each family was assessed 40 hours a year of some type of maintenance work. This could be hall cleaning, lawn mowing, snow shovelling, etc. If a person did not work off his 40 hours then he was to pay at the rate of $1.35 per hour. This was done initially in lieu of increasing carrying charges. It had a modest degree of success but as people got involved with other activities and other jobs they lost interest in or did not find time to fulfill their self-help obligations. It became difficult to schedule jobs and to get them done when they should be done, so after approximately five years it was decided to drop this program. We still permit residents to apply for this type of job, and when qualified they are hired to work. About ten residents do such work now.

A second difficulty encountered relates to the surrounding community. There have been some break-ins into apartments. There have been purse snatchings, there has been vandalism to cars on the parking lot. This may not be much more than would be expected in other parts of the city -- however, this block does stand out in a depressed neighborhood and therefore is subject to thefts and vandalism. In addition to this there is the feeling on the part of some neighborhood people that goes along with urban renewal elsewhere, and that is that well-to-do people have taken the place of poor people. Friends Housing Cooperative today is pretty much of a middle income development, although we do have a wide range of income levels, some at the lower and some at the upper end of the middle income scale. Monthly carrying charges which include all utilities except electricity, range from $71 to $112.50 for one to three bedroom units.

Ongoing Management is handled by an annual fee contract with Friends Neighborhood Guild. The present staff consists of a manager one-third time, a bookkeeper two-fifths time and a secretary one-half time. Complete maintenance is provided by the cooperative including redecorating every four years. Additional services, such as accepting packages at the office for residents not home, are also provided.

(5) Prospects for the Future

As the rest of East Poplar gets rebuilt, as the area is tied in with center city by extention of Independence Mall, the future looks bright. Self-help did not make the construction of Friends Housing Cooperative any cheaper. It did provide families without cash an opportunity to earn equity in a cooperative. In addition to this, self-help established a community spirit, a pattern which has been valuable over the years.

SELF-HELP ENTERPRISES
(A Non-Profit Corporation)
220 South Bridge Street
Visalia, California 93277
(209) 732-7936

PURPOSE

The purpose of Self-Help Enterprises is to provide low-income families with the technical assistance needed to build new homes or renovate and repair existing homes through use of the self-help technique. Thus to break the costly, physical, and psychological bonds created by living in dilapidated surroundings.

Giving families the opportunity to build new homes or to renovate and repair their own homes not only improves their family health and safety, it has important by-products, from an education in the broadest sense to group participation for decision making, to financial obligations of home ownership. Home construction knowledge is gained, and a sense of accomplishment with successful construction contributes to individual confidence and family pride. The community is also affected; certain areas are upgraded, the tax base is increased, there are more active permanent residents helping to develop their community.

NEED

The Governor's Advisory Commission on Housing lists 730,000 substandard housing units in California. The rural residential area's incidence of substandard housing is more than double the state-wide average. The bulk of California's domestic farm-labor force is supplied from the eight Central Valley Counties and two Southern Counties. Statistical studies of this area indicate that 80 per cent of our farm laborers are living in houses that violate normal standards of health, safety, and comfort.

A nation with half the world's wealth should have families living in safe houses with healthful living space, water, and sanitation. Low-income families, unable to obtain such housing and unable to meet present building requirements, may yet have a chance at better housing through the use of the self-help housing technique.

Low-income, rural families want better housing for themselves, along with a willingness to provide their own labor, which gives them a valuable labor equity, two more tools are needed to meet their housing problems; (1) credit for long-term, low-interest loans for land, building materials and subcontracts, and (2) technical assistance. Presently credit is available through Farmers Home Administration (United States Department of Agriculture) rural housing loan program. Other sources of credit are being investigated.

PROGRESS

The basic soundness of the self-help technique is evident. The pilot project of the American Friends Service Committee is completed. A total of 20 families, in four separate groups, have built their own homes. A film, "Six Houses-Six Homes," illustrates the development of the pilot project from the initial meeting stage through actual construction. This 16 MM-Spanish or English narration film is available for showing on request.

Presently, approximately 200 families in 5 San Joaquin Valley counties (Tulare, Kings, Merced, Fresno, and Stanislaus) are receiving technical assistance from Self-Help Enterprises. Over 40 homes are under construction; 25 homes have been completed. Other counties have expressed interest in forming county committees to implement projects.

The typical family who has completed construction has a total family income of approximately $3,600, five children living at home, and has received a $6,000 Farmers Home Administration loan. The loan has helped to build a 1,000 square foot, modern, landscaped, three-bedroom home, complete with insulation, built-in oven and range, tile shower, and cooler. The average family makes payments of $28 a month to Farmers Home Administration and pays $16 a month, on the average, to cover insurance and taxes. For those families who have had to buy land, there is an additional average payment of $7 per month for this purpose. Thus, the average payment is $44 per month for those families who own their own land. Some of the four-bedroom homes have been built for as little as $4,900, which reduced the FHA payment to $23 per month. Even greater economies could be accomplished, where family income necessitated them.

The typical family contributes approximately 1,200 hours of its own labor into the construction of the house. This labor was pooled with an average of six other families and all work was performed under skilled supervision. The families also met on an average of three times a month for seven months prior to construction. At these meetings, they discussed such things as the financial obligations of home ownership with a banker, factors to consider in picking a home site with a County Planner, building code requirements with a local building official, and home design and layout with an architect, or contractor. They also considered plans for labor exchange, record keeping, work schedules, etc. The labor exchange commitment is secured by a second mortgage on the property with labor of participants evaluated at an arbitrary dollar value.

Continued expansion is needed over a five-year period to prove that self-help housing can be one of the methods employed to meet rural, low-income housing needs in California and increasingly across the country. Self-Help Enterprises was formed to accomplish this expanded demonstration.

ORGANIZATION

To implement this expanded demonstration and to meet increasing requests from interested families, groups, communities, and states, the following organization was formed:

A. BOARD OF DIRECTORS - The six original Board Members incorporated on February 5, 1965, to form Self-Help Enterprises, a non-profit corporation. Board members are recognized leaders, competent in different fields, who serve without pay.

1. Ralph Rosedale, Chairman, Dinuba ~~Racher~~; Rancher
2. Howard Way, Vice Chairman, State Senator from Tulare County;
3. E. Ray Schlick, A.I.A., Secretary-Treasurer, Visalia Architect, Tulare County SHE Representative;
4. Mrs. William Crowe, Newspaper Editor-Owner, Dos Palos, Merced County SHE Representative;
5. Miss Mary Diran, Public Health Social Worker Consultant;
6. Larry Eigenman, Business Agent Local 1041 Carpenters Union, Kings County SHE Representative;
7. Renee Esquivel, Farm Worker, Self-Help Housing participant;
8. Henry Hayden, Pastor, College Community Congregational Church, Fresno, Fresno County SHE Representative;
9. Lilia Jimenez, Housewife, Farm Worker, Self-Help Housing participant;
10. Walter Lohans, Physiotheropist;
11. Stephen Thiermann, Executive Secretary, Northern California Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee;
12. Everett Krackov, Director, Tulare County Community Action Agency;
13. Samuel R. Tyson, Denair Rancher, Stanislaus County SHE Representative;
14. Vacancies will be filled with persons approved by the existing Board Members. Each county committee has one representative on the State Board.

B. STATE ADVISORY BOARD meets once a year to advise and counsel Self-Help Enterprises as it develops.

1. Francis Dunn, Chief State Division of Building and Housing Standards;
2. Oliver Duval, State Director, Farmers Home Administration;
3. Allan Fuller, Chairman, State Housing Committee of Home Builders Council of California, Inc.
4. Walter J. Monasch, Director, State Department of Housing and Community Development;
5. Paul F. O'Rourke, M.D., Special Assistant for Anti-Poverty Planning, California Office of Economic Opportunity;
6. Wallace F. Smith, Associate Professor, School of Business Administration, University of California at Berkeley;
7. J.M. Wedemeyer, Director, State Department of Social Welfare;
8. Robert Williams, State Senator from Kings County; Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare;
9. Mrs. Florence Wyckoff, Chairman, Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth.

C. COUNTY COMMITTEES are established in accordance with the procedure outlined in the Articles of Association with Self-Help Enterprises. These committees are composed of leaders in the county involved, representing a broad range of activities.
The following committees are active:

1. Tulare County Self-Help Enterprises Committee: Donald M. Hillman, Chairman; Tulare County Supervisor, Insurance Broker;
2. Kings County Self-Help Enterprises Committee: Larry Eigenman, Chairman; Business Agent Local 1041 Carpenters Union;
3. Merced County Self-Help Enterprises Committee; Albert J. Cesario, Chairman, Postmaster, South Dos Palos;
4. Fresno County Self-Help Enterprises Committee: Henry Hayden, Chairman; Pastor, College Community Congregational Church;
5. Stanislaus County Self-Help Enterprises Committee: Sam Tyson, Chairman; Denair Rancher.

FUNCTIONS OF SHE

1. Technical Assistance - Provide technical assistance for a wide variety of approaches that fit the desires and needs of any group or community wishing to plan or implement self-help housing projects. This assistance includes work with families in advance of construction and through house completion, as described under various staff responsibilities.
2. Consultation - Work with local, State,, and Federal agencies in a consultant capacity to develop self-help housing projects.
3. Loan Funds - Establish a revolving loan fund to assist deserving families who are denied credit. This fund will be available for construction, land acquisition, clearing title, etc. These loans to be repaid by the participants as soon as possible to allow wider use.
4. Staff Training - A training routine is established where staff becomes oriented in the broad areas and objectives of Self-Help Enterprises as well as learning the duties of a specific position. This training is currently made possible by the use of Rosenberg Foundation funds.
5. Information - To supply information and stimulate action of individuals, families, and local, State and Federal agencies who might be interested in self-help projects. This service is available to new California areas thanks to Rosenberg Foundation support.

STAFF

A. State Staff:

Self-Help Enterprises Executive Director - Implements and coordinates the purpose and functions of Self-Help Enterprises. Specific areas of responsibilities include consultation, formation of new county committees, and overall administration.

State Construction Director - Directly responsible to the State Executive Director. Duties include consultation with and training of the construction staff for all the counties. Responsible for administration of counties assigned to him.

Community Development Director - Directly responsible to the State Executive Director. Responsible also for training Community Development Advisors, Group Coordinators, and Group Aides for duties with county committees as well as advising counties both during and after formation on all matters relating to community development. - Responsible for administration of counties assigned to him.

Personnel Officer - Directly responsible to the State Executive Director. Duties include recruitment of applicants for all staff positions as well as meeting with the Personnel Committee of the State Board and counties to develop and maintain personnel policy and procedure.

Administrative Assistant - Is directly responsible to the State Executive Director. Duties to include development and maintenance of office operation and routine.

County Director - (Director/Construction Director or Director/CDA) Directly responsible to the State Staff Members assigned to his county. Responsibilities include implementing and coordinating all the functions needed to meet county project obligations.

Community Development Advisor - (Needed if the Director is also a Construction Director). The Community Development Advisor aids families in setting up meetings. He helps the group find the facts before reaching decisions, utilizing knowledgeable resource people. Successful self-help projects depend on good human relations. The Advisor will be responsible for relationships between different families in each group. He will make sure that labor sharing and record keeping systems decided on by the group are kept up to date. It is his responsibility to work with all groups and individuals through completion of the project.

Construction Director - (Needed if the Director is also a Community Development Advisor). The Construction Director needs professional building skills, preferably a licensed contractor, who not only has skills, but also the ability and patience to teach others. He must be able to estimate, prepare plans, and make sure the job is accomplished within the allowed budget. He should attend group meetings related to construction and labor exchange. He will work out estimates and help arrange subcontracts on both new and remodeled homes. He works with the Construction Supervisor to assure each group of adequate supervision and efficient use of supervision time.

Construction Supervisor - Must be a skilled craftsman with union or equivalent carpentry experience who has the ability and patience to teach others. He works directly with the groups as they mutually build their homes.

Group Coordinator - Assists the Community Development Advisor in his work with families who wish to form groups and prepare for home construction or renovation. Usually reponsible for three or four groups.

Group Aide - Either a past Self-Help Housing participant or low-income person when hired. He has the same duties as the Group Coordinator and is directly responsible to the Community Development Advisor.

Volunteers - Are used in every feasible way to extend and supplement the paid staff.

FUNDING

A. Self-Help Enterprises and County Committees:

1. Direct Government support through the Economic Opportunities Act;
2. Gifts from foundations, individuals, and other private sources;
3. Direct support for services from groups and individuals receiving technical assistance;
4. Loans from individuals and foundations to establish a loan fund;
5. Consultant services from various agencies.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, THE FOLLOWING SELF-HELP ENTERPRISES OFFICES MAY BE CONTACTED:

Self-Help Enterprises, Inc.
220 South Bridge Street
Visalia, California 93277
732-7936

Tulare County SHE
220 South Bridge Street
Visalia, California
732-7936

Merced County SHE
P.O. Box 148
("K" Street)
South Dos Palos, California
392-3491

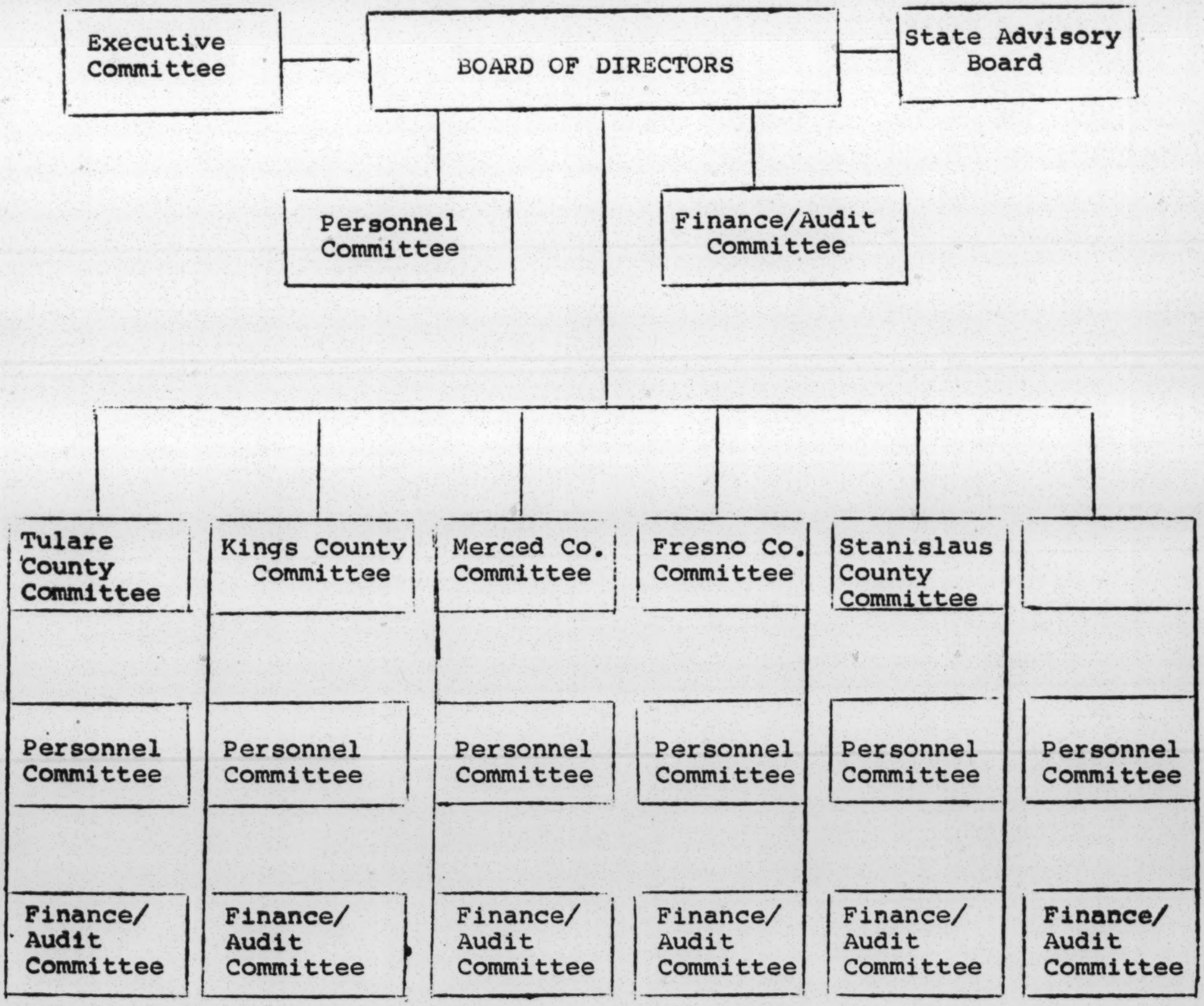
Kings County SHE
415 North Redington
Hanford, California
582-9307

Fresno County SHE
1146 Mayor Street
Fresno, California
233-1729

Stanislaus County SHE
Contact: Howard Ten Brink
1521 Ohio Avenue
Modesto, California
523-8008

SELF-HELP ENTERPRISES, INC.

Board and County Committee Policy Determination Chart


Executive Committee
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
State Advisory Board
Personnel Committee
Finance/Audit Committee
Tulare County Committee
Kings County Committee
Merced Co. Committee
Fresno Co. Committee
Stanislaus County Committee
Personnel Committee
Personnel Committee
Personnel Committee
Personnel Committee
Personnel Committee
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Finance/ Audit Committee
Finance/ Audit Committee
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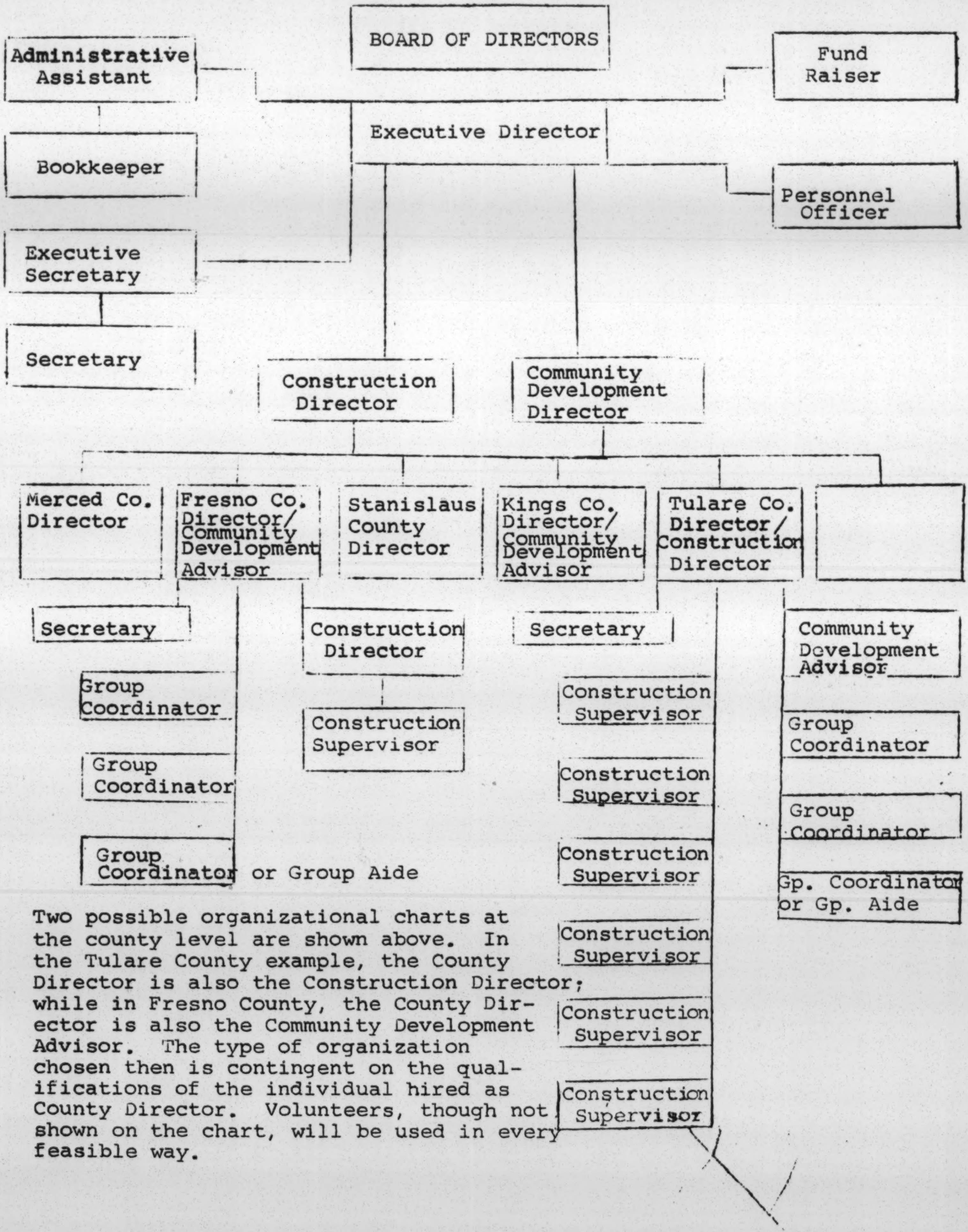
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Administrative Assistant
Fund Raiser
Bookkeeper
Executive Director
Personnel Officer
Executive Secretary
Secretary
Construction Director
Community Development Director
Merced Co. Director
Fresno Co. Director/ Community Development Advisor
Stanislaus County Director
Kings Co. Director/ Community Development Advisor
Tulare Co. Director/ Construction Director
Secretary
Group Coordinator
Group Coordinator
Group Coordinator or Group Aide
Construction Director
Construction Supervisor
Secretary
Construction Supervisor
Construction Supervisor
Construction Supervisor
Construction Supervisor
Construction Supervisor
Construction Supervisor
Community Development Advisor
Group Coordinator
Group Coordinator
Gp. Coordinator or Gp. Aide

Two possible organizational charts at the county level are shown above. In the Tulare County example, the County Director is also the Construction Director; while in Fresno County, the County Director is also the Community Development Advisor. The type of organization chosen then is contingent on the qualifications of the individual hired as County Director. Volunteers, though not shown on the chart, will be used in every feasible way.

TULARE-KINGS SELF HELP ENTERPRISES

~~716 West Main Street~~
Visalia, California

REPORT #1

May 1st to june 18, 1965

We are fortunate in having the active support of a local Committee, recognized by the Self-Help Enterprises Board, which has been meeting monthly. (Minutes available on request). The Personnel Sub-Committee has selected almost the full compliment of staff for Tulare County, with the exception of one or two part time Construction Supervisors who won't be needed until the winter months. This staff will hope to provide the technical assistance needed by 40 families, during the next 11 months, who wish to build on a group Self-Help basis.

The Staff has the extensive experience and technical skill necessary to accomplish this pioneering job.

We rented an old but neat house on Main Street with several rooms that work nicely as offices.

The Finance Sub-Committee has been developing the proceedures for a land loan fund and trust account which we hope will enable local residents to loan funds for use by participants who don't own land. The need for these land loans, as anticipated, is urgent if we are to assist those with the greatest housing need. This coming month should determine whether support will be forthcoming. Loans are needed now in the Cutler-Orosi area, and by the group near Lindsay. Lack of land funds are the principal reason groups in both Richgrove and Porterville areas are dormant. The Kings County III B Self-Help housing project was approved by Sargent Shriver as submitted, and will enable the Tulare-Kings Committee to provide 15 families in Kings County with technical assistance during the project period July 1st, 1965 to July 1st, 1966.

References are being obtained for staff applications on hand and other staff solicited - organization to be discussed at our June Committee meeting.

To add a few things concerning Self-Help Enterprises to eliminate the need for a seperate report.

1. There will be a National Conference on Self-Help housing in Washington, probably in September, being pulled together by the American Friends Service Committee, aimed at idea exchange, documentation, coordination and possible funding.
2. We have received requests for consultant advice from Pennsylvania, Texas, Arizona and other Counties in California, in the past month. Many communities and families consider Self-Help as they work towards better housing in their economic opportunity activity.

3. Foundation support is being solicited by Self-Help Enterprises. Any suggestions of contacts will be appreciated.

Proposed Use of Funds:

(a) For training new staff

(b) Consultation and Development assistance to new programs.

(c) Land loan fund development and guarantee

(d) O.E.O. matching funds and flexibility or contingency monies.

Howard Washburn,
Executive Director

The attached narrative report details project developments to date.

NARRATIVE REPORT

Group Development Activities
May 1 to June 18, 1965

Inasmuch as this is a comparatively new program, part of the development of procedure had to take place first. Forms were designed on which we could record the information we need on each family. A completed copy of these forms is given to the county office of the Farmers Home Administration, prior to the time the family applies for a loan. This speeds up the process of application for a loan as most of the information the Farmers Home Administration Supervisor requires of the applicant is on the forms. Receiving the information about a week ahead of time gives the Farmers Home Administration Supervisor time to review the case.

The information recorded consists of family composition; names, ages, etc. Length of residence in present house, Residence in county, citizen, veteran, highest grade attained and the total family income for the past year is also recorded. The total and source of the income is usually quite easy to get as most of the families make available their copies of withholding tax forms, check stubs or income tax returns. A record is also made of their assets, real property, furniture, cars and cash.

The statement of daily living expenses is more difficult, most of the families do not know their average monthly food costs, auto expense or clothing costs and these costs will vary considerably according to the time of the year and if the head of the family is working. When he is not working auto travel costs are reduced. The food costs are determned by the amount of money available. When funds are in short supply, more beans, sacks of flour, etc, are used. When more money is on hand the consumption of meat goes up. As one of the men observed, "When things look tough you must buy the beans by the 100 lb. sack and the flour by the sack or you can't make it." A record of all debts and the payment schedule is made also.

To get this information we have found it best to have a home interview with both man and wife present. This is done during the evening if the man is working and takes about two hours. A narrative record is made of the interview the next day.

All the above forms and narrative record is made available to Howard Ten Brink, Construction Director, to aid him in guiding the family toward the type of home they can afford. He feels that this information is a help.

All eight members of the Goshen group, Casa de Manana, Goshen 3, have plans completed and applications for loans submitted to Farmers Home Administration.

It is anticipated that the loans will be approved and funds made available about September. They will want to start building during September if possible.

We have been meeting with seven families in Cutler. They have decided to form a group and hope to be able to start building in October. This group is in the early stages of formation and one or two other families may join. Weekly meetings are being held. At present most of them are in the market for lots. A member of the County Planning Commission staff, Mr. Ernie Esquivel was present at the last meeting. He explained zoning regulations, minimum size lots, spliting parcels of land. A discussion was held regarding the things they should watch out for in buying land.

Several attempts were made to develop a group in the Beacon area South of Tulare; they all failed. Three meetings were scheduled at one of the homes, but no one except the hostess came. I talked to three families who wanted to participate, each said they would bring at least two other families to the meeting. A desire for a house is not enough. We did not spend enough time in the community to find people with both a desire and a willingness to try to overcome the obstacles.

A successful first meeting of a group was held in Teviston, June 9th, members of six families present. Part of them were from West Teviston and at present, West Teviston has no water supply. They felt that expansion of the Teviston Water District would take place in a few months. A decision was made to continue as a group and invite others.

The next meeting was called for the following Wednesday. Eleven families were at the second meeting, eight from Teviston, two from West Teviston and one from Tulare, who had started a rebuilt house in Teviston. All owned or had been buying land. Part of the group owned land with very sub-standard housing.

It was necessary at the second meeting to review the entire program because of the additional families. After the question and answer period discussion centered on the subject matter of the meetings to be scheduled. Because of the time lapse between loan applications and receipt of funds, about 3 months, it was decided to change the usual order of meetings in order to be able to submit loan applications as soon as possible. The next three meetings will center on "Loan Requirements" by Farmers Home Administration Supervisor, "Building Code Regulations," by the County Building Inspector and "Design and Planning the house", by our construction Director. The sequence to be determined by the group and persons available. Home interviews to start about the third week. This is so house plans can be developed as soon as possible and submitted with the loan applications. We felt it important that the loan applications be submitted during July in order that construction can start about the first of November. This will schedule the construction thru the winter and early spring months when the families will have more time to work on the houses.

Election of officers is scheduled for the next meeting. The officers will conduct the meetings thereafter.

Ed Cuellar, Group Coordinator, who recently joined the staff has spent most of the last week in the Lindcove, Tonyville and El Rancho areas. He pulled together an interested group and the first meeting was held June 15th at a home in El Rancho. This is a small community of farm workers about 1 mile North of Lindsay. It seems likely if this group continues and it shows much promise, that the homes to be built will be at both Tonyville and El Rancho. El Rancho, is also referred to as "The Leper Colony", La Lepra. Plans were made to visit the completed Self-Help homes in Goshen this weekend, hold another meeting on June 23rd and invite others to join.

At this time we do not know where the next group will start. The group from the Beacon area of Tulare may start action. Interest is developing in the Porterville-Poplar district and we get rumors of a show of interest at Earlimart.

J. "Jim" Stein,
Community Development Advisor

TULARE-KINGS SELF HELP ENTERPRISES
~~716 West Main Street~~

REPORT # 2

June 18 to August 15, 1965

The project has been in operation for three and one half months in Tulare County, and one month in Kings County, at this time. The attached narrative reports detail activity in both counties. It appears at present that there will be at least five groups building in Tulare County this winter located in Goshen, Teviston, Cutler-Monson-Orosi, Earlimart and Richgrove, with other areas maybe waiting to build next winter. The total number of families in all groups will be about forty.

The new Kings County staff has the skill and experience to develop the project in Kings County. Initial interest seems to be in Corcoran, Halls Corner and Kettleman City. The anticipated 15 families planned for will probably be in at least two groups. There is now a rather large choice of plans for families to chose from that are already prepared. Each family works with the Construction Director to decide on their plan and materials they want to use. The home interviews prepared by the Community Development Advisor or Group Coordinator outlining living expenses, debts, assets and brief narrative report prove very helpful to the Construction Director in helping the family plan within their means. These same family reports are being used by the Farmers Home Administration to help obtain information for loan applications.

A progress chart, including target dates, has been prepared to keep track of each groups activity. As more people are involved these charts are helping both our staff and Farmers Home Administration personnel plan their time.

Farmers Home Administration has now authorized their California office to defer the initial payment on rural housing loans for families in Self-Help housing projects. This will avoid payments before a house is completed, and is very important to most families participating who will all start building before Janurary. Farmers Home is also cooperating in every way to expedite loan processing so that full advantage of winter slack employment can be used for house construction. Houses should be under way for all groups by November; some will start in September.

Another important change, which local efforts and Harlan Hagen helped accomplish, is included in the recently signed Omnibus Housing Bill, allowing areas up to 5,500 population to qualify for F.H.A. loans. This permits groups to qualify from Woodlake, Farmersville, Earlimart, Corcoran, etc., and many other rural families in larger towns all over the state and nation.

This same legislation will probably hold the solution, at least for next year, to our most pressing problem, land aquisition; actual funding will probably come too late to help this year. The land loan need is the primary obstacle to approximately forty families building this year here and 15 in Kings County. The Loan Committee has authorized $4,915.00 in loans, leaving a $2,085.00 balance of available funds with families still in need of land numbering - five families in Orosi-Cutler, five in Earlimart, five in Richgrove and an estimated five in Kings County, we estimate $25,000.00 more is needed. The Loan Committee and staff are working on this and will gladly supply more information and trustee arrangements for these fully secured 6% loans. Could you consider making such an investment?

ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE THIS AREA:

1. The Merced County Regional Committee of Self-Help Enterprises has been offically recognized and has submitted an application for Title IIIB funds to start a 8-10 family project this year in Dos Palos.

2. The National Conference on Self-Help Housing is now scheduled for December in Washington. Mariana Alcock, American Friends Service Committee conference coordinator will visit here this week.

3. Work on Foundation support continues for training, matching, loan development guarantee and contingency funding.

Howard Washburn,
Executive Director

NARRATIVE REPORT # 2

Group Development Activities
(Tulare County)
June 18 to August 15, 1965

We are finally developing a routine, although the word routine is being used rather loosely. Variable methods might describe the activities more accurately. The differences in the groups are noticeable. The different attitudes of the participants in the first few meetings varies, some sceptical, some hopeful and some just curious. A few in most of the groups have some knowledge of Self-Help home building and are the hopeful ones.

The first group we worked with, Goshen #3, will start construction about September 1st. Eight families in this group, most of whom were familiar with the program and have had some meetings during last fall and winter. Some were drop-outs of the Casa de Manana No. 2 of Goshen. They had dropped out in order to get their financial affairs in better condition, reducing their debts so they could qualify for a Farmers Home Administration loan. The possibility that their desire for a home could be realized through a Self-Help program was the necessary incentive they needed to start planning. Part of the group had been making $15.00 per month payments on a lot since last August. This group is in part, a carry over from the work done by the American Friends Service Committee and points up the advisability of carrying on the group development phase of Self-Help the year round. We could start with as many as fifteen or twenty families in a community but only six or eight might be ready for actual participation in the first year building program. The balance might have financial or other problems to resolve first and would be ready the next year.

Twelve families are in the Cutler group at present. We started with seven, dropped to four and built up to the present twelve. Two of the families were drop-outs from last years American Friends Service Committee program. They needed the additional time. Land procurement has been a problem but an attempt is being made to raise a land loan fund locally. Delays in raising the money could seriously effect the program.

Five families formed a group in the Tonyville area, had four meetings, elected officers but had to suspend all activities since four of the five families left for the coast for a two month period. They will be picking pears, prunes and vegetables. They will be back about the time school starts. It may be too late to plan on construction this winter.

Teviston #1 is moving along very well. Seven families have submitted loan applications to Farmers Home Administration and appraisals have been completed. The cooperation of Farmers Home Administration has been very good. This is a different community in several aspects from any of the others. It is an all negro community and the seven participants have lived there for from seven to seventeen years. No water was available until three years ago. For many years the people hauled in water in drums, milk cans, etc. The houses had no plumbing of any kind. All owned or were buying land, no land loan funds were needed. We started with three families at the first meeting, six the second and thirteen families at the third meeting. We ended with seven families for the first year construction, but others are planning to participate next year. Six old houses will be destroyed when the new ones are completed. Nine meetings were held in Teviston. Meetings cancelled for August as four of the seven families have gone to Marysville to pick peaches and prunes. About six more meetings are scheduled prior to construction.

Earlimart #1 started with a meeting of about 30 men, meeting in back of a barber shop. The next two meetings were held in the Memorial Building with about forty present and over one third women.

We have had a total of five meetings and a possible seven or eight participants. Three families have sub-standard houses that will be destroyed. The other four or five families are looking for building sites and a way to finance the purchase.

The first meeting was held in Richgrove August 5th. Fifteen people present representing nine families. Interest very strong. I was asked to come the next week to look over building sites and help them negotiate with the owners. Three families have lots with sub-standard houses. They want to replace the old houses.

We are not using any one method in forming groups in the different communities and we are not yet in position to say that one of the methods is the better. Goshen was a carry over from the American Friends Service Committee program. The Cutler group, with its ups and downs, was the result of individual home calls on prospective participants. Teviston was a combination of work by a Vista Volunteer and home calls by staff. Earlimart started with a well circulated notice delivered to most of the homes by the neighborhood Youth Corps. Tonyville area had notices delivered to all the houses. The notices were in both English and Spanish. The Richgrove group was pulled together principally by one family calling on potential participants.

Any method that shows promise of reaching the people should be tried. As houses are completed in the different communities more people will become interested and it will be easier to develop groups for the following year. It will be possible to start groups a year prior to construction in a continuing program, and have more cohesive groups with a better understanding of their responsibilities.

J. Jim Stein,
Community Development Advisor

Eddie Cuellar,
Group Coordinator

Group Development Activities

(Kings County)
July 19 to August 15, 1965

Monday July 19, 1965, C.B. Smith and Guy Sherman were introduces to Self-Help housing and the staff personnel in Tulare County. Arrangements were made to spend some time with each member of the Tulare County staff so as to see what part he or she played in the program.

Mrs. Evelyn Sangster, of Kettlemen City, promised to make a survey of interested families and then set up an initial meeting date in this area. A drive through the area revealed numerous available lots and Mrs. Sangster stated that prices ranged from $350 to $500.

A meeting with Mr. Jim Hornbeck of Avenal also revealed an interest on his part to serve as a liaison for Self-Help Housing.

Mrs. Ann Cole of Hanford consented to serve as a go-between in order to acquaint members of the Tachi Indian reservation with the staff members of Kings County Self-Help housing program. Mrs. Cecile Silva advised that there would be a general council meeting on August 11, 1965, and that if possible further explanation of the program should be made at that time.

A general survey of the Stratford area was made and it seemed that although there appeared to be homes of sub-standard quality, there may be a serious lack of available lots for beginning a project there.

A meeting was held in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Julio Hernandez, in Corcoran. There were approximately 15 families represented by about 25 to 30 people present. The meeting ended with an agreement to schedule regular weekly meetings on every Thursday evening. It is felt that this group might evolve into a workable unit in the very near future.

A meeting was held with a group in Kettleman City, consisting of 25 persons and sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, headed by Mrs. Sangster. After questions regarding citizenship, we informed them that citizenship was one of the qualifications required to participate in this program.

Corcoran has formed a group and home visits to 11 families are now being made for loan applications. We are hoping to start construction in November.

There is still considerable work needed in the Halls Corner area and Kettleman City, although there seems to be strong interest still existing.

Guy Sherman,
Community Development Advisor

C.B. Smith,
Construction Supervisor

TULARE-KINGS SELF HELP ENTERPRISES
~~716 West Main Street~~
Visalia, California 93277

REPORT # 3

August 16 to October 15, 1965

Construction Directors Report (Tulare County)

Construction on the first house in Goshen began around the middle of August under the leadership of Manuel Hernandez a recent addition to the staff. Work progressed quite rapidly because one of the men in the group was recuperating from a serious auto accident which occured last November. This man, his wife and cousin worked nearly everyday. The first house was framed up and roofed in less than a month. The second house was started during the second week of September with work progressing very well on it also for two weeks, at which time Farmers Home Administration notified the family who was putting in the most time that there was some question about their being able to qualify for a loan because of a county hospital lien. With this information the family stopped working on the houses and the work progress slowed down because they could not see any point in continuing to work if there was any doubt about being able to build a house of their own. Other family heads were working nearly every day harvesting the crops. It is not known at this date if the family in question is going to be able to get their hospital lien reduced to enable them to qualify for a Farmers Home loan, but it looks favorable.

The Cutler-Munson group origionally numbered 13 families. Plans and specifications were prepared for them all, but for one reason or another four families have had to drop out of the group, leaving nine families as of this date.

Construction on the first house began, under the leadership of Jake Aurenheimer, the second week of October. Most of the family heads in this group have year round jobs that are connected with processing agricultural products. Now they are working long days, 6 or 7 a week. When the harvest is completed they will be working shorter days as well as less days each week and we expect that progress on construction will gain momentum at that time. Six families in the group expect to build in a new subdivision in Orosi. This subdivision is not recorded as yet; until it is, the loan applications can not be completed. We had expected this to occur over a month and one half ago, but have been assured that it will occur next week or the following week for sure.

The Teviston group numbers seven families, all of whom own or are buying lots; plans and specifications have been finished for them. Two months ago we had to help untangle gross inaccuracies in the legal descriptions of some of the lots and have had to get the area surveyed so that the titles would describe the parcel of land they were actually occupying. Construction is expected to start around the middle of November. Richard Chavez who worked on the American Friends Service Committee self help housing staff will probably work with this group when it starts.

House plans and specifications (but not plot plans) have been completed for eight families in Richgrove. It is not known when construction can start there. Everything depends on the speed with which we can effect parcel splits of land we acquired for the group. There are very few lots available in Richgrove. Those that are for sale are too high in price.

The group in Earlimart number 9 families. Plans and specifications are completed for these families also. Construction there will not start until parcel splits can be accomplished and a source of water supply provided. There are existing lots in the town but they are priced at $2,250.00 and the group felt that this was beyond their means.

A fourth Construction Supervisor, Jim Fox, has been hired to begin working the first of December.

Howard Ten Brink,
Construction Director

Group Development Activities

(Tulare County)

Progress is being made although not as fast as we would like. Five groups have been developed with a range of seven to ten families in each group; A total of 41 families. The groups seem to be developing well. We have made it a practice, as much as possible, to have each group discuss and resolve all problems, that relate to the group. Individual problems, such as county hospital liens on the old house, financial and personal problems are discussed with the families involved.

Twelve of the 41 families own a substandard house. These houses are scheduled to be demolished as soon as the new house is completed. Four of the twelve had county hospital liens on their property. The liens ranged from $887.50 to $3,615.00. The average assessed valuation of the property with the liens was $310.00.

So far the most serious problem is that of land acquistion. In some of the communities there is a serious shortage of suitable building sites at a price the families can afford. For awhile it seemed that no land was available for Richgrove and Earlimart groups. Some families dropped out as lack of progress was reported at the meetings. It does not take much discouragement for some of the families to give up. Discouragement is understandable when you consider how often past experiences have not worked out well. However, over one half of the families stayed and got well involved with the land problems.

In Earlimart they located a parcel of land but it was too large for their needs. They also found a church group in search of a building site. With the aid of a land loan revolving fund the land was purchased; the church buying enough of the parcel so we could use the balance.

As house plans were developed enthusiasm increased and the drop-outs came back. While other problems of water and sewage remain to be resolved, and much time is being consumed working on these, the enthusiasm of the group now remains high. We might not be able to start construction until December or January, but the group wants to go on. They are now beginning to visualize their own homes, having second thoughts on their plans and requesting some modifications.

A parallel situation developed in Richgrove. A parcel of land was made available and will be divided in building sites. No water problem here. The group reaction was the same as at Earlimart. It appears construction can start by the end of November.

Our experiences so far indicate a strong need for more time to develop groups and work out with them the many problems involved. We should be organizing groups at least a year prior to construction. This will give the families time to get acquainted and together work out the answers to the problems. It would be highly desirable to start organizing next month for groups to start construction a year from now. Adult evening high school classes with curriculum developed to their needs, can be made available this winter. Budgeting should include group development for the current year with construction completion for the following year.

J. Jim Stein,
Community Development Advisor

Group Development Activities

(Kings County)

In September another effort was made to get a group started in Lemoore. Information was passed on to the Ministerial Alliance of that community in hopes that contact could be made with the families who needed improved housing. To date no more has been heard from them.

The home interviews for 20 Corcoran families has been completed and to date, 12 applications have been submitted to Farmers Home Administration.

On September 15, a meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. Evelyn McHaney just outside of Hall's Corner and atteding the meeting were representatives of 10 families. After presenting the program of self help housing, the group decided to talk it over and let us know when the next meeting was to be held. A week later, another meeting was held at the same home with 4 families present, all of those present either had lots, or knew of available property. They elected officers after this meeting and asked what information would be necessary for the home interviews. The home interviews for the group have been completed and 4 applications have been submitted to Farmer's Home Administration.

Since the city of Corcoran's announcement October 9th of an increase in population, from 5300 to 5800 disqualifying the families (from already applied for) Farmers Home Administration loans, attempts have been made to obtain financing for those who wish to build inside the city. Inquiries have been made at the Fresno office of the Federal Housing Administration, the Prudential Life Insurance Mortgage loan division, the California Credit Union Director's office, and several private citizens who might be able to offer financial assistance to this group. Also, contacted shortly after the city's announcement, were Mr. George Voll, of the J. G. Boswell Foundation, and Mrs. Evelyn Von Glahn of the newly formed Corcoran Foundation. To date no positive indications of help have been received from any of these sources.

A letter to the Federal Housing Administrations Washington, D.C. office is being prepared for persons wishing to support this groups urgent search for another source of construction funds. Also being prepared are three applications of the Corcoran group for the study of the Fresno office of Federal Housing Administration to test low income families elegibility.

Guy Sherman,
Community Development Advisor
(Kings County)

C. B. Smith,
Construction Supervisor
(Kings County)

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS REPORT

As you gather in reading the preceeding reports covering different aspects of the project, experience is being gained that will benefit future self-help housing projects:

1. Groups should start meeting the winter ahead of construction when they are in the area and have the time.

2. Land should be located early that is adequately surveyed and developed (water, streets, sewer, etc.) or raw land will need to be developed within a reasonable price range. This will likely require the use of some capital for short periods of time.

3. Even though it is a great help to have financing for towns of 5,500 population or less, (rather than 2,500 as in the past) the gap in available loans for low-income families in larger towns must be met as soon as possible. (This is a crisis for

the Corcoran families now!) Federal Housing Administration must lower their requirements to include $3,000/year income families.

4. Capable trained staff is needed to work through the many expected and unexpected problems. Training programs must be developed to meet this need.

The 1965 Housing Bills inclusion of land in Farmers Home Administration loans is a major boost to the program.

The interest from other counties in California,- San Luis Obispo and Stanislaus since our last report, continues to grow. The recently formed Merced County Self-Help Enterprises Committee received OEO III B project funding and has hired Keith Perryman as their Director to start November 1st.

Visits from Oregon and Washington (both state and D.C.) indicate a growing wider interest. The Self-Help technique continues to demonstrate its workability as groups start construction after months of preparation under skilled supervison.

The American Friends Service Committee self-help housing conference to be held in Virginia December 6,7, and 8th promises to be invaluable to the realistic growth of group self-help housing in the United States. Documentation of experience, exchange of methods, development of resources and consideration of legislative needs are all planned pending word of foundation funding.

Howard Washburn,
Executive Director

SELF-HELP ENTERPRISES, INC.
~~716 West Main Street~~
Visalia, California 93277

Report No. 4
October 16, 1965, to December 15, 1965

Construction Director's Report (Tulare County):

The advent of rainy weather with its slow-down in farm employment has speeded the construction of the houses in Goshen. As of this date, we have two houses nearing completion. (Aguilar and Galindo) They are under roof, outside doors are hung and heat is turned on. Three houses are in various stages of framing. Of these, one has the roof trusses on (Renteria), and two are framed up to the top plate, ready for roof trusses (Castro and Gonzales). One more house has the rough plumbing completed and footings dug. (Careles) We expect to pour the floor in a day or two. The Farmers Home Administration loan is in for one more family (Melton) but construction has not been started. The problem of the hospital lien has not been resolved in the case of the remaining family (Torres). This has slowed the project down considerably and has increased the problem of the Construction Supervisor, Manuel Hernandez, and the Group Coordinator, Eddie Cuellar, because Mr. Torres was recuperating from an auto accident and was able to put in considerable labor which gave him valuable occupational therapy before being informed that he might not qualify for a Farmers Home Administration loan. Mrs. Torres is the Labor Manager. She is continuing to function but they see no point in doing other work on the houses when it still is uncertain if the County Hospital lien is going to prevent them from building a house of their own.

The Cutler-Munson group has one house nearly ready for paint (Blythe). One more Farmers Home Administration loan has been completed. Construction will start in a day or two. One more family (de la Cueva) has a building site in Sultana but for one reason or another the processing of the F.H.A. loan has not been completed, although the application for a loan was completed eight weeks ago. Hopefully, the F.H.A. loan processing will be completed in the next week. The Dawson tract in Orosi has finally been approved (December 2) by the State Division of Real Estate and cases for the five families are in escrow, awaiting further processing by F.H.A.

It appears, at this point, that there are so many problems with liens, judgments, etc. with the families in Teviston that we will not be able to put a minimum group of five families together this year, even though all the paper work has been done for eight families. We will continue to work with the families trying to resolve these problems. (See Group Development Report.)

The loan money for two families in Richgrove has come in and construction on the first house will start in a couple of days. A minor problem remains to be worked out with one family.

There is no construction started in Earlimart as yet. We expect that the money for the first loan will be here early in January which will be 2½ to 3 months behind our original target date for the start of construction.

A recent ruling from F.H.A. is going to limit the choice of participating families in that they can no longer use F.H.A. loan funds to pay for fireplaces in their homes or build fences around the property with loan funds. It seems to us on the Staff that, families should be able to decide these matters if they can qualify for a sufficient loan. In many cases, the fireplaces could, in a relatively short time, pay for themselves because many farm workers can get all the fireplace wood free. Fences are sometimes needed to keep small children off the street.

Howard Ten Brink, Construction Director

Group Development Activities (Tulare County):

We have been in operation seven and one-half months. It is time to review, evaluate and revise. Especially so in view of expanded programs for the future. The time table of progress we planned at the start of operations has fallen behind schedule.

We planned a program based in large part on previous experiences in the town of Goshen. One very difficult problem that appeared in other areas, that of land aquisition, was no problem in Goshen. Land was available at reasonable prices and a water system and paved streets aided in F.H.A. appraisals. In other areas land aquisition problems appeared.

In Richgrove, we lost two months in securing land. Earlimart was worse, we lost three months. In Orosi the anticipated opening of a new sub-division was delayed three months.

As loan applications are processed through the Farmers Home Administration, we find some families unable to qualify because of debts. The total of monthly payments they are making on cars, furniture, and other debts must be reduced to meet the criteria of the F.H.A. for a safe loan. Not safe in so far as collateral is involved, there has been no problem of insufficient security, but safe for the family --- a loan they feel the family can handle. The F.H.A. criteria eliminates most of the families near the $3,000.00 per year income. The average income of the families now participating is $3,700.00. Financial assistance, in the form of grants, low-interest rates, deferred payments while current debts are reduced or any method that can be developed, is needed to reach the families who cannot qualify with the present program.

In May of this year, we started a group in the community of Teviston. This is an all Negro community, a pocket of poverty with all the attendant problems. But it is a community with a strong desire for their own homes. Most of the people have been buying land and moving in old houses or building shacks. Many of the houses have no plumbing. The area just got water three years ago and while some of the families have the water piped only into the yard, most of the families have cold water piped to a kitchen sink. Up to thirteen families attended the group meetings. The group dropped to seven families who are trying to get F.H.A. loans. The present status of the group is as follows:

1. This family had a son seriously injured this summer. Several months in the County Hospital was necessary with charges over $4000.00 accured. A lien was put on their property. The County reduced the lien to $665.00 to qualify the family for an F.H.A. loan. The balance was put on open account with the intent of not collecting unless the financial condition of the family improved to the extent that payments would not deprive the family of other needs. Two months time was spent in letters going through three F.H.A. offices and back, very time consuming. The prospects look good now, however.

2. This family had hospital liens totaling $1425.00. The County reduced the lien to $525.00 with balance handled as above. But since then, four judgments against them have been found totaling $1,791.87. One is for an unpaid grocery bill, two are old hospital bills, the other is unknown at present. Prospects of qualifying for a loan seems impossible, they have other bills also.

3. This family owes $1,340.00 to a finance company as of October, 1965. They have an old house as security; payments of $69.00 per month, F.H.A. requires this to be reduced by about $400.00. It will take about six months or more. In addition, they have a judgment that must be eliminated. Detail of judgment as follows: County hospital charges during 1952, 1953, and 1957 total $121.90. Turned over to a collection agency. This procedure not followed anymore. Court costs added $13.60 to account. The collection agency added other costs of $8.15 making the total $143.65 as of February 2, 1962. Interest was applied at 7 per cent per year totaling to date $180.00. Prospects for this family may be in about a year.

4. This family has a hospital lien dated September 15, 1958. Details not known at this time. They also have a judgment plus costs and interest. The details of judgment are as follows: $140 hospital charge, $7.75 auto brake shop and a $3.50 doctor bill, total $151.25 as of May 15, 1958. Court costs and other charges increased the total to $181.34. Interest at 7 per cent has added $97.80 making total as of now $279.14. The collection agency offered to remove interest charges if balance paid.

5. This family went to another county for work. Planned to come back September 15th. Last information received is that they are working in Oregon. Due back any day. No title search made yet.

6. This family is outside of the area where water is available. They are also part of another group trying to get water. If and when they get water, they may get a loan. It depends on their financial condition at the time.

7. This family seems to have no serious problems. It is the only family of the group that could get a loan now.

The preceding was not written with a feeling of pessimism. It was to point out some of the problems we encounter. We should not back away. For these families a home is more important than landing a vehicle on the moon. The home is an important vehicle for changing environment and direction. But we should not program a tight, fixed schedule. Some groups will take 18 to 20 months to develop and build---others from 8 to 10 months. Additional financial assistance for the lower income group is needed if it is to be included.

Julius Stein, Community Development Advisor

Group Development Activities (Kings County):

After learning of Corcoran's new population count (just over 5,500), an attempt was made to locate another source of financing rather than Farmer's Home Administration. Banks, savings and loan companies as well as private individuals were contacted with no immediate results. Some consideration was given to moving the entire project outside of the city limits in order to qualify for Farmer's Home Administration loans. Since water is such a critical factor in this area, visits were made to the California Department of Water Resources to learn where the best prospects of usuable water might be found. Several well drillers were contacted for cost information.

Through the efforts of Representative Harlen Hagen, the Farmer's Home Administration agreed to service the Corcoran project, as it had organized prior to the new population count. The group then went back to their previous plans to locate in town and all but two of the 20 families now have options on lots. It was also learned that Farmer's Home Administration could not refinance families who were already buying their property. Contact was made with the Security First National Bank of Corcoran with the help of George Voll representing the J. G. Boswell Company. Prospects for the banks handling this problem seem good at this time. Refinancing is necessary to reduce current monthly payments on land so as to not put an added financial burden on these families.

In the Hall's Corner group, three families have picked lots in the Island area and two in Armona. All option forms have been executed and the applications submitted to Farmer's Home Administration Supervisor.

The supplemental budget request for additional staff in Kings County was approved by the Community Action Committee on November 17, and then sent to Washington, D. C., Office of Economic Opportunity.

Another meeting will be held in Kettlement City for all persons who are interested in self-help housing. The meeting has been arranged by Evelyn Sangster in hope that a group could be ready for construction next winter. To date there have been indications of three interested families in this area.

Guy Sherman, Community Development Advisor
C. B. Smith, Construction Director

Group Development Activities (Merced County):
Report No.1 - November 1 through December 15, 1965.
Our office is a temporary sharing of a small room and facilities with a Pre-School Staff, and as such suffices under existing circumstances. Project was approved by the O.E.O. to assist eight to ten families construct their homes during the project period October 8, 1965, to October 8, 1966.

Due to circumstances unforseen by originators of proposal, undue delays in initiating F.H.A. loan applications are being experienced. The area where original families reside is completely devoid of water sources acceptable to F.H.A. Consequently, an approved water source has to be developed. The Midway Community Water Services District has been incorporated by the State and has submitted an application for a loan from F.H.A. in the amount of $120,000.00 with which to purchase water from the City of Dos Palos and install a distribution system. The initial cost to property owners is expected to be about $100.00 with a tentative monthly cost estimated at $6.50 per month (5,000 gallon/month/family). The target date set for installation of the water system is tentatively set as May 1, 1966. Some home interviews were taken during November, 1965, but others were suspended pending development of the required approved water source. Numerous weekly meetings were held in November, 1965, with the initial building group, but interest began falling off as the nature of the water problem became known.

Inasmuch as the lack of water presented such a problem, a concentrated attack was mounted to pull together the loose ends and get the water development moving again. With legal problems unsnarled and a users survey updated, the docket is now ready for submission to the F.H.A. Regional Office in Berkeley.

Two VISTA members were assigned to the area December 1, 1965, and were quite helpful in completing the users survey.

The unincorporated community of South Dos Palos, contiguous to our area on the south, has an approved water supply with surplus water that can be estended to an area where land can be purchased at an approximate cost of $500.00 per area. One member of current building group is purchasing two acres. However, due to seller's personal income situation, no more land can be sold until after January 1, 1966. It is felt that sufficient land can be acquired to start a new building gruop of about five families. Further, a group of about this size will make it economically feasible and permisable to include cost of water acquisition in F.H.A. loan along with land costs and keep total package within lmitations of applicant families. There are a couple of families already in South Dos Palos whose proximity to the land location of future relocatees will make it possible to include them in a building group if they are interested.

Efforts are being made to effect a meeting of the new potential building group. The Los Banos Poverty Fighters are explaining the possibilities to a group in the Volta area. Interst is also being shown in the Planada area. Since Le Grand has just received a F.H.A. loan to install a water system, they represent an area where a group might form.

Keith Perryman, Director

Executive Director's Report:

1. A Rosenberg Foundation Grant of $20,600 per year for three years is now effective. These funds will allow us to provide information and consultant services to new California counties interested in self-help housing. It will also make possible some staff training a month or so in advance of a job opening. The SHE State Board of Directors has decided that active project development should be limited to the San Joaquin Valley (Kern County to San Joaquin County) for 1966.

2. The (AFSC, sponsored - Ford Foundation funded) Nationwide Conference on Self-Help Housing lived up to our expectations. The personal exchange of information was especially valuable. We look forward to the summary report and possible formation of a continuing method to exchange written information and meet other common needs.

3. We are pursuing the possibility of a demonstration grant under H.H.F.A. to make Federal Housing Administration loans possible for low income families who live in towns over 5,500 population.

4. O.E.O. Title IIIB officials indicate a $1,500 grant per family may be available for families who could not otherwise qualify for construction loans. We are including these in current budget requests. These and possible guarantee funds will help make construction loans available to lower income families.

5. There is considerable interest in Fresno County working towards the development of a Self-Help Housing project.

Howard Washburn, Executive Director

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SELF-HELP ENTERPRISES
A Non-Profit Corporation

~~716 West Main Street~~
Visalia, California 93277

REPORT NO. 5

December 15, 1965, to February 15, 1966

Construction Director's Report (Tulare County):

Construction in Goshen is proceeding at a good pace. Two houses are about 95 per cent complete. Both of these houses are four-bedroom houses and were originally designed without carports. Sufficient funds remain in the house loan, however, to build carports which is a pleasant surprise for both families. Both houses should be ready for occupancy in a month. Another house has the sheet rock installed, three have the electric wiring installed and stucco wire on the outside, and one more is framed and roofed. The loan money for the remaining family is not in yet. We expect that it will be here in a month.

In Richgrove, two houses are being sheet rocked and three more houses are being started but the floors are not poured. Loans for two more families are closed and ready to start. One more loan should be back in two weeks. Water is being installed by the Richgrove Utility District for the six houses that are being built in the same block.

Two houses in Earlimart are closed in and ready for stucco and sheet rock. Loans for four more are in but the money is not released pending clearing off the land of existing shacks and moving a building and fence.

One house in Cutler-Monson area is nearing completion and should be ready for occupancy in two or three weeks. One more house is ready for sheet rock and one is ready for the installation of rough plumbing (floor not poured). Three more loans have been closed in the Dawson tract in Orosi and work will start as labor is available. Money is being sent for the remaining family and should be here in two or three weeks. The new group in Cutler-Orosi now numbers eight families. Seven of these have submitted their plans and cost estimates to Farmers Home Administration and another is selecting a lot.

It is apparent that some families did not really understand the floor plan of the houses they were choosing. In the future, we will have $\frac{1}{4}$" scale models to show the families so that they can better visualize their house.

We will also have to spend more time developing a labor exchange system with each group making sure everyone understands how it works. Some families have not understood that they would have to pay back to the group the hours worked on their houses, on an hour for hour basis.

HOWARD TEN BRINK, CONSTRUCTION DIRECTOR

Group Development Activities (Tulare County):

A few months back, we had 42 families formed into five groups. All of these families had been meeting in their respective group and planned on building. Presently, 29 of the 42 families have loans approved and most are in various stages of construction. The Teviston group of seven families (discussed in detail in Report No. 4) will be re-activated in the near future. Contact has been maintained. A new group started in the Cutler-Orosi area during December, which filled the void in our programing caused by the delay encountered in Teviston.

A new group has been meeting in Goshen. Fifteen families have, so far, participated in three meetings. Another new group will be starting this week in Woodlake. It looks very promising. We have been asked to come back to Tonyville by some of the residents. Approximately 12 or 14 families in Richgrove and Earlimart have indicated a strong desire to join the next group. Richgrove looks promising. Earlimart's problem is lack of land at prices the participants can afford. We can work with these other groups in the near future as staff becomes available.

At our request, a class in carpentry has been started by the Adult Evening High School in Visalia. They are very cooperative and have designed the curriculum to fit the needs of the participants of the Self-Help Housing Program. Use of tools and safety practices are an integral part of the course.

In Report No. 4, reference was made to judgments based on unpaid bills incurred at the County Hospital. We reported that interest at 7 per cent per annum has been added to the judgments. Further investigation disclosed that the collection agencies were adding interest in violation of their agreement with the County of Tulare. This was brought to the attention of the Chairman of the Board of Supervisors and resulted in a letter being sent to all of the collection agencies. It stated, in part, that the agreements provide that no interest is to be collected on these accounts. These are old accounts. The County has discontinued assigning accounts for collection since 1959.

During the many meetings and discussions we had with the different groups last summer and fall, they were all told that good fences and some landscaping would be permitted. This was conditional on the house being completed under the amount loaned. The unused funds could be spent on fencing and other improvements such as a modest carport. We were recently advised by Farmers Home Administration that the fences would no longer be allowed. This information was given to the Richgrove group last week. Some were very dismayed, others antagonistic. Most families have three to six small children and they felt that a fence was necessary. All insisted that they should be allowed to build a durable fence if funds were available in the loan. It was explained that the loan was to build the important and necessary features of housing. The group rebutted this explanation by stating that good fences are important and necessary where there are small children.

J. JIM STEIN, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
ADVISOR

Group Development Activities (Kings County):

Two groups (Corcoran and Hall's Corner) in Kings County have been organized to participate in Self-Help Housing. The Corcoran group (20 families) have submitted applications to the Farmers Home Administration. Sixteen of the twenty are expected to begin construction as soon as their loans are processed. In Hall's Corner, five families have submitted applications to Farmers Home Administration; all five are expected to try to build this year.

Presently, it appears that the processing period for the Farmers Home Administration loan application is approximately four months. It would seem advisable to begin meeting with groups one year prior to the construction phase, which should coincide with employment inactivity. The group could then include participants who want to build; applications could then be completed in late spring or early summer. Beginning construction with the entire group, rather than individually may, then be possible.

It would be of mutual benefit to Self-Help Enterprises and Farmers Home Administration to develop closer coordinated liasion. It may be feasible for the present Farmers Home Administration staff to keep us closely informed of the status of each application so that problem areas (liens, judgments, etc.) could receive immediate attention and perhaps resolved much more rapidly. The prelimininary phase of the escrow proceedings, we feel, should commence as soon as the applications are submitted so as to uncover any possible difficulties as it applies to the property.

In explanation of some problems, four cases are presented from the Corcoran group:

1. The husband is one of two partners operating a service station. His 1965 earnings were $3,665.80. House payments are $30.00 per month, approximately eight years left in the contract. There are seven children with ages ranging from three to sixteen years. Present family indebtedness, excluding the home, is below $500.00. The house plan selected by this family costs $6,800.00 for construction materials. For the family to qualify for a FHA loan, present property payments will have to be reduced so that both payments, including taxes and insurance, would not exceed $60.00 per month.

2. This man has been employed by the J. G. Boswell Company since 1949, except for two years in the Army during 1953-1959. His 1965 earnings were slightly over $3,700.00. The family purchased their present home in the early 1960's for $2,500.00. Monthly payments are $35.38. A balance of approximately $1,600.00 remains; the couple have also been paying taxes for property annually. Outstanding indebtedness, excluding the home, is $1,960.00 as of August 31, 1965. The construction loan would be approximately

$6,500.00 adding the existing balance owed on the property would total $8,000.00. The couple have five children (10 months to 7 years).

3. Mr. C. works for both the J. G. Boswell Company and the Salyer Land Company. A daughter (22 years) and a grandson live with them. The house was purchased on March 17, 1965, for $2,275.00. Monthly payments are $62.00 per month. The present balance is $1,800.00. Part of the daughter's income is used to support the entire family. Construction materials selected would be approximately $6,000.00. The daughter is willing to be a co-signer.

4. Mr. and Mrs. H and three children live in a small two-room house. They are buying property costing $500.00 with the present balance of $340.04. The house plan selected would call for a loan of $6,000.00. Property payments are $25.00 per month.

As a possible means, for families in the above category to take advantage of the long-term, low-interest Farmers Home Administration loans, a local bank official has suggested that those families in this category could sell their property to a disinterested third party, and then buy it back in order to take advantage of Farmers Home Administration benefits. The banker sees no conflict of interest or subterfuge involved, rather it is simply another approach to "land development." Some way of re-financing existing home payments is clearly needed.

The Hall's Corner group's status remains the same as of February 18, 1966. One family has received their loan and it has been closed with the Farmers Home Administration. Construction is expected to start during the week of February 21, 1966.

A new group of about 14 families is meeting in Corcoran. There seems to be a marked increase of interest in Kettleman City and Avenal largely due to the efforts of our acting group coordinator, Manuel Apodaca. There are three families in the outlying Hanford area who have been meeting and are trying to get more families interested.

GUY SHERMAN, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ADVISOR
C. B. SMITH, CONSTRUCTION SUPERVISOR

Group Development Activities (Merced County):

The Midway Community Water Services District is nearing final stages in preparation of its docket for submission to Farmers Home Administration, Washington, D.C., for a loan to install a series of water lines for target area families. However, it is not felt that such will materialize soon enough to have any bearing on construction in this grant period.

As of February 1, 1966, a new building group has formed. It is composed of six families who plan to build in the South Dos Palos area. Presently, it seems that only three of the six families might qualify for loans with Farmers Home Administration and also meet the definition of poverty. A problem quite common to the program is rapidly developing here, i.e., rising land costs to the point of being prohibitive. However, a block of undeveloped lots have been offered at a unit cost that might permit development of same to the families advantage. Development costs are being explored.

On January 14, 1966, an interested group, brought together by the Los Banos Poverty Fighters, had the basis of the self-help approach to home building explained, in detail, to them. Also, the film, "Six Houses - Six Homes," was shown to the group. Out of this meeting, a group of about ten families is forming for potential construction in the Volta area. Negotiations for the necessary land are scheduled for the first week in March. Water is allegedly available to this land. However, some guarantees need to be worked out for families who actually purchase this land in question.

On February 5, 1966, the film, "Six Houses - Six Homes," was shown to Midway Community in an effort to provide them a psychological lift regarding their own dreams of home ownership.

Two additional VISTA members were assigned to the area on February 15th. The land alluded to in Report No. 4 is no longer available to potential builders. Rumor has it that it is involved in a possible speculative scheme.

KEITH PERRYMAN, DIRECTOR

Executive' Director's Report:

1. The San Joaquin Valley Self-Help Housing Proposal Under Title III B (Farm Labor Section) of the Economic Opportunities Act is being processed in Washington, D.C. If approved, the project will supply funds to six of the eight San Joaquin Valley Counties for technical assistance to continue or start Self-Help Housing projects with seasonal farm workers. Continuation in Tulare, Kings, and Merced Counties is anticipated. Fresno has formed a county committee of SHE and is selecting a Director. Stanislaus is in the process of forming a committee and interest has been expressed by the remaining three counties.

2. Discussions are continuing to develop a sound Demonstration Proposal with Housing Home Finance Administration to make 203 I Federal Housing Administration loans possible for families living in towns over 5,500 population. The current tight money situation and rising interest rates are complicating factors. Tulare and Kings Counties towns over 5,500 population are being considered for the Demonstration.

3. International Self-Help Housing Associates (ISHHA) is in the process of formation. This organization hopes to accomplish an organized exchange of information and experience in the self-help housing field. It may play a crucial role as both rural and urban interest develop in this approach to better housing. Contact Mariana Alcock, American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for further information.

4. Kern County Land Company officials visited the project both to obtain information and consider possible ways they might assist.

5. Rosenberg Funds are making possible the explanation of the project in new counties as well as the training of new staff in advance of actual work in each county.

HOWARD WASHBURN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

/rfh
3-2-66

March 22, 1966

The Reverend Francis Walter
810 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Dear Francis:

Enclosed is the check for $300 to be used for consultant fees and expenses for the cooperative in Wilcox and Dallas Counties.

I hope to be over that way soon and look forward to a chance to talk to you about self-employment cooperatives, etc.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh
Encl. Check $300 - #583

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810 - 29th AVENUE
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401
(205) 758-2301

April 25, 1966

PA

→ Please ret.

Miss Lois Deslonde
Caritas
3316 Feliciana Street
New Orleans, La.

Dear Miss Deslonde:

Everybody is excited about your coming too. I was down in Wilcox last Friday to tell the good news. As you may know, the primary there of May 3rd will decide whether there will be a Negro Sheriff of the county. I understand the New York Times Magazine of Sunday before last carried a story about the county and the candidate.

I', glad you can come for the better part of a week, May 9-13. I can pick you up in Birmingham if you fly in. This would probably be the easiest way. Eastern leaves New Orleans for B'ham at 8:55 A.M. and 1:;5 P.M. The cost is about $22.00 tourist. Since you may leave from Montgomery, better make the reservations one way. I', enclosing a check for $50.00.

I was pleased to hear that you are a Negro. The quilters are the sort of people who have had nothing but white people with a corner on money, education, or power telling them what to do all their lives. Mr. Ulmer and I had said we felt how much healthier the project would be if the "expert" could have the added advantage of being a Negro. I will be interested to see if you feel the same way after your trip. It is an open question, we could be wrong.

We'll be waiting to hear from you.

Yours in Christ,

FXW

The Rev'd Francis X. Walter

FXW:pb

cc: Mr. Al Ulmer
Mr. Jack Sisson

NEWSLETTER

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401
(205) 758-2301

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A U - Please note

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Number 4

May 16, 1966

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The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman. Four member groups act as national sponsors. They are:

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ.
The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice.
The Synagogue Council of America.
The Unitarian-Universalist Association.

THE MAY 3rd PRIMARY IN ALABAMA hit us hard. Most of us for Flowers were fairly confidant he'd get in the run off. Negro leaders in counties with black majorities were sure their candidates would win. The morning after was one big awful hangover. One Negro candidate just disappeared for a couple of days, too depressed even to talk with his friends. Strong leaders like the Rev'd William Branch of Greene County seemed stunned. Two days after he told me he still could-not understand it. But he w as recovered enough to have demanded the Justice Dep't investigate alleged vote fraud. He and the Negro candidate for sheriff had spent part of that day with an agent. But some passive folk like an old lady in Wilcox said "I done tried votin' once. I ain never gone try it again."

Let's look at some of the reasons given for losing in the counties with black majorities.

(1) White officials stealing the vote.
(2) Negroes voting the way white folks told them out of fear.
(Ballots are numbered. Those who run the election can tell how individuals voted.)
(3) Black votes being bought.
(4) Dr. King has said that the Negroes burden of racism has been "the slave mentality". Some Negro voters did not want Negro officials in their county. The law is the white man's business.
(5) Failure of the black electorate to turn out.

My own quess now is that the failure to turn out lost more votes than the other four reasons put together. Why? Fear, apathy and the almost insumountable burden of organizing a new electorate sufficiently to get it out.

In Greene County the electorate is

White - - - - - - - - - - - -1700
Negro - - - - - - - - - - - -3700

But the vote tabulations say

Tax Collector
White candidate - - - - - -1894
Negro candidate - - - - - -1673

Tax Assessor
White candidate - - - - - -2072
Negro candidate - - - - - -1715

Sheriff
White candidate - - - - - -2245
Negro candidate - - - - - -1949

That's almost 1800 votes unaccounted for. A lot of Negroes stayed home. Was there cheating too? The Rev'd Percy McShane, who lost the tax assesor's race, told me of 40 names sent by Negro candidates to the election officials. Only 2 names from the list were selected to be poll officials. In Alabama each box has three inspectors and two clerks. Only inspectors may help electors to vote. According to Mr. McShane's information May 5, no Negroes served as inspectors in Greene County. Negroes who were selected as clerks (save the two mentioned before) were Toms picked by white people. The Probate Judge withheld the list of poll officials until Friday. So Negroes discovered too late they were not represented! There were numerous cases of white inspectors taking Negro electors into separate rooms to mark their ballots. Federal inspectors were not allowed to follow them in some cases. One polling place in Wilcox turned out to be the sheriff's office. Voters crossed the lawn and voted through an open window! Good old candidate Lummie Jenkins was in and out of the office keeping check on everything. There were enough cases of alleged fraud and intimidation for Negro officials in these two counties to ask the A.C.L.U. to file a suit. In Wilcox County we have begun to collect notarized statements from every Negro stating for whom he voted. At the same time the names are being collected of people who thought they saw something fishy. They will be interviewed. This information will be used in the suit.

By now, two weeks later, there is no shame about losing. The numbers who did vote constitute some sort of victory. But there is an awarness that groups weren't really organized well enough, that a black candidate and a black elector don't add up to a sure thing, and that a lot of people need their spirits boosted right about now.

SOME FOLKS LOST THEIR JOBS, some were evicted for voting. Everett Wenrick and I took representatives of seven evicted families into Selma to tesify before the local agent of the Justice Dep't. Two landowners were involved. One lady, 84 years old, lived alone in a shack on some unused land. She told us the story she later told the Justice agent. I've changed the names.

"I was at my window day after the election. Mr. Charlie came up on the gallery. I handed him my month's rent ($5.00) through the window. He say 'Sally, who did you vote for?' I tole him, 'Flowers!' Then he say 'I know who tole you to vote and who carried you to vote! So I tole him, 'Jimmy Bendolph carried me, I don't care if you know that but didn't nobody tell me who to vote for. Radio tole me that!' "(She laughed at this.) "So then he said, 'You thought you was hurting me but you weren't hurting nobody but yourself. I got a farmer to move in here. You got thirty days to get out.'" At that poin someone broke in to ask, "What did you say to that?" "I say, 'Thank you suh.' "She has no family, nowwhere to move. The despair in these seven "cases" is deep. First of all, the Justice Dep't will be no help. Second, all the people but one man are unemployed because of age or illness. Five of the seven householders do not pay rent or work. They live on Mr. Charlies's place by his sufferance. They are useless. I know the man. He did evict them because they voted. But can you "evict" sombody who lives on your place for free? I know you can hurt them. I know they have no place to go, no way to earn a living. Nor do they have one social agency that can cope with their crisis.

The final despair is this. "What sort of man is Mr. Charlie?" The man who worked for him answers "There wasn't a better man to work for. Me and him worked five years. But since this regis'ring he been like a wild man. He been pushin' me, treatin' me mean. Then day after election, 'Get out of that house by sundown or I'll tear the roof off it!'"

WHICH LEADS ME SAY ONE MORE DARK THING, then on to something lighter. People used to say, "Man, the South is so different, folks down here have really got a spirit. There's hope here." They were contrasing the spirit of the Southern Movement with the cynicism and despair of the Northern ghetto. People don't say that any more. If the once "frank" white southerner is learning to be a dam-yankee triple tongued hypocrite, his black brother is just as rapidly "learning" to be a cynic, or a black nationalist-a man with ashes in his mouth.

Back when there was no chance there was no desire, no demand. Now the chance is every where; it oozes out of the television set, declaims itself through Dr. King, proves itself in black men's deeds, speaks, yet mockingly, in government pronouncements. Langston Hughes asked years ago what happens to "a hope deferred." Does it explode or shrivel "like a raisin in the sun." The nation is still not interested in the relevance of the question.

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Everett and Ann Wenrick will leave Selma this month to return to the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass. They have rendered an incalculable service to Alabama. Everett's work with the anti-poverty organization in Dallas County is a model of tact, patience, and persuasion. It's hard, very hard, for whites and Negroes to really work together once they get past the tea drinking stage. The Wenricks and the people of Dallas County have done it. Jonathan Daniels tried to do it, he was murdered and is now a legend. "He 'the young preacher who pushed down a Negro girl and took the shot was meant for her." The Wenricks took Jonathan's place. God grant that ETS will be able to send some one for next year. Here is an already established opportunity for real ministry that should not be lost.

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NATIONAL EDUCATION TELEVISION is productng a documentary on the Black Belt. It has been my good fortune to escort two of its representatives around. I've accepted with pleasure the offer to be a sort of unofficial consultant.

***

THE PAPER MILL COMING TO WILCOX COUNTY received at least 20 letters asking it about plans for hiring and job training. Newsletter readers have sent these letters and their replies to this office. The replies are identical and generally worded.

Local Negro leaders at Pine Hill and Lower Peach Tree have written in vain asking just to meet a representative of the company. More letters from readers would be helpful. We are now in correspondence with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and labor representatives. As soon as we hear what they have been able to do we will decide on the next step and let you know. The address again is

Mr. C.A. Specht, President
MacMillan, Bloedel, Powell River Ltd.
119 Pender Street
Vancouver, B.C.
Canada

MINOR TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS OF ALABAMA WHITE FOLKS should occasionally be acknowledge. Two or three students tried to picket George Wallace during Governor's Day at the University of Alabama. The police stopt the show and arrested two people. One of them immediately had his money cut off by an irate family. He told me he couldn't even afford a haircut(suggested by his lawyer). An art student in an Alabama college started producing somewell let's call it "Pop Social Commentary". He likes to paint the b bulls eye "Great Seal of Alabama." One version of his seal series leans precariously to the right. Betty and I bought a big one, a Klansman's forehead and eyes rising over a board fence. He told us he was grateful for the money. His father had cut him off completely after a big row over the Easter vacation. He is junior student and married. His future is uncertain.

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THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE has 125 members now. As soon as money from sales comes in we will buy more quilts. We have handled 243. Soon we will be producing white oak baskets-all shapes and sizes-and palmetto hearth brooms. These latter articles are common to the area.

We very much need additional markets and scraps. Quilts now average about $20.00 apeice. If any organization would like to sell some for its profit and ours we'd be glad to consider it.

The best news has been saved for last. The Freedom Quilting Bee will have an advisor June, July and Augest. She is a person trained in arts and crafts, with prior experience in handicraft quilds. She was recommeded to us by the National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice, one of our sponsors. Her name is Lois Deslonde. She is a member of the Roman Catholic lay community CARITAS located in New Orleans.

Last week she looked us over and the quilt ladies looked her over. Together we went all over two counties meeting the members. The members wanted Lois, and Lois liked us so the deal was made. Her expenses will be paid by the co-op through a grant from the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta.

***

CONGRATULATIONS TO STOKELY CARMICHAEL who has been elected chairman of SNCC. He has been active in Alabama for some time. Stokely has an approach, a method, a position which should be put to the test on a scale larger than here-to-fore.

WE HAVE NO TRANSPORTION this summer for Miss Lois Deslonde, who will be managing the handicraft co-op. A car or better a pick up or station wagon is absolutely necessary. If we have to, we will try to buy an old car and sell it in September. If anyone has a vehicle to rent, lend, or give write us. We could arrange for the donor to give it to some organization as a tax deductible donation.

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We know our mailings look smeary and dog eared, but our office work is done by a number of friendly little boys from 4 to 10 years old.

AV - let's discuss
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NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401

Number 6 July 22, 1966

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The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman. Four groups act as national sponsors. They are:

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ.
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The Unitarian-Universalist Association.

THE JUNE 21 NEWSLETTER ARTICLE MENTIONING S.C.L.C. brought a letter from Mr. Albert Turner The Director of the Alabama S.C.L.C. operation. Mr. Turner is a native of Marion, Alabama in Perry County. He is a distinquished and long time leader in the Alabama Civil Rights Movement. Mr. Turner ran for State Representative in Perry County. Some of the Alabama S.C.L.C. people were not happy with what I had to say about S.C.L.C. It was suggested that the Newsletter could publish responses to the article. Mr. Turner took the time to write this detailed and informative response. It is reprinted here in full. There is only one point in the letter that I feel needs a comment from me. Mr. Turner wonders why I did not go to SCLC leaders to ask why the organization left Alabama. As I told another SCLC staff person, I was trying to reflect the feelings of the rank and file upon hearing the news. I tried to point out that the place for an explanation of S.C.L.C.'s move and an evaluation was the pages of "The Southern Courier", Alabama's remarkable race relations newspaper. No one is the loser when information is made available.

MR. ALBERT TURNER's LETTER

I found time today to read your letter of June 21, 1966, and it was more than interesting.

I was a little disturbed to learn that you apparently did not question SCLC or some other responsible source as to why SCLC left Alabama.

SCLC's staff in Alabama is composed of less than twenty members as you suspected it to be, but those other implications might be some-what unfounded provided a little research was done.

First, I would like to establish a few facts:

1. All of SCLC's staff and resources were committed to Alabama for about eighteen months.

2. SCLC's manpower and resources are not unlimited.

3. SCLC is not interested in only one segment of people, whether they be in a county, state, region, or nation.

We are not solely interested in the Negro race. Our first hope is to create an atmosphere where there will be a better world, as well as to help rid our own American society of the cruel treatment that an oppressed people must undergo--regardless of their race, color, or creed.

We believe whole-heartedly that God created all men equally and that they must learn to live peacefully on their earth, and that there is no superior group of people. We believe that everybody should share all of God's creation and that now we must secure those basic rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States of America.

We are interested in the whole problem that causes an oppressed people to suffer. At the same time we realize the complexity of the system we oppose and that there is no one simple solution to our problems. While we must admit that the best methods of solving these problems have yet to be found, we feel that in using the available resources, such as the Bible, history, and common sense, we are closer to some of the better methods.

This does not mean that we regard the problems of Alabama solved, but we do feel that SCLC, along with the aid of CO-A-PO and the black-belt county organizations, has helped the people of Alabama to the point where, we hope, they can continue the struggle for their freedom with the aid of a more limited SCLC staff.

Alabama has done a great deal for the freedom of all Mankind: Birmingham resulted in the 1964 Civil Rights Bill and Selma,the 1965 Voting Rights Bill. At this time the problems of Southwest Georgia and Mississippi are greater than those of Alabama. Hence, these areas necessitate prior consideration. We wish that we had unlimited manpower and financial resources, but unfortunately this is not the case.

I fail also to agree with your report on the May 3rd and 31st primary elections. There were counties that turned out from 85% to 90% of the registered negro vote. I doubt if this turn out has been paralleled in American history.

Let us take Perry County, Marion, Alabama as an example where more than 85% of the registered negroes turned out in spite of all the mountains that had to climbed. In Perry County there are 3,650 negroes registered to vote, and of this number some 3,150 turned out to vote.

Of course, I noticed nothing was reported in your newsletter, when on May 31st appoximately 3,600 white people voted out of the 3,441 that are over twenty-one years of age. (1960 census figures) Beyond this, it is more than likely that the white population of Perry C

County has decreased in the last six years.

You nor the government took time to report this obvious inconsistency between the number of white people voting and the census figures. Further, those negroes that did not come to vote felt that by so doing, they would have jeopardized their jobs, food, and means to a livelihood. They chose to stay home because they knew their very source of survival was threatened.

You fail to consider the fact that less than a year ago not even one-tenth of these people were registered. In terms of politics, most of us were ignorant because we had not previously been allowed to participate in the election of governmental officials.

Until 1950 Negroes found it difficult to send their children to school because they had to stay home and help support their families. Even to this present day Negro schools do not have proper facilities. The Negro is not to blame if he cannot read or write. The society that the Negro as a race has been used to perpetuate, is to blame.

After having taken all these facts into consideration I know you won't criticize so readily. There few who can boast of such accomplishments.

Victories were won in Alabama. Jim Clarke was defeated in Dallas County and sheriff Shields ih Marengo County. Senator E. O Edins was also defeated as were many others that have not been pointed out.

Unless we can purge some of these black-belt voter rolls, like that of Perry County, and others that carry 150% white registration, it will continue to look like the Negro did not turn out.

Thanks for reading all this, but I just felt moved to finally answer some of these great movement helpers.

***

ANNOUNCING CRISES IS NOT MY STRONG POINT especially financial ones. But in this case somethings got to give and give soon. The Selma Interreligious Project is completely out of money. This situation came about for two reasons. The Project began in October 1965. It was not part of any organizations 1965 budget. Money was scraped from here and there. The other reason is that some of the major denominations could not offer what was their share. Receipts for anything that has to do with racial matters is way off. Many contributors think things are going well so church and Race Funds are all in truble.

We need $4,750 to finish up this first year if operation. The next year will be better because we are now in the budget of our supporting groups. Besides that we are being considered for some foundation money to expand (but not maintain) our program.

If some money is not found by August first I will be out of a job and out of Alabama too.

I'd be happy to send a full financial statement to anyone who requests it showing contributions and expenditures. Our finances are handled by the business office of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. Our accounts are audited. If you can do anything to help us we'd appreciate it. The Steering Committee meets in New York the 25th of July to discuss this crisis.

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WHILE ON THE SUBJECT OF MONEY. The "Newsletter" has grown every issue. Last month we mailed about 800 issues. This growth was not foreseen. You can do two things to help. If you don't care to get the thing anymore just mail the envelope back to us saying to drop you from the mailing list.

If you want to keep getting it you could consider sending is a dollar or two to help pay for it. I didn't think I'd ever have to ask for that. This doesn't apply to our newest group of readers either, all the Catholic Inter-racial Councils. You folks just started getting the letter.

May I also ask that people who are poor not feel they should contribute to the cost of the "Newsletter." What's poor? Well, if you don't have indoor plumbing we don't want your money.

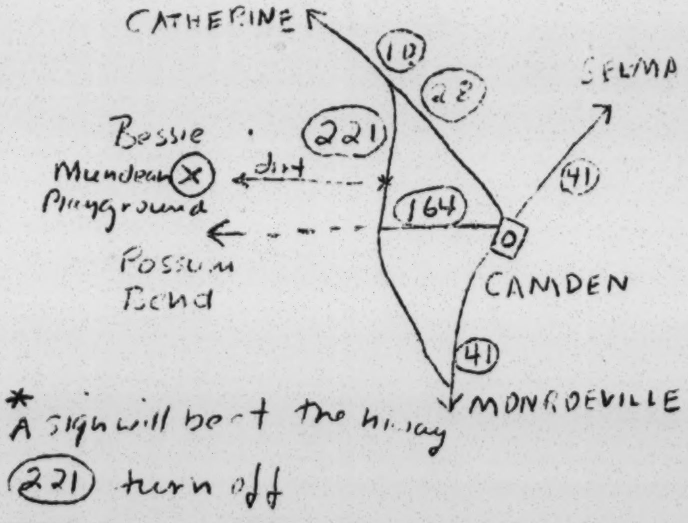
***

THE FORTUNES OF THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE go up and up. While our marketing situation is no better everything else is better. Miss Lois Deslonde, our summer adviser, has really brought a new spirit to the cooperative. Her evening workshops all over Wilcox County have been well attended. People have come up with all sorts of things that we are willing to experiment with to see if they will sell. We now offer eyeglasses cases, pot holders, aprons and T.V. Guide covers, in crewel work. In addition we have corn husk doormats, white oak baskets, traditional sun bonnets, and pottery. Customers may now order the size, design and color of their quilts. We have begun discussion with the U.S. Department of Commerce and the Department of Agriculture on help they can offer. We are considering establishing a credit union or either encouraging our members to join if one is begun in Wilcox by another group.

Lois has been joined in her work this summer by Miss Leslie De Mane of Greenwich, Conn. Miss De Mane is a graduate of high school and an Episcopalian. We are very pleased to have her. The people down in Gees Bend and Alberta have made her feel right at home.

***

EVERYONE IS INVITED AUGUST 6 to the Freedom Quilting Bee's first Frolic, Fish fry, Barbeque, and Quilt Judging Contest. It will last all day. Everything the co-op makes will be on exhibit and for sale. It will be an all day affair beginning about 10 AM at the Bessie Mundean Park just outside Camden, Ala. We'll put a sign up where you turn off the highway. This will only be the third time our co-op has had a general get together. I very much hope that people from Tuscaloosa, Birmingham, Selma and elsewhere will feel like driving over.



Stanley Selengut
733 Third Avenue
Telephone: (212) 867-0970 New York City 10017

August 1, 1966

Miss Lois Deslonde
c/o Mrs. Witherspoon
Route 1, Box 72
Alberta, Alabama

Dear Miss Deslonde:

Last week, I was visted by Reverend Francis X. Walter and was shown samples of the various quilts which your Freedom Quilting Bee Cooperative is producing. As I told Reverend Walter, I do not feel there is a great market for patchwork quilts. I do, however, feel that the same craft talents could be used to manufacture many exciting products.

Within the next week or ten days, I will forward to you samples of toys, wall hangings and various other sewn and embroidered articles for you to copy. I will include with the samples all the necessary materials, patterns and complete instructions. I would appreciate your copying these samples as quickly as possible and returning these together with an estimate for the labor and a conservative estimate of the production you feel you could supply.

I have kept two quilts, "Grandmother's Choice" and "Snowball" done by Polly Bennett of Alberta, Alabama. I would like to hold these as samples of your work. Please send me an invoice for these quilts and any information you might have about them, such as: Can they be duplicated in any quantity? What the price would be in quantity? Can the women duplicate designs which they are given, provided they are supplied with the fabric and materials? If so, I will send you in the near future, samples of wall hangings for children's rooms which are both decorative and also games for children, such as "pin the tail on the lion". This is a great appliqued lion wall hanging which is made with the same techniques as your patchwork quilts. If you would like, I can send you samples of these for you to copy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I am looking forward to working with you and am quite impressed with what you have already done.

Looking forward to hearing from you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Stanley Selengut

SS:rb
cc: Dr. Oscar Ornati, OEO
Rev. Francis X. Walter ✓

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810 - 29th AVENUE
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401
(205) 758-2301

August 9, 1966

Mr. Dan Kimball
2120 S. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kimball:

You and your wife gave me one of the most pleasant evenings I've spent anywhere. It is a pleasure to be able to enter a stranger's home and feel a part of things after only a few moments.

I was able to report to the members of the co-op all the avenues that Doris has opened for us. The co-op had a fair last Saturday. I suppose about half our membership was present. So they were able to discuss and accept your generous offer to but quilts to experiment with marketing them.

They felt they could before the end of August produce 100 quilts at $13.00 each. It was felt that the manager, Miss Deslonde, had done such a good job of improving the quality of the quilts that we'd better accept making only 100 by the end of August rather than a larger number. Good ones take longer to make.

As you said to me, no one can say what they will sell for but I would suggest they be priced by your manager at two or three different prices. The quality doesn't vary that much but some designs are more difficult to make than others and some quilts are more colorful than others.

Please let us know where to send them. They will go REA from Selma.

I was able to talk to the director of the Wilcox County S.C. L.C. Inc. about what you were doing in Watts and about your interest in the co-op. His organization produced the Anti-poverty Co-oradinating Committee of Wilcox County. This organization is the one that was recently granted $37,000 by O.E.O. for an adult education program, day care centers and health centers.

Sept 15, 1966

Dear Al,

Doris O'Donnell will try to arrange for the interested women to come down the last week in September ~~on Sunday~~ through the dates 25 – 29. The women are: Miss Sally Victor – a designer, buyer or something

Diana Vreeland, fashion editor of Vogue magazine

Mrs Maxfield (?) Parrish – the lady who did over the White House for Mrs Kennedy

I do hope you can hold these dates open. As soon as I hear definitely, I will let you know.

Sincerely,
Francis

Francis Walter Tel. Conv. 10/10/66

Doris O'Donnell in Tuscaloosa.

Looking at EDA -

Dr. Charles Counts

National Collection of Fine Art
Smithsonian Institute

C-310-65
Report of Economic Dev. Administration
"Encouraging American Handcrafts"

'Know where to look for manager.

School for Design

Need for money to hire

Mrs. Henry Parrish - designer of White House

Has given pattern for "bed spread

Mrs. Sally Victor - designer millinery.
makes hats for Jackie + Lady Bird

would be interested in making hats.

Victor would need a time element and a manager for quality control.

Stanley Selengut - Aid - needs a manager for a toy project.

Vogue Magazine - Diana Wheeler.

COPY

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

1800 G. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506

February 1, 1967

Dear Reverend Walter:

Since assisting crafts is one of the objectives set forth in the Arts and Humanities Act, we might possibly be able to help you. However, it will be necessary for us to have all the information possible as to your financial requirements and other pertinent background.

You should keep in mind that we can only make matching grants, so that if we were able to give you any funds, it would be necessary for you to raise an equal amount from other sources.

Sincerely,

Roger L. Stevens
Chairman

The Reverend Francis X. Walter
Selma Inter-Religious Project
810 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

COPY

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SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810 - 29th AVENUE
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401
(205) 758 2301

February 13, 1967

Mr. Al Ulmer
S.R.C.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

Enclosed are two copies of a letter to The Freedom Quilting Bee from Roger Stevens, chairman of the Nat'l Foundation on The Arts and Humanities. We are elated over this response. We sent them some slides and other material.

The co-op's records have been turned over to a C.P.A. in Tuscaloosa. I fiqure his report on our finances for 1966 would look a little more official than mine.

Mr. Wahman of the New York Foundation has been told of this. I will send Mr. Stevens the same report I am sending the New York Foundation. Answers to the questions he asked us via you will be sent along with the financial statement in about three weeks.

Unofficially the co-op in 1966:

grossed	$7553.00	assets	a) a jeep	$150.00
paid to members	$6070.00		b) 150 quilts	$3000.00
had in bank	$ 125.00		c) fabric	$ 100.00
paid in expenses	$1358.00			

Yours sincerely,

Francis

The Rev'd Francis X. Walter

FXW:pb

Encls.

$1-a-Bushel Bright Spot in Poverty War

A tractor owned by a member of the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association rolls past a typical farmhouse in the area served by the co-op.

The OEO has finally found a winner in Alabama by backing a Black Belt cooperative that helps 800 Negro farmers get a fair price for produce.

Photos by Frank Hoy—The Washington Post

Ben Fink, marketing specialist for the farmers' cooperative, talking to a member of SWAFCA.

By William Chapman

Washington Post Staff Writer

SELMA, Ala.—Freeman Berry, a tall, lean Negro farmer, owns 70 acres of the Alabama Black Belt eight miles north of here. It used to be 90 acres, but 20 were sold to make ends meet for Berry and his large family, and it looked for a while as if the rest would have to go, too.

His big crop is cucumbers. For years he has sold them to a single buyer, a Selma processor who paid a rock-bottom $5 per 100 pounds when and if he wanted some. In good years, it was a bad living; in bad ones, it was poverty, and in all years, it was back-breaking labor.

This year is different. Berry is selling all the cucumbers he can raise, earning $6 for 100 pounds and enjoying the assurance that his clientele will expand to include the Nation's major food markets hundreds of miles away.

Berry is one of more than 800 Black Belt farmers, all but one of them Negro, whose livelihood may move above the marginal line because of a unique and highly controversial organization—the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association, usually known as SWAFCA.

The co-op, now running on a $400,000 grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, looms as a visible success in a year of trouble and setbacks for the poverty program's Alabama projects. Everyone from Freeman Berry to Washington's officialdom is pleased—except Selma's white leadership, large farm owners and Alabama Gov. Lurleen Wallace, all of whom tried to block the project.

It was against this backdrop last year that a small group, originally composed of civil rights activists, brought SWAFCA into being and thereby launched a political controversy that almost overshadows the less exciting topic of cucumber prices.

SWAFCA's early promoters were civil rights workers left in limbo when the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery "March for Freedom" was finished. Chief among them were Albert Turner, Alabama coordinator for Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Shirley Mesher, a white woman from California and veteran of many civil rights campaigns.

At first, even OEO in Washington was dubious. Joseph Bradford, an Alabama Negro who is a rural services specialist for the antipoverty agency, wrote a memorandum declaring that

Photos by Frank Hoy—The Washington Post

Ben Fink, marketing specialist for the farmers' cooperative, talking to a member of SWAFCA.

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The packinghouse of the cooperative in Selma.

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Even before the OEO grant came through, the farmers here had put the co-op together—buying fertilizers in quantity, trucking their cucumbers, okra and peas to the rented, ramshackle cotton-gin shed for packing. They did it on a shoestring to show Washington they were serious. Now they are in business in a big way.

Co-op marketing is nothing new elsewhere in the country, but for Alabama's poor Negro farmers, it is a revolution. It means economic independence from white landlords and bankers and, for the first time, a voice in the decisions that determine their incomes. Most of all, it means hanging on to the land instead of fleeing to the city slums as so many of their neighbors have done.

A Fifth Decamped

THE MEANING of even modest progress becomes clear when portrayed against the recent past. In the ten-county Black Belt, two-thirds of the farmers earn less than $1500 a year. The exodus from the farm has grown to such proportions that in a five-year period, nearly 20 per cent of the farmers fled. Three-fourths of them left farms of 50 acres or less.

SWAFCA's early promoters were civil rights workers left in limbo when the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery "March for Freedom" was finished. Chief among them were Albert Turner, Alabama coordinator for Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Shirley Mesher, a white woman from California and veteran of many civil rights campaigns.

At first, even OEO in Washington was dubious. Joseph Bradford, an Alabama Negro who is a rural services specialist for the antipoverty agency, wrote a memorandum declaring that the co-op was "doomed to failure" because it lacked indigenous leadership and professional expertise.

But OEO changed its mind after more local farmers were added to SWAFCA's board of directors.

Lurleen Overridden

BRADFORD'S DOUBTS were small compared to official Alabama's. The local community action program in Dallas County fought SWAFCA bitterly and tried to fund a competitor. The local pickle processor declared he would not buy cucumbers from SWAFCA, thus shutting off the closest major market.

Gov. Lurleen Wallace rejected the OEO grant only to have her veto overridden by Director Sargent Shriver. She charged it was actually a "Black Power" movement with ties to Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael has had nothing to do with SWAFCA, although some old allies in the Lowndes County Black Power movement once were involved.

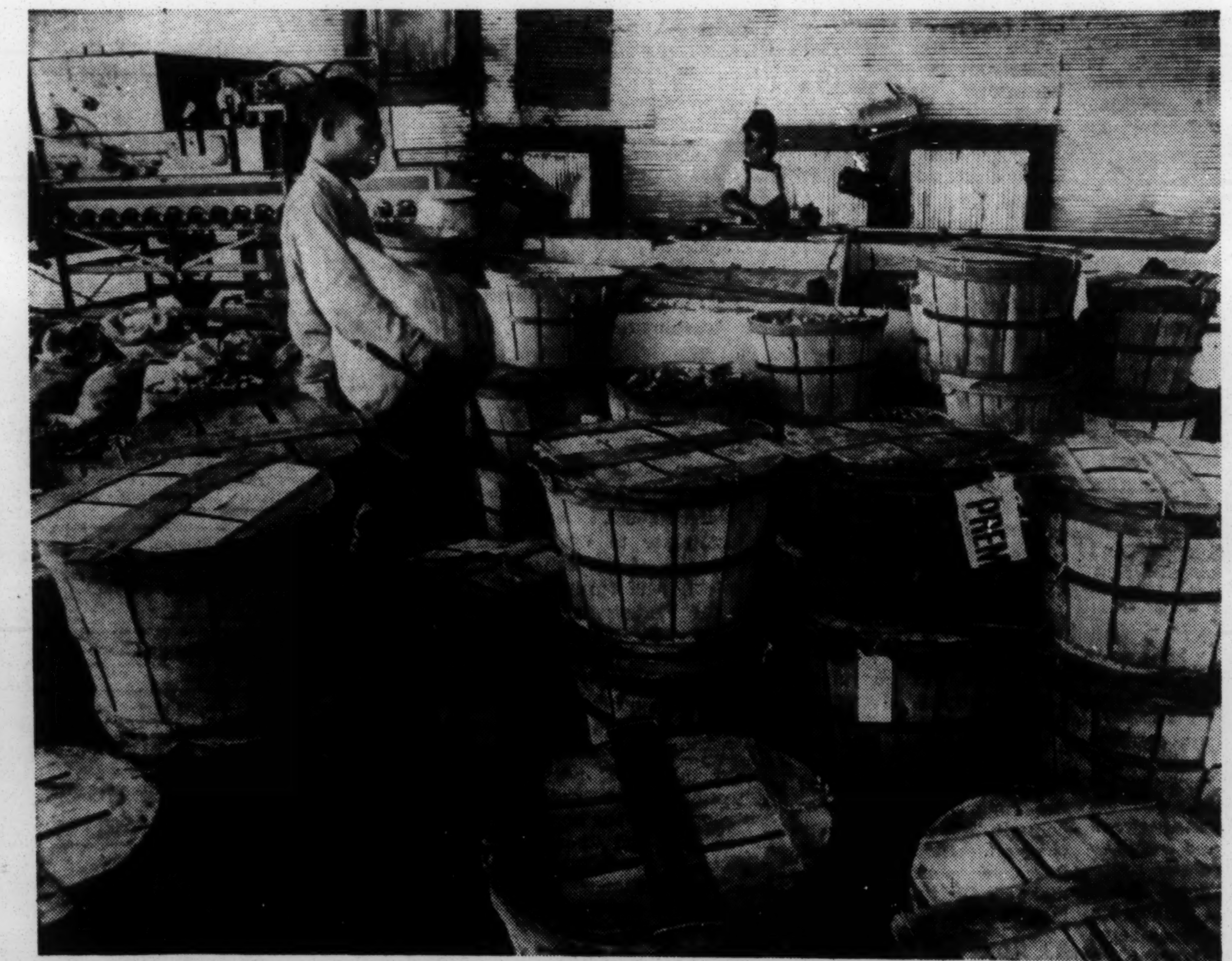
Even today, Mrs. Wallace's associates insist privately that SWAFCA is in reality a secret Federal plot to instill Black Belt Negroes with revolutionary fervor. One aide in the Governor's office pointed out that part of the OEO grant would pay for communication equipment in farm-to-market trucks. "Those radios would be a great help if you were organizing an army, wouldn't they?" he said.

Key Test in December

THIS HIGHLY CHARGED political atmosphere is now fading and the more prosaic chores of marketing peas, cucumbers and okra are now uppermost. The key test will come this December when major buyers offer their large-volume contracts for next year. With processors as far away as Michigan already buying huge truckloads, the future seems secure.

The Heinz Co. in Michigan is asking for 14 truckloads of cucumbers a week. Another large processor in Birmingham wants ten truckloads of mixed fresh vegetables a week next year. A Georgia firm recently called for large-quantity shipments of peas.

Marketing in volume can begin in earnest when the OEO grant is put to use. It will buy farm-to-market trucks, hire local Negroes to supervise the growing and bring in the modern agricultural expertise so far lacking. The heretofore cautious U.S. Department of Agriculture has now promised its help and is coming to regard SWAFCA as a model program for helping poor Negroes stay down on the farm.



Baskets of okra await processing as a SWAFCA worker sorts cucumbers in the background.

Freeman Berry, a member of the SWAFCA board, inspects a field of corn on his 70-acre farm. He also cultivates 35 rented acres.

Pickles are sorted as they move along a conveyor belt.

Co-op member Robert Berry with his wife and son Bob and a neighbor girl, Edma Mae Smiley (right), in front of the Berry home.

JL

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT

The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

NUMBER 15 October 24, 1967

* * * * * * * * * *

October 1967 marks the beginning of the third year of the Selma Inter-religious Project. Listed below are the members of the Project. SIP is about as unofficial as can be. Any religious group may belong. Belonging means money, being at board meetings, cooperation with the work. Some give sizable amounts to the budget, some a little. It is a monstrously wordy list. I would despair of religion being organized except that it is not these titles for whom I care and who care for me. It's Peggy, Bal, Charles, Homer, Bruce, Henry, Quin, Gay, Grover, Kim, Ralph, Jack and Jim.

Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, Division of Christian Citizenship (Church and Race Fund Allocations Committee).

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, Women's Division, Section of Christian Social Relations.

General Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church, Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs.

The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice, Southern Field Service.

The National Council of Churches of Christ, Department of Social Justice.

The Synagogue Council of America

Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Commission on Inter-faith Activities

The Unitarian Universalist Association, Department of Social Responsibity

The United Church of Christ, Committee for Racial Justice Now

The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Commission on Religion and Race

A denomination which prefers to remain anonymous.

I WENT TO WASHINGTON this month with Joe Johnson, president of the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association. We met another SWAFCA volunteer there. We did a little visiting around.

Problems of censorship arise from my being both agent and reporter. I can't say now who we saw. That happens a lot. Since 75% of all the schemes and deals I am in on flunk, I also find myself not reporting my activities because they didn't work out. No wonder people ask what I do for a living.

SWAFCA is raising a winter crop of turnips, collards and mustard greens. Mr. Johnson and I traveled by bus so we had time to talk about okra, greens and such like. I don't think Mr. Johnson would mind my repeating this.

"What about other crops that usually aren't grown down here?" I asked. "Well, we got an offer of a contract like that from a man in New York. He was so eager he wanted to fly the seeds down here himself. But I don't know exactly how to say it -bross... brock..." said Mr. Johnson. "You must mean broccoli." "I guess so." Then I messed up by saying, "Yeah, it's that white vegetable, like calves brains in the middle of a head of cabbage." "Oh, is that so?" said Mr. Johnson being polite. "I've never seen any." Then I said "No, no I'm wrong; that white stuff is cauliflower; broccoli are those little- bitty cabbage-like heads; no that's Brussels Sprouts." I gave up. "I don't know any of those, never saw any that I know of. But our specialists tell us that broccoli will grow in Alabama so we'll grow some this spring."

This proves:
a) Southerners don't eat many Yankee vegetables.
b) Poor people never eat any.
c) Nobody gives a damn about raising anything in Alabama except cows, cotton, pine trees, and the income of large land owners.

* * *

WE ALSO VISITED a famous and very kindly economist in Washington. We were in awe of him at first, Mr. Johnson and the SWAFCA advisor talked problems, got offers of help. Mr. Johnson asked for advice of one sort or another like: Are there any government agencies or commissions we have left untapped? The man began to list agencies. How pleasing to hear him in the most ordinary voice dismiss one arm of government after another. "____ is impossible. The only man in ___ is my friend ____ and he is immobilized. SWAFCA is new and innovative so it's threatening. So don't waste time with ___ or ___." Once he said, "___ is hopeless and I should know, I wrote the legislation that created them."

This was a piece of magic, one of those bridges truth can build between men. We relaxed. A Negro Alabama dirt farmer and a Washing economist, looking at each other smiling, appreciating the shared truth that for a second anyway made them one.

How far one has to travel from Alabama, how few can make the journey, to such a communion. What an expanse of Yahoos, phonies, time servers, cowards, and mindless functionaries had separated those two from that moment-so slight but so important.

A memo to all institutional functionaries: when your clients are seated before you, share thirty seconds with them about the rot in your organization. And relax, they know about it anyway. It will make humans of you both, generate bonds, smiles, make you want to go out together for a beer. Of course you may not want that nice, warm(dangerous) feeling.

* * *

WE WENT BY OEO too. You get that good old feeling there. At least in the Migrant Division, and in the one that is funding SWAFCA. Not to knock the other offices. I just don't know the others as well. A few beards around. Guys in wrinkled shirts. Lots of wandering around, like pacing- a good sign. You feel like you can plop down at any empty desk, relax and use the phone. People smile. Somebody wants to know if you have a place to sleep tonight. A minor chief dashes by, "Look at you, great to see you, God the country's moving to the Right!" He's gone. You wanted to say, "You just finding that out?" but you realize he means lately, maybe as of Tuesday; after all it's his office, among others, Congress is after. Tension is in the air. You sense these nuts believe they can really change things, if they try very hard. A kind of Americanism I can buy.

After 6, after 7, after 8, they're still around working, dodging the cleaning people. Wives come by. Are they all pregnant? They sit, listen to their husbands. Kids chew on somebody's memo pad. "Ah, ah, don't eat that."

Very homey. Is it the last outpost of the Kennedy style, hidden, compressed into two offices? You hope not. How important is style. Would you call it soul? Doesn't it make the difference between love and business?

* * *

YET STYLES can only work their magic on your vital juices after deeper things are settled. Those who meet must be secure in something so that they don't threaten one another with destruction. That security can be in God, Jesus, a great mission, or faith in one's freedom and worth. You can't have soul/style with fear, indeed perfect soul casts out fear. Much dry, office type treatment, routine treatment by efficient, cool do-it-by-the-book types is really a projection of fear.

Sen. Lister Hill had style too when I heard him talk with Negro constituents. Lots of Southern talk: "Ha, ha, yes sir, good to see you; collard greens, fat back; you from there, my goodness, my uncle had a place..." Poor old style. Maybe it worked once but it can't bury the unanswered questions, the nest of loyalties and enmities; the old ways unmentioned, not apologized for, not accounted for; the fear.

* * *

THESE NEXT NOTICES ARE ESPECIALLY FOR ALABAMA FOLK.

* * *

WE WANT TO MAKE A CATALOGUE for people in Alabama listing all Alabama city and county Civil Rights groups, community organizations, credit unions, co-ops, and OEO organizations. The book would also list the addresses of the national Civil Rights groups, how to write your congressman, and the names of people known to us in federal agencies who will give a fair shake.

We will send you a copy as soon as it's finished. But we can't make a complete book unless we have the information from you. You may have already gotten a paper from us to fill out. If so please return it. If you haven't and you know of some group that maybe we have missed please write us and we will send you a paper to fill out. Please help us make this a full, complete catalogue that will list your organization.

* * *

HERE ARE TWO CHANCES TO SEND SOMEONE FOR TRAINING in community organization.

The first is run by Penn Community Services in Frogmore, S.C. You may remember Penn ran the voter education classes for SCLC up in Frogmore. Penn Services is sending around notices which say:

ARE YOU A PERSON WHO WOULD LIKE TO BECOME MORE SKILLED IN HELPING YOUR COMMUNITY TO BE A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE?

This is no two bit program. The course lasts up to four months, trainees are paid from $80 to $280.00 a month depending on their needs. Only a very few from Alabama will be selected, but what a chance to help your community.

The only qualifications are (1) be at least 18 years old, (2) be able to read and write, (3) be already working to improve you community. If interested in more information write us or

Training Program
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, S.C. 29920

The other program would train you in the same direction-making your community a better place to live. But it will be for only a few weeks. It will be for a group of Alabama folk who would go to the Upland Institute in Chester, Pa. It will probably be held before spring planting in slack time. It will be organized by the Selma Interreligious Project. Please write, you might be able to help your people so much.

* * *

SOME PEOPLE THOUGHT I WAS BITTER or depressed last month when I wrote about our efforts in Alabama to influence Orville Freeman to feed the hungry. A few readers, bless their souls, wrote letters to cheer me up. I appreciated them but I really wasn't depressed, just trying to tell the truth about my part of the world. I'm happy. I believe the day of the Lord is coming, has come, is here now. Those that have eyes to see it, let them see. The United States Gove't,even starvation,can't rob us of the joy that passes human understanding.

Besides, after that newsletter things began to look up a little Why Congress is still debating whether to feed the starving with some crash program. So there's hope yet.

* * *

NOVEMBER 14, 15, THE PROJECT WILL CONDUCT A TOUR through Dallas and Wilcox Counties. It will consist of a small group of white Alabama clergymen who are open and interested enough to come along, Any one may join us. It will be an overall look at SWAFCA, the quilt co-op, Gees Bend, Self-help Housing and the Wilcox anti-poverty program. If you want to come, write.

* * *

THE ALABAMA ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION met in closed session in Birmingham Oct. 19. We adopted the project of examining employment and job training opportunities in Alabama. The Committee will examine the programs to see if they are administered in a non-discriminatory way and also see if they are reaching the people who need them most.

* * *

IF YOU BELONG TO A CO-OP IN ALABAMA or are hoping to start one you need to know

The Rev'd A.J. McKnight
Southern Cooperative Development
P.O. Box 3005/ Lafayette, La 70501

If they know who you are they can help you. Write them for your co-op.

TO: INTERESTED PERSONS

FROM: THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE 810-29th Avenue Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401 telephone (205) 758-2301

RE: A MANAGER FOR AN ALABAMA HANDCRAFT COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

We are looking for a person who would be willing to serve for at least one year as the supervisor of a cooperative association of Negro women in rural Black Belt Alabama. The co-op is now producing quilts, sun bonnets, baskets, pot holders, and other small cloth items.

There are currently 150 members residing in Dallas, Marengo, Monroe, and Wilcox Counties. The center of the co-op is in Alberta, Ala. about 40 miles southwest of Selma. However, on the basis of unsolicited inquiries from Alabama women we feel we could expand throughout central Alabama with the help of a full time manager.

The co-op was organized in March 1965 with the help of the Selma Inter-religious Project an ecumenical ministry in Alabama stemming out of the Selma March. The chief sponsor of the Project is the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ.

The following is a description of the person we are looking for:

Sex We feel a woman would be better for this job through we would consider a male applicant.
Education A college degree is preferable with a major in design or art.
Ability or Experience Any applicant should have some background in design, arts and crafts, needlework or related work. An applicant should also have the ability to keep a simple set of books and handle business correspondence.
Personal characteristics The members of our co-op are all poor people. A manager suited to our needs would of necessity have a great deal more education and sophistication than the members for whom she worked. Such a person would need the patience and humility necessary to live and work among the poor. The members of the co-op feel they can work with such a person, though the burden of adaptation would lie more heavily on the manager.

A JOB DESCRIPTION

The manager would live in a rural community in Wilcox County. The distribution of our growing membership would necessitate her traveling a good bit. Overnight stays in the homes of members would occasionally be necessary. Her essential job would be to control the quality of the products and to strive to develop markets for the co-op products.

She would supervise the filling of orders, shipping of products, distributing and picking-up of materials among members. She would handle much of the correspondence. She would be expected to be responsible to designers, interior decorators, and other craftsmen who contribute their time to the co-op to develop new products or locate special orders. She would hold workshops for members to teach handcraft skills.

SALARY

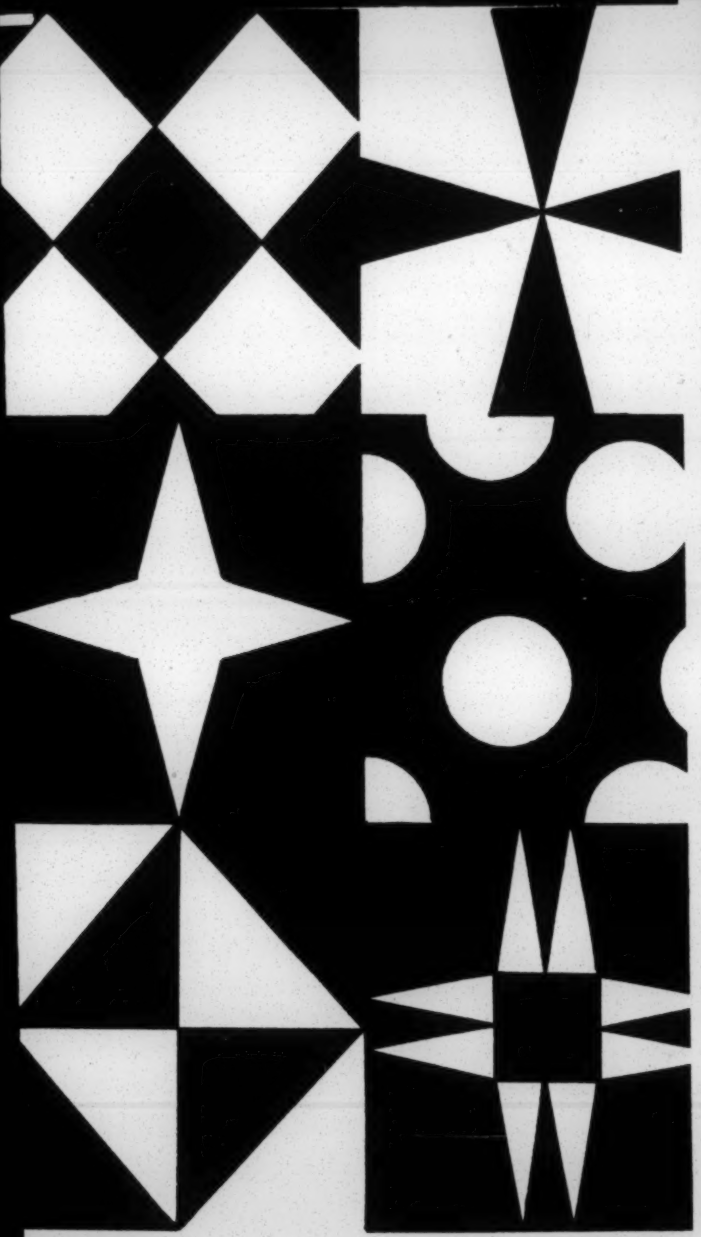
A foundation grant will make it possible to hire someone for at least one year. We can pay a salary somewhat higher than that offered an Alabama school teacher with a degree in education.

We hope the reader of this memo will pass the word to others who may be interested. Do not hesitate to write or telephone us for further information.

The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Chairman
Advisory Committee to the Freedom Quilting Bee

Mrs. Eugene Witherspoon, President
Freedom Quilting Bee

810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401
(205) 758-2301



The Freedom Quilting Bee

THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE

Route 1, Box 72
Alberta, Alabama 36720

The Freedom Quilting Bee is a handcraft cooperative. It was organized in March of 1965 with over 150 women joining together to market quilts, sunbonnets, pot holders and other items of handwork and stitchery. The Freedom Quilting Bee has managed to teach new skills to old fingers, establish quality control of products, and infuse a spirit of dignity in individual accomplishment, all with a cooperatively agreed upon financial return for each member.

Quilting has been practiced continuously in Black Belt Alabama for 140 years. While Freedom Quilting Bee quilts derive from classic American patterns they are distinctly different from the more common Appalachian or New England types. The imaginative designs are decorative in the bold use of color and the strong contrasts between border combinations and blocks. It has been said that some of the designs are unconscious forms of Op art but perhaps the flattened abstracted designs just give a warmth in appearance not often seen in today's style of quilt making. Repetition is not one of the quilt maker's virtues. Each quilt is unique.

Many quilters and members of their families have been active in the Civil Rights Movement. For some this has meant eviction from house and land, foreclosure of loans, and the end of credit. These burdens, coupled with the automation of cotton farming have forced into being a number of cooperative experiments.

Rural Negroes across the South are using co-ops in an attempt to earn their own way. The Freedom Quilting Bee is one of these. The average annual income per family in this cooperative is under $800.00. The first step has been to make available to a woman the opportunity to earn additional money for her family. A cottage industry. With this encouragement some members have been able to increase their family income from 25% to 50%.

Formation of the Freedom Quilting Bee was initiated by the Selma Inter-religious Project which is an inter-faith ministry to Selma and central Alabama. It is sponsored by religious groups that participated in the Selma March: Roman Catholic, Jewish, Protestant and Unitarian. The director of the project serves as chairman of the cooperative's advisory committee.

Since its formation the cooperative has won national recognition from artists, designers and those concerned with the preservation of folk art. In July, 1967 the Freedom Quilting Bee exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution's Folklife Festival. In August, 1967 a small foundation grant allowed the quilters to employ Miss Mary Brooks, a former graduate student in the Department of Art at the University of Georgia, and Mrs. Eugene Witherspoon, the first president of the cooperative. The employment of full time managers was a step the co–op took to handle increased business and plans for future development.

★

The Freedom Quilting Bee came about through the help of many people. Your help is invited. Individuals, clubs and church groups are invited to send scraps from sewing baskets or garment factories. These are very much needed.

The co-op needs retail outlets. You may be able to suggest a store or gift shop.

Most of all it needs cash donations to its technical and educational fund. This fund is administered by the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Tax deductible donations may be made to the co-op through this fund. Checks may be made to "The Alabama Council on Human Relations. Inc. Freedom Quilting Bee Fund."

IN ORDERING

The pot holders are decorated with hand embroidered original designs. The popular "Hoot Owl" holder was designed by Mrs. Wiley McMillan. These come in all colors.

The sunbonnets were re-created from an heirloom dug from a trunk. The bonnets are often used for beach wear or for gardening. They are made in prints in all colors.

A quilt should be chosen carefully. You will find sizes listed on the order blank. A true quilt is not intended to be used as a spread or coverlet. But most people want them that way so we make sizes that will fit over the pillow. The sizes are listed to help you but you may place a special order for any size quilt. King size quilts are all made specially from your measurements.

There are literally thousands of quilt patterns. Each has its distinctive name. We make all the classic American patterns. Library books on quilting can help you if you don't know the patterns but most of our customers let us select a pattern for them. Or if necessary we can send sketches.

Quilts come in black and white, in two or three solid colors, or in mixtures of prints and solids. We will try to match the colors if you specify them.

If you place a special order you may specify exactly the design, the size and the colors. We will try to match swatches. Special orders take time. We also repair, remake, and reproduce old quilts. Quilts require no special care. They can be used as wild wall hangings, for picnic blankets or to set off an antique bed. We recommend they be dry cleaned.

There is a good deal of space on the order blank for you to tell us just what you want. The quilt you order will be unique. It will last a long time. The Freedom Quilting Bee wants you to be satisfied.

THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE
c|o Miss Mary Brooks
Route 1, Box 72
Alberta, Alabama 36720

ORDER FORM

Name

Address

City State Zip

How Many?	Article	Price, Each	Amount
	Pot holder	$ 1.50	
	Sunbonnet	3.50	
	Baby Bed Quilt 38"x50"	12.00	
	Single Bed Quilt 66"x86"	25.00	
	Double Bed Quilt 76"x86"	30.00	
	Double Bed Coverlet Quilt 80"x106"	35.00	
	King Size Quilt (Made to Order)	50.00	
	Plus postage that will be added.		
	You will be billed for the total amount when your order is mailed to you.		

REQUESTS or INSTRUCTIONS:

Under the terms of the grant adult education may include job training in areas specified by the sponsoring organization. Stanley Selengut pointed out to me that this represented the sort of work he was doing. He acts a consultant for the funded group to suggest training programs that can be matched with jobs in businesses that can be attracted to the area.

At any rate, Dan Harrell, the Wilcox S.C.L.C. director was eager to hear that you had also suggested sending a couple of you men to the Selma area to examine the potential there. I do hope you will be able to do this.

Not knowing much about such matters I'm not sure how much of an area is looked into. Selma is the center of Dallas County. The population is not over 30,000. Wilcox County is much more rural, the largest town, Camden, has not over 1,000 people, More over it is divided by the Alabama River, over which is only one bridge. However, there is a strong sense of unity among the Negro population of Wilcox County. Perhaps more than that felt by the folks of Dallas County, where Selma is. So far no O.E.O. money of any amount has come to Dallas Co.

I'm enclosing an outdated reference book about Wilcox County. It is a commentary on the state that no more recent one has been produced. Doris and you both may get something out of it. Thank you so much for your interest and enthusiasm.

Yours sincerely,

The Rev'd Francis X. Walter

FXW:pb

Enclosure

cc: Dan Harrell
    Lois Deslonde
    Al Ulmer

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810 - 29th AVENUE
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401
(205) 758-2301

TO: FRIENDS AND CUSTOMERS OF THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE

FROM: OFFICERS AND ADVISORY COMMITTE OF THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE

RE: QUILTS, PEOPLE, AND PROGRESS

Enclosed you will find a job description for a manager of the co-op. We are excited about this big step. If you know of any schools of design or persons with such talents as we describe will you tell them about us?

Cotton picking time is just over. This means everybody has time to quilt. We have even accumulated a small stock. Have you considered quilts or sunbonnets for Christmas presents? The bonnets, in cotton prints, are $3.00. The quilts cost $25.00, $20.00, $15.00. Price depends on size, color,combinations, orginality of design and complexity of design. Beginning at $25 you can order a quilt in any design, color or size. But we don't think we can promise a specially designed quilt before Christmas.

We still can use scraps of all sorts and sizes. Large shipments can be sent to this address by REA very inexpensively, or we will pay.

Thanks to some selfless, energetic people in Washington and New York our quilts have come to the attention of interior decorators, designers and fashion editors who are leaders in their fields. On the strength of their willingness to promote us we were able to secure the promise of a manager's salary from our foundation sources.

The officers of the co-op began to run it after Miss Lois Deslonde's work this summer. The officers now travel over our extensive territory judging and selecting quilts, distributing materials, offering advice and training, and keeping up our enthusiasm. Folks from as far away as Eutaw, Hayneville, and Midway have written asking us to organize a chapter of the Freedom Quilting Bee in their communities. With a manager we could expand across central Alabama. And if our tentative arrangements with these fashion people bear fruit we could be employing a few of our members full time by January.

The Freedom Quilting Bee has entered into a relationship with the

Alabama Council of Human Relations, Inc.
P.O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

The Alabama Council is now prepared to assist the co-op in the training and education of its members. Which is to say tax deductible contributions may now be made to the Freedom Quilting Bee through the Council. It is also now legally possible to have a quilt auction or benefit in which contributions are deductible. Tax deductible donations may be made out to "the Alabama Council of Human Relations, Inc". In the left hand corner write "Freedom Quilting Bee". Either the co-op or our lawyer would be happy to answer any questions about a benefit or an individual contribution.

This optomistic report is largely your doing. Thanks for supporting us.

TO: INTERESTED PERSONS

FROM: THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE 810-29th Avenue Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401 telephone (205) 758-2301

RE: A MANAGER FOR AN ALABAMA HANDCRAFT COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

We are looking for a person who would be willing to serve for at least one year as the supervisor of a cooperative association of Negro women in rural Black Belt Alabama. The co-op is now producing quilts, sun bonnets, baskets, pot holders, and other small cloth items.

There are currently 150 members residing in Dallas, Marengo, Monroe, and Wilcox Counties. The center of the co-op is in Alberta, Ala. about 40 miles southwest of Selma. However, on the basis of unsolicited inquiries from Alabama women we feel we could expand throughout central Alabama with the help of a full time manager.

The co-op was organized in March 1965 with the help of the Selma Inter-religious Project an ecumenical ministry in Alabama stemming out of the Selma March. The chief sponsor of the Project is the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ.

The following is a description of the person we are looking for:

Sex We feel a woman would be better for this job through we would consider a male applicant.
Education A college degree is preferable with a major in design or art.
Ability or Experience Any applicant should have some background in design, arts and crafts, needlework or related work. An applicant should also have the ability to keep a simple set of books and handle business correspondence.
Personal characteristics The members of our co-op are all poor people. A manager suited to our needs would of necessity have a great deal more education and sophistication than the members for whom she worked. Such a person would need the patience and humility necessary to live and work among the poor. The members of the co-op feel they can work with such a person, though the burden of adaptation would lie more heavily on the manager.

A JOB DESCRIPTION

The manager would live in a rural community in Wilcox County. The distribution of our growing membership would necessitate her traveling a good bit. Overnight stays in the homes of members would occasionally be necessary. Her essential job would be to control the quality of the products and to strive to develop markets for the co-op products.

She would supervise the filling of orders, shipping of products, distributing and picking-up of materials among members. She would handle much of the correspondence. She would be expected to be responsible to designers, interior decorators, and other craftsmen who contribute their time to the co-op to develop new products or locate special orders. She would hold workshops for members to teach handcraft skills.

SALARY

A foundation grant will make it possible to hire someone for at least one year. We can pay a salary somewhat higher than that offered an Alabama school teacher with a degree in education.

We hope the reader of this memo will pass the word to others who may be interested. Do not hesitate to write or telephone us for further information.

The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Chairman
Advisory Committee to the Freedom Quilting Bee

Mrs. Eugene Witherspoon, President
Freedom Quilting Bee

810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401
(205) 758-2301

PA
~~ES~~
VJ
PW
AU - Please return

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401
(205) 758-2301

THIS IS THE SECOND NEWSLETTER for friends, project members and associate organizations. For those who did not receive the first letter here is a recapitulation of the Selma Inter-religious Project.

Many of the religious groups joining in the Selma to Montgomery March in April, 1965 united in a common program beginning in October 1965. The purpose is to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people in the Civil Rights Movement in Selma and the Black Belt, to bring resources to bear where needed, and to serve where-ever bridges are being established between whites and Negroes. While there are a dozen members, four major religious organztions act as sponsors:

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTER-RACIAL JUSTICE
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST
THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
THE UNITARIAN-UNIVERSALIST ASSOCATION

***

MUCH OF MY TIME SINCE DECEMBER has been spent working with the Wilcox Co. S.C.L.C., Inc. The biggest problem was intimidation of registered voters. It was jointly decided that one way to stop intimidation would be to send updated, signed and witnessed accounts of intimidation to the Justice Dep't. We would demand that the Justice Dep't stop landowners and banks from interfering with persons attempting to excerise constitutional rights. We would demand an injunction to stop such persons immediately.

Everett Wenrick, an Episcopal seminary student, and I interviewed and recorded accounts from 25 families. These 25 cases were sent to the Justice Dep't through Mr. Charles Morgan, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union in Atlantia. Mr. Morgan added these cases to others he was reporting from the Black Belt. Sixty other cases were sent directly to the Justice Dep't by the Wilcox County S.C.L.C. , Inc.

Incentive was added to this as we read the Justice Dep't had done in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, just what we were asking in Wilcox. On Jan. 2, a man from Wilcox County and I were able to make these demands directly to Attorney General Katzenbach and his aides. We were allowed to meet with him a few moments when he came to Mobile to deliver a speech. He assured us investigating agents were already in the county. He reminded us of the West Feliciana case. During his speech the mention of agents in Wilcox drew applause.

So far there has been no federal action against this form of harassment in any Southern county except West Feliciana. Wilcox is not the only place or worst place where this is happening. An A.P. dispatch, dated Jan. 18, reports 2 0 Lowndes county citizens (not the Justice Dep't) have asked U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. to enjoin landowners in Lowndes from evicting sharecroppers because they registered to vote.

Judge Johnson has ordered the Justice Dep't to be named as a party to the suit.

All our documentation, even our little interview with the Attorney General, has helped the 85 families not a whit. My own feeling now is that we could have better used our energies standing beside these people in some dramatic form of direct action. But the crisis is over, hindsight can not return to their homes those who have journeyed to already overburdened relatives in Chicago, Birmingham, Mobile, Atmore, and Pensacola.

The notices the tenant farmers received, usually by registered mail, may interest students of the Southern way of life. Here is a reconstruction with names changed.

Beauregard, Cathcart, and Mims, Inc.
Investments and Securities
Montgomery, Alabama

Willy:

Because of ill health I am turning my land over to another agent. You will move off by Jan. 15, 1966.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Addie Mae

Mr. Willy Hobbs has lived on Miss Addie Mae Carhcart's land about 25 years. He is 69 years old. Miss Cathcart is the same age. She lives in a big house in Montgomery. A few days later Mr. Hobbs receives this notice:

Camden Farmers and
Confederate Bank
Camden, Alabama
December 29, 1965

Willy:

Your note for $3,106.00 is due in its entirety February 1, 1966. You must sell your two cows and pigs to pay this loan.

Mr. Charley Wallace
Loan Dep't.

Mr. Hobbs makes $400.00 a year. He pays what he can, about $150.00, on his loan every year. He has owned money to the bank as long as he can remember.

Last week I heard that Mr. Hobbs had been to the bank to inform them that he was moving to Birmingham to live with his eldest son. Mr. Charley Wallace told his friend "Uncle Billy" that since he was moving the bank would work something out about the loan. Mr. Hobbs youngest boy will move with him. He has been active in the Movement and is a member of the first common laborers union to establish a local in the county. Apparently, his removal to Birmingham is worth $3000.00

***

THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE EMERGENCY RELIEF. "Operation Freedom" run by the Rev'd Maurice McCrackin contributed food, clothing, and $1400.00 Part of this went to spring the only man jailed so far for non-payment of debts. A Negro church has bought land for one family. One newsletter reader has offered to send emergency food. Several families have been able to get F.H.A. or conventional loans to build on Negro owned property. It is significant that the mere report of federal investigators loose in Wilcox has made at least two landowners change their minds about evicting tenants. This demonstrates the practical and immediate effect an injunction would have. Injunction may yet come. But deleberate speed will not bring back the families, known and unknown, who have been driven away.

SOME OF US HAVE BEGUN A "Freedom Quilting Bee" We're looking for groups to sell the handmade quilts of the women in Wilcox County. A quarter of the price will go to the Wilcox Co. S.C.L.C., the rest, after expenses, to the maker of the quilt. The women we have approched, while eager to participate, can hardly believe anyone would pay good money for an object so utilitarian as "a regular old bed quilt." We hope to show these ladies that they have a beautiful and valuable product to offer. We need scraps. Interested [illegible]

***

THERE ARE 21 PRECINCTS IN THE COUNTY. Negroes meet weekly on the precinct level in most of the 21 areas. These get-togethers are remarkable for their paracticality and effective teaching techniques. They are dramatic meetings; so why not a place for drama that can relate these people to the rest of the world and expose them to Negro achievements? Mr. Gayle Patton, head of the Drama Dep't at Tuscaloosa's Stillman College has agreed to student performances at precinct meetings. We have been talking of doing parts of "In White America" and "Spoon River Anthology."

***

I ARRANGED FOR THE BIRMINGHAM ATTORNEY, Orzell Billingsely, to speak in the more isloated eastern part of the county. The people asked that he speak on the pros and cons of independent political parties in Alabama.

***

THROUGH A FRIEND in the American Friend Service Committee I was put in telephone contact with a worker in the Washington Office of Economic Opportunity. He is already assisting Lowndes Co. people to apply for a program under TITLE III. B. of the Anti-poverty Bill called self-help housing. He has sent us a stack of material. The program would help tenant farmers too poor to qualify for even the Lowest Farm Home Administration Loans.

***

PERHAPS SELF-HELF HOUSING can become a component of a long term program now being applied for by the Wilcox S.C.L.C. It hopes to build 50 houses on land already owned and finance and operate a 600 acre co-op truck farm. This entails F.H.A. support and single purpose O.E.O. grants. I'm volunteering time now to assist in the research necessary to fill out applications.

***

SAMUEL YOUNGE was not known to me personally. The anguish of Jonathan Daniels'death is not felt. So my feeling are like those of most white Americans. Younge in Tuskegee and Dahmer in Hattiesburg were as human as Viola Liuzzo and Daniels. But Younge's death is not big news in Alabama or the nation. My white friends around here aren't upset about it. The President has not said anything. It's different. Is it different because the papers are saying Younge's murder was not racial, just a personal affair between Young and Mr. Segrest. No, the difference is deeper; after all the papers are printing the story we whites are begging them to print. Anyone in Tuskegee will tell you what really happened if you want to know. The difference is the difference: Younge and Dahmer were black, Liuzzo and Daniels were white. From the President down, down to local guardians of morality, down to you and me; it's more acceptable to kill Negroes than whites.

***

THE SELMA FREE LIBRARY mailing address is Box 638 Selma. The shipping address 720 1st Avenue. Selma. The library is now equipped with book shelves built by local people. Local people are now serving as part time librarians, learning the trade. A Negro business club has volunteered to pay half the rent. But the staff of non-local volunteeres is still there. These young people live in voluntray poverty in the homes of Selma Negroes who appreciate what they have started. The staff still requests volunteers who can serve at least for a semester. Books are needed, and magazine subscriptions. Here's a list of topics and authors from which new or up to date books are needed: James Baldwin, Richard Wright, Dick Gregory, Langston Hughes: sports, practical nursing, math, physical education, high shhool physics and hygiene, and children's books that do not illustrate or portray only white people.

***

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA is still interviewing candidates for dean of its newest school, a dep't of social work. The Director of Social Services at Bryce Hospital in Tuscaloosa will be in New York City the end of January interviewing. Anyone interesred in this vital post should write: Dr. Alex Pow, University, Alabama.

DIRECTOR OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS IS BEING SOUGHT. Usually clergymen have been hired. For more information write the Council at: 2809 Governers Drive S.W., Huntsville, Alabama (205) 539-4277.

***

WHAT ABOUT THE MARCH ON SEGREGATED JUSTICE? Last newsletter I said this would happen. It did not. President Johnson's promises were believed and the march idea dropped.

***

BETTY AND I are have a contract to buy the house in which we are living. We moved in upon applying to F.H.A. for approval fo the loan everybody assured us we were good for. We bought because of the low equity. The loan amount has now been rejected twice by F.H.A. I have reason to believe I've been rejected for other than the stated reasons. Maybe not, paranoia is an occupational hazard for such as us. Anyway we have appealed to the Atlanta office of F.H.A.

***

Note on item below, Expressions of sympathy may be sent to Mrs. David Colston Camden Academy Camden, Ala. Letters of encouragement, much needed, to Rev'd Dan Harrell Box 513 Camden, Ala bama.

***

THAT VICIOUS MURDER IN CAMDEN, Jan. 23, occured just as we were completing the newsletter. I was on my way to Camden when it happened. I was to have attended a meeting of women to plan the fact gathering for a Head Start application. Upon arriving I was flagged through a demonstration blocked by the police before it could reach the Court House. Two hours after the shooting a meeting was called in the Antioch Baptist Church. It was the meeting the slain man was to have attended. After a brief eulogy, we frightened people, some of us crying, were called to our business by the Rev'd Dan Harrell. We discussed candidates for the Alabama general election's in May. This was the purpose of the meeting. It was my privilege to see this, an unpretentious moment of great human dignity.

The Columbia University School of Social Work | *New York, N.Y. 10028*

CENTER ON SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY AND LAW
Legal Activities and Research Division

2 East 91st Street
TRafalgar 6-6300

July 13, 1966

Mr. Albert Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

After we came back, we talked about the possibility of raising welfare as a civil rights issue in Georgia. It's futile and somewhat dishonest to go around telling people they have material rights when there are a hundred other people with the same rights who can't get anyone's help in enforcing them. The only way to enable those people to assert their claims at all effectively, and the only way to affect the system basically, is to do in Georgia something like what Cloward proposed for the North. I suggested that SCLC might have the best base, through the churches, for organizing protest activity on this issue.

I then talked with Mrs. Pauley about it. She said that it would be necessary to involve others, mainly NAACP and AFSC, and that her office was the key resource for reaching Negro leadership outside Atlanta. Since people are occupied with voter registration now, nothing could be done until after the primary. But she suggested in the meantime asking Martin Luther King to lead the campaign in the beginning.

What might happen, I suppose, is marches like the ones in New York, Ohio, and other places a couple of weeks ago; long lines at welfare offices, anticipating mass requests for administrative hearings (there is only one hearing officer for the state); and civil disobedience (here in New York women said they would keep their children out of school in the fall if they didn't get larger clothing allowances). This might work, just as the occasion for starting some poor people's organizations. Bob Cover, Chuck Lawrence and Peter Hammerf~~i~~eld, in C. B. King's office, have begun working on this in Albany.

Anyway, what do you think? It occurs to me that pre-election might be the wrong time to try to get public attention. What's the possibility of your working on this? Of course it should be a long-term project, but one of us might come down for a while.

I told Ed Sparer, the Director of this Center, of SRC's welfare grant, but I don't know whether he has asked about it.

One family got a welfare grant as a result of our advising them to reapply. It's too early to measure the value of our trip, but we probably weren't as careful and thorough as we should have been.

Incidentally, according to a friend of mine, the rent-withholding statute you were telling us about is Populist legislation. There are seven or eight similar ones in the country, and there *is* some case law under them.

It would be good to hear from you about things generally.

Regards,

Howard

Howard Thorkelson

HT/j

Just thought I'd horn in on Howard's letter to say hello. Enjoyed traveling with you in Georgia, and hope to see you again soon.

Steve Wizner

July 21, 1966

Mr. Howard Thorkelson
Columbia University School of
Social Work
Legal Activities and Research Division
2 East 91st Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Howard:

Your suggestion to jam the social welfare rolls "Cloward-style" appeals to me. How and when do do it is another thing. Pre-election time does appear to be a bad time to begin. If, however, hints could be made of future planned mass marches to the welfare offices, marches for a minimum annual wage, etc. perhaps some publicity could be reaped. I'm sure at least one of our astute gubernatorial candidates would attack the hell out of it.

I would like to work on something like this. If you or anyone else comes down for a planning session I'd sure like to be in on it.

Thanks for the information on the rent-withholding statute. I'd traced it back to a case law first ruled on in 1909. I didn't know it had roots in Populist legislation.

Nothing has happened regarding a credit union in Baker County but we have begun to work on a self-help housing project in Thomasville.

I just struggled through Fannon's book but I'll admit I'm bogged down in One Dimensional Man. I'm O.K. on the first and last sentences in a paragraph but I'm afraid southern schools didn't prepare me too well for what goes on in between.

Best wishes,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

P.S. Hello to Steve. Enjoyed Cat's Cradle. My wife digs "Boro Gam," Alss, alas.

John Zippert
412 Westwego
Opelousas, La.
August 20, 1966

Dear Al,

I haven't heard anything from your office for a good long while so I figured I would write to see how things were going. We have sort of been waiting for you to send us a copy of the "co-op development proposal" which we worked so hard on. I suppose it is unfair to rush you with it on the other hand if I didn"t write you might think I was so caught up in things that I have forgotten the proposal entirely. I certainly hope we can speed up the work on the proposal if that is what is required. I would be glad to help out in any way that I possibly can on the project and let me know what you would like me to do.

I enclose the income statement and balance sheet for the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Cooperative for the last eleven days of July which it covers or our first month"s operations. We shipped about 5000 crates of potatoes at the end of July and we are now close to 10,000 crates. Our net gain for the month of July was 372 dollars and some cents. The spirit of the members is holding up very well- some local shippers have been buying potatoes in the ground undug to give us a hard time. The potato price went up in August until recently for the first time in the memory of most of our potato haulers which may be partially attributed to the co-op. The co-op has been able to pay about a cent a pound above the local price for potatoes altough half of this is retained for the co-op"s expansion and then eventually return to the members as a capital credit.

I and Emory, Malbrough, the Southern Consumers Gnag all hope to be hearing from you soon on the proposal. Thanks also for generous expense check for last trip to Atlanta.

Till Total Equality,

John

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

a national federation of cooperatives

50th Anniversary (25th Biennial) Congress,
St. Paul, Minnesota, October 12-14, 1966
THEME: *"Beginning the Second Half-Century"*

Jerry Voorhis, president and executive director

Chicago, Illinois
August 18, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St.,N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

It was a great joy and encouragement to have your letter stating that you will be with us at our Congress in St. Paul. We certainly will look forward to your participation in our program. I know it will be one of the highlights of our 50th Anniversary.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Jerry Voorhis.

Jerry Voorhis
Executive Director

JV:cs

GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605 *312-922-0667*
***Harold Hamil**, chairman of the board* • ***Bowman Doss**, vice president-vice chairman*
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005 *202-628-8765*
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

Mr. al Ulmer
re: Wall Street
Journal 8-19-66

Dear sir:

Good luck in your efforts.

Yours
C. U. McGaughy

DONALD S. FREY
COUNSELLOR AT LAW
1514 ELMWOOD AVENUE
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201

TELEPHONE 328-1321-1322

August 20, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

By coincidence, I was in the Atlanta area when I read the Friday, August 19, 1966 of the Wall Street Journal carrying the first page, first column article entitled, "Self-Help Struggle - Dixie Negroes Start Co-Ops to Break their Dependence on Whites".

I noted your name as doing so much helpful work in this regard. I attempted to call you, but at that moment, my long sought-after Delta airline connection to Chicago was called.

You may be interested in the attached booklet. I would appreciate your comments and hope to have the pleasure of meeting you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Donald S. Frey

DSF:jl

Neenah Bond
25% COTTON FIBER

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810 - 29th AVENUE
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401
(205) 758-2301

August 22, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter that holds great promise for us. I was able to meet Mr. Selengut in New York. He means business. His job is hard to describe. He is for one thing, a consultant for O.E.O. He would, for instance, work for the Wilcox Co. group when it is funded to suggest job training possibilities for the adult education program in the county. He is the manager of the "Holiday Bazaar" a gift business started by Holiday Magazine. See the September issue. He is, more importantly for us, a broker for groups like ours all over the world who want to produce and market a handicraft product. He advises the group, suggest simplification or adaptations of design and production, locates supplies and finds markets.

I found him through a young lady who worked with the A.I.D. in Morocco to set up a handicraft guild selling native garments, rugs, etc. Selengut ~~inducded~~ induced Lord and Taylor to handle their line.

The women are now working on ~~these~~ two samples his letter indicates are on the way.

The fair we had gave us all a boost. We even sold some things, about $100 worth to the two or three white people who came from Tuscaloosa and the Southern Courier reporters. But best of all the women had a great time and got to meet each other and look at about 60 beautiful quilts.

Our efforts to keep Lois a year as manager failed. She must return to her work in New Orleans. CARITAS has only 7 members. Miss Magrauer, the director, felt that taking on Wilcox County would be spreading the work too thin.

Lois and I have been writin other modern "way out" Roman Catholic groups asking for volunteers. We still have the same qualifications and still feel it most important that the person be a Negro.

There are two opportunities for a worker or workers to supplement their incomes if they come. First, when the Wilcox group is funded by OEO all sorts of educated folks will be needed for teaching and training positions; some I'm told for part time. Secondly, the quilt members are still talking about a credit union and Dan Harrell is still interested in seeing one get organized. If we could get two people, and most communities would probably demand that at least two persons be assigned, one could possibly run the credit union using the grant for this made available by the federal government.

Of course the people would have to come to the job prepared for neither of these possibilities to open up. That is, the coop would have to be ultimately responsible for providing subsistence for them. The women at a meeting during the fair, said they would be prepared to try supporting a manager. They empowered us to start looking for one. I'll tell you, it was hard to tell them Lois was returning to New Orleans. She has had an incredible impact on us all. We were really pretending she just wouldn't have to leave. I wish you could have seen the sample products we are now prepared to make-baskets, sun bonnets, bathroom mats, corn husk door mats, pot holders, gloves for pot holders use, felt embroidered christmas tree ornaments, tote bags, hosiery bags and wall hangings.

I just wanted to bring you up to date. We'll send a financial report of the use we made of the grant by the first week in September.

Yours sincerely,

Francis

The Rev'd Francis X. Walter

FXW:pb

cc: Lois Deslonde
Dan Harrell
Sister Alice O.S.H.

(Cooperative News Service)

In a July 19 roundup story in the Wall Street Journal, Neil A. Maxwell, a staff writer, reports cooperatives "quietly springing up across Dixie these days to help break Negroes' dependence on a white-run economy."

Some strictly adhere to the co-op principle of member ownership, he said, but some "co-ops" really are employer-owned businesses -- as, for example, one "in which a few women pool their time and talent to make candles or to market fruit cakes by mail order."

Maxwell cites as one of the solid ones the Southern Consumers Cooperative of Lafayette, La., which he said has increased its membership from 600 to 2,000, and its assets from $25,000 to more than $200,000, in two years. It operates a loan company and a bakery.

"There's a tremendous interest" in cooperatives among Negroes in the South, Al Ulmer of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga., told Maxwell. The writer refers to the Southern Regional Council's quest for $7.5 million from a foundation for a five-year program of cooperative education among Southern rural people, Negro and white -- a program in which the Cooperative League of the USA, Chicago, is participating in an advisory role.

The Cooperative League has recommended that people not now in co-ops, Negro and white, join existing ones wherever possible -- this because of the advantages of accumulated capital and experience versus the lack of these.

Maxwell found white people sometimes friendly to the Negroes' cooperatives and sometimes otherwise. A woman in the Mt. Nebo Sewing Center Cooperative near Prairie, Miss., told him that "Every time I go to town the white folks ask how we're doing and wish us luck." But a co-op worker at McComb, Miss., said "The white people don't like it a bit -- for every woman who comes to work out here, there's one more gone from a white woman's kitchen." -- CH

* CNS *

TACOMA, Wash. (CNS) -- The Northwest Public Power Association will have its 19th annual Accounting and Finance Workshop at the Winthrop hotel here Sept. 14-16.

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830
JERRY RODEN, JR., Executive Director
LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project BOB VALDER, Associate Director

August 24, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

I hope all is going will with you and Robbin. Hope to get to Atlanta sometime in the next few months to see y'all.

I was reading some where a long time ago, and made note to that effect that you have a summary of the Coop Training session in the Mount Beulah Conference Center on July 9-11, 1966. If these are available, would you send me a couple? Sure will appreciate this.

Thanks much for your trip and talks in Huntsville last month. They were much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

BV:me

Sent. 8-25-66 m

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Aug 25, 1966

1938 Carlos Ave.
Clearwater, Fla.

Mr Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Ulmer

Since our last telephone conversation concerning your visit here to assist the Greenwood Apt. residents, I have spoken with people at the project, and other interested persons, and all are looking foreward to seeing you soon. The weekend of September ninth was suggested for your arrival, If this is not convenient, please let us know and we will be most happy to have you here at any time you can arrange to come.

Fournier

Sincerely yours

Mrs John (Maureen)
Fournier

Al, I wrote Mrs Fournier a card telling her "when you would return from vacation" and that you already had a tentative engagement for the weekend of the 9th.

I promised you would be in touch with her soon. 8-31- ra

State of California
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
SACRAMENTO 95814

EDMUND G. BROWN
GOVERNOR

August 31, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Counsel, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgis

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

Thank you for sending the report of the summary of the Cooperative Training Planning Conference, held June 9,10,11, 1966. I appreciated the frankness with which the participants seem to have dealt. It appears that this is a step in the right direction and I wish we could have such a conference here in California. Can you imagine how far along we could have been if we had had the foresight to do this kind of thing many years ago? I suppose this is what the entire war on poverty is all about. I am glad that we are finally coming to a point where we are facing our problems with determination.

I have enclosed several pieces of material, including the one which I failed to send you in my previous letter. I would be most grateful to receive anything you have done on Buying Clubs. I hope we can keep in touch because I am sure there are many things which will come out of your conference which will be helpful to us here in California.

Thank you again.

Sincerely

Virna Canson

Virna Canson
Community Action Representative
Office of Economic Opportunity

southern student organizing committee

1703 portland avenue nashville, tennessee box 6403 phone: 291-3537

August 31, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al,

Just got back to Nashville. I've been meaning to write you for a couple of weeks but this is the first chance I have had. Hope that all is well with you.

As I think I wrote you, I have been working this summer with a drive of the Industrial Union Dept. of the AFL-CIO to organize migrant farm workers on the East Coast. The drive began back early in the spring with some meetings of crew leaders in Belle Glade, Fla. The meetings were called by some people working with the AFSC migrant program. The crew leaders formed an independent association to see about getting better prices on the work. One of the AFSC people is an old union man and he put them in touch with the labor movement.

Jim Pierce, the southern coordinator, of the IUD began working with them and found a union to back a full scale drive to organize all farm workers in Fla. and up the eastern migrant stream. Pierce seems to be a very good man. He was at the students and labor conference we had and was up at IPS for the same seminar series you spoke at. He seems to be commited to the same principles of democracy, etc. that those of us on the "new left" talk so much about.

Pierce sees the drive in this way: Unionization of farm workers will improve conditions, allow partial workers control over their jobs, and do all the things any union does. Another thing it will do is speed up the mechanization of farms because farmers will have incentive to by machines (higher labor costs). Pierce sees the union as establishing job training programs, cooperative housing, credit unions, cooperative stores so that migrants won't end up like cotton pickers in the Delta.

I got a call from Pierce about the middle of June saying that he could use up to about ten students to work on the drive this summer. I was able to round up four southern kids, & three yankees. The students, three migrants, two union guys, and myself worked up the stream. We went to the camps talking to migrants about the union and asking them to sign authorization cards mainly to get Florida addresses in preparation for meeting to be held in Florida this fall. We signed up about 15,000 and some of the people are still working on it.

I talked to Pierce this week at the Nsa Congress. He plans to keep the students who can stay on staff this fall and he wants more people to put on staff. He doesn't feel that he can find union guys who are competent for this kind of organizing.

The point of all this is that I was wondering if you would be interested in working on the campaign. In addition to your fine musical appreciation you have skills which could really make a difference on this campaign. If Pierce has to put on old steelworkers as organizers the drive it will probably not work and even if it does it will not be much better that most unions. On the other hand if good people like yourself work on it it can be a really significant thing for Florida. As you know there are about 100,000 miggants in Florida. It also could be a really radical experiment in labor organizing which is something the South really needs.

There are a lot of questions I have about the campaign. One problem is that although Pierce runs this campaign there are people over his head . As you probably heard the California people have come into the AFL-CIO. Some of the decisions about Florida will be made this week at a meeting of Pierce, the Califorina people, and unions who have farm workers such as the Packinghouse people in Louisiana.

I don't know whether you are interested or not but I wish you would give it serious thought. If you think you might be would it be possible to come up to Charlotte, North Carolina sometime next week to talk with Pierce. Also SSOC is having a staff meeting at our camp outside of Ashville beginning this weekend at you might want to stop by there if you have time.

Will call you in a day or two .

Peace,

Gene G.

CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE OF BERKELEY, INC.
CO-OP
THornwall 3-6784
1414 University Avenue, Berkeley 2, California

August 31, 1966

VIA AIR

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

I've just scanned through the draft of the "Proposal" sent on August 26, stopping here and there for more intensive reading.

It looks as if you have done an excellent job. My only hope is that it will sound exciting enough to some institution which has the funds to allocate for it. It may sound too much as if it were almost entirely an educational effort, with the possibilities for concrete economic achievement and raised standards of living insufficiently treated. Perhaps you can be guided on this by the first reactions from foundations who look at it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Emil

Emil Sekerak
Education Director

ES:es

MEMBER
•
ASSOCIATED COOPERATIVES INC.
•
COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U. S. A.
•

Frank's Department Store 221 DIVISION STREET Phone 882-6025
GRANDVIEW, WASHINGTON

Sept. 1,1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Ulmer,

Please rush me the details on how to form a coop. I have a small dept store and carry clothing and shoes for the family. I would like to expand my operation and am exploring the different avenues

I am buying my building. It is thirteen years old 50 by 120 ft with a finished but unused balcony. I have been toying with the idea of becoming a discount store as that seems to have magic appeal to present day shoppers. I would like to add lines and depts that I do not have to make a well rounded dept store and need additional capital to do this.

Do you know if I can become a COOP and apply for and get Fed money to help me make the operation of sufficient size ?

Grandview has excellent growth potential. It is in the lower Yakima Valley. Altho a town of less than 4000 we have close to 100,000 in our drawing area. Over seventy crops are raised in the valley and in addition 150 Grandview Families work at the Hanford Atomic complex in the Tri Cities which is forty miles away. Yakima a city of 50,000 is forty miles West and the Tri Cities are East of here.

Awaiting your reply, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Frank Lanzendorfer

Frank Lanzendorfer

A. J. M.

ST. MARTIN de PORRES
HOLY GHOST FATHERS
P. O. BOX 428
DELCAMBRE, LOUISIANA 70528

Sept. 2, 1966

Dear Al,

I thought you and Mike did a good job on the rewrite.

There is one thing about the budget I would like to question. It concerns the phasing out.

I was under the impression that we had agreed to keep the entire staff for five years but that after the second or third year as the first five states developed we would send the workers into other states so that at the end of the five years most of the field staff would have been phased out of the original five states but would continue to work in other states until the grant expired.

Peace

Fr. A. J. McKnight C.S.Sp.

September 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Arnold
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Arnold:

I am very sorry that I have not been able to pay you a visit. I have begun a teaching job these past two weeks and have had no spare time; in your letter to me three or four weeks ago, you mentioned that I should write you if I were unable to come to your office. Because I do not want to delay this any longer I thought I would write to you rather than wait until I had a free afternoon to talk with you. I will try to keep my enquiry breif.

I am very anxious to offer what meek talents I might have to the alleviation of the poverty crisis in Atlanta; I say this genuinely and after many hours of concerned thought. Because I am new to Atlanta the history and purposes of the different pverty-fighting organizations is completely unknown to me. My main concern is the providing of some sort of "breathing" room for creativity; the most precious gift of manhood is the opportunity to "make." Assuredly, the desparation of poverty is due in great part to the choking of this "breathing" room. Would you please advise me as to the opportunities open in this area, the possibilities for providing soma kind of creative writer's workshop, drama workshop, etc. Has this been done previously? If so, how successful? Who could I speak with concerning such a project?

I apologize for the awkwardness of this letter; I write it out of a vague hope that I can be in the least way instrumental in providing some "breathing" room for people already locked in a tomb.

Thankyou for your time and
consideration,

Jim Hersh

W. James Hersh
1673 Briarcliff Rd.(D-1)
Atlanta 30329

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AREA CODE 212

September 6, 1966

ULMER SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

AV

Gentlemen:

We are interested in information about your Council. Are you producing goods for sale and, if so, do you have catalogs with a price list?

Please send any such information to:

Miss S. Doherty
P. O. Box 1444
Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10017

Thank you.

Yours truly,

S. Doherty

S. Doherty
Librarian

September 8, 1966

Mr. Frank Lanzendorfer
Frank's Department Store
221 Division Street
Grandview, Washington

Dear Mr. Lanzendorfer:

Thank you for your letter requesting information on how to convert your store into a Cooperative. You are certainly to be congratulated for your desire to share your successful business with your neighbors.

The first step you need to take is to organize a group of people, with an interest in becoming members of a department store Cooperative. Each member should be well informed concerning the following basic principles of co-ops. They are:

1. A co-ops main purpose is to serve members -- not to provide goods or services for others at a profit.

2. Savings over the cost of doing business are distributed to member-owners in proportion to their use of its services, not in proportion to their investment. (Dividends, if any, on capital invested in the cooperative are limited.

3. Voting control of the business is based on membership -- not on amount of investment. Usually, each member has only one vote.

Once these basic principles are understood by all members the operation has a good chance for success.

Again, what you are planning to do is an exciting, unique endeavor. Rarely does one find a man who is willing to give up an opportunity for personal wealth in order that his neighbors and friends can profit equally.

Cordially,

Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization Project

AU:rh

September 8, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder, Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36330

Dear Bob:

Vacation was good. Now it's over though and I'm gradually crawling out from under paper. Some of the paper contained information I thought would interest you. It describes a credit union whose common bond is the fact that all its members belong to the NAACP. This appears to be a good precedence for what you all have in mind in Huntsville. There is one catch, the NAACP Credit Union is in California and chartered under the California State Division of Corporation. Whether you can charter a human relations council credit union in Alabama is your problem. The question of whether the Federal Credit Union League would charter such a union remains unclear. I'll try and find something out about that this week.

Best wishes,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

P.S. I've grown a red mustache -- in case you need a "distinguished" speaker for some occassion such as a poetry reading, etc.

September 8, 1966

Mr. Richard Miles
South Carolina Voter
  Education Project
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Dick:

Thank you for sending me the copies of Carolina Contrast. It's a good piece of work. I guess it was you who wrote on the copy concerning Shaw Air Force Base if there was anything I could do to help. The September 3 issue describes an apparent victory for the domestic workers and also asks if persons were knowledgeable of the situations on other South Carolina Air Force Bases.

If you can see any specific way I might help on this please let me know.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

International Cooperative Training, inc.

to train leaders for cooperatives the free world over

30 West Mifflin Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703
Area Code 608-255-9632

ELMER W. KREIE
program coordinator

Sept. 9, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

On my return to Madison a week ago from another trip to Kansas City I received the completed draft of our proposal, together with your covering letter of August 26. Yesterday I received a call from Chuck Ihlenfeldt, informing me of the meeting Saturday, the 17th, at 9:00 am. in your office. I'll be there. I already have my plane tickets and reservation to arrive at 6:29 on Delta flight 841. — Friday eve. 9/16

Now I don't expect to be met at the airport, but I would appreciate your making reservations for me at the hotel. Assuming that the most of the members of the committee will again be housed in the Americana, I'd like to have a room there. Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I'll go there. (a single. Frances will not be with me this time)

I should explain the use of this letterhead. I am temporarily back in the job from which I retired on January first. Three weeks ago today my successor, Mr. Elmer Kreie collapsed and died. I am filling in till his successor, already chosen, can take over on October 1. This temporary assignment will not interfere with my participation in the committee meeting next week end, nor any other service I can render to the Project.

Frances joins me in greetings to you and your wife. And please thank Joan for me, for all her heroic work on the draft proposal, and for sending me the copy of the Wall Street Journal of Aug. 19. A fine piece of publicity, Al.

Sincerely yours,

Merlin

Merlin G. Miller
Acting Program Coordinator

JERRY VOORHIS, Chicago, president; **J. KENNETH STERN,** Washington, D. C., vice-president; **J. K. KYLE,** Madison, Wis., secretary-treasurer
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September 9, 1966

Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Executive Director
Council on Human Relations of
  Greater Atlanta
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., 2nd Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Eliza:

Thank you for your statement concerning the "happening" in Summerhill. It is excellent. In fact, it is the only thing I have read about the "riot" that makes any sense.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

September 9, 1966

Russell Sage Foundation
505 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Sir:

I am attempting to collect information regarding consumer problems in the U. S. It has been brought to my attention that the Sage Foundation has done considerable work in this area in the past. Is it possible for me to obtain publications of this research or a list of the materials available?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization
Project

AU:rh

September 9, 1966

The Honorable Paul Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Douglas:

I am attempting to collect information regarding consumer problems in the U. S. It has been brought to my attention that you have done considerable work in this area. Is it possible for me to obtain publications of this research or a list of the materials available?

legislative dev. in consumer educ.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization
Project

AU:rh

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MID-SOUTH CONSUMERS
OIL COOPERATIVE
Box 323 -:- Whiteville, Tenn.

133 Alonda Drive
Lafayette, La.
Sept. 11, 1966

Al Ulmer, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Al:

Thank you for the travel check.

Have carefully studied the Proposal for Cooperative Action Program for Southern Low_Income Groups and feel you and the few have done an excellent work.The only change that I suggest now is to correct page 7 from:

"their $170,000 application" to read

"their $ 68,000 application".

I double checked this with Charles Prejean, Director, Sweet Potato Alert.

Carolyn, the four children, and I am happy here. Carolyn is teaching physical education and civics at the Holy Rosary Institute here in Lafayette and I am on the SCC staff in interpretation and finance after a couple of months in the bookkeeping end.Very interesting and most challenging.

Mississippi Federated Cooperatives would not help us, even with a feasibility study for petroleum operations. But the SFA, Southern Farmers Assn., Little Rock, has been most cooperative. Dwayne Smith, SFA, met with our Congress today atLake Charles and presented a service station program both to the Board and to the Congress and was warmly received with many questions. This was Smith's first time before a Negro audience. Last Wednesday, Smith and two other SFA fieldmen flew in to take Fr.McKnight, Mr. Prejean, Mr. Coco, Mr. McZeal and myself to dinner. (MISSISSIPPI's O'Neal promised to check with Jackson and call us back, but probably MFC is too busy winning the white farmers co-ops nearby; their Aug. edition of "The MFC Co-op News' front page: "MFC Adds Rice Mill To Louisiana Investment in Crowley. Also they are supplying farm supplies to coop at Abbeyville, etc.Eastland spoke at their recent Annual Meeting "blasting the federal power structure and urging a total victory policy in VietNam.") You are doing a great work, Al,sincerely, art.

Art

PS After Friends mtg. last Sunday, Baton Rouge, visited home of Mr. & Mrs. Olson.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

September 12, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

On October 1, Mr. John A. Golden, Jr. will join our staff as field director with the Community Development Program.

We appreciate the help and interest you extended as we were seeking a person for this position.

Sincerely yours,

Buddy

Everett Gill III
Program Director
EG/fm

southern student organizing committee

1703 portland avenue nashville, tennessee box 6403 phone: 291-3537

September 12, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al;

It was good to talk with you the other day on the phone. the day after I talked with you I had a talk with Jim Pierce the coordinator of the migrant drive. As it stands now things are still unclear as to the situation in Florida this fall.

The main problem is above Pierce's head. The union involved is the Laborer's International of North America. It is ~~thxx~~ an old-time common labor union which has never been much good. Recently it has undergone a number of progressive changes and increased its juristiction mainly because workers under its old juristiction are disappearing. They have a very good vice-president but the President and sec-treas. are old men who come into the office once ~~xxxx~~ or twice a week. This union has committed itself to providing about a half a million for the migrant campaign. The Industrial Union Dept. is supposed to do the organizing without any interference from the laborers. ~~ax~~ However they are dragging their feet a little on money and trying to stick their thumbs into the campaign.

This problem has to be resolved before definite plans are laid for the fall. Pierce seems to be saying"let me have the money and complete say over the campaign or find yourself someone else", so I think things will work out all right. If things don't work out or if Pierce doesn't run things then I don't think the drive will work and that will be something worse than simply tragic. As soon as this problem is cleared up then there will be a meeting to plan for this fall and then Pierce will be ready to put more people on staff.

At the SDS meeting I had some talks with kids who had worked on the Delano strike. My impression from them is that the Delano union is very much Chavez's and hence very much top down. It seems to me that if things go well in Florida that there is at least a good chance that this union can be at least as much and perhaps more democratic in a basic sort of way than the California one. If it doesn't work in Florida this time I don't think they will be able to try again for some time.

The planning meeting is supposed to be held in about a week. Ther is a chance that I might go and if I don't I should be able to let you know something definite even in a couple of weeks.

Pierce wants you on staff and is willing to put you on regular staff with the understanding that you are on leave from SRC.

I will be in Texas this next week and will write you as soon as I hear anything or when I return from there. I really do hope that you will be able to work on this.

peace,

Gene

gene guerrere

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION
230 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017
Telephone: 212-689-6622

ELEANOR NISSLEY
Publications

13 September 1966

Mr Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

I am sorry to report that all of our consumer credit material was disposed of when our Department of Consumer Credit Studies was discontinued in 1948. Our files, however, were sent to the Library of Congress where they are available for consultation and study.

We are sending you separately copy of our latest Annual Report which you may find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Nissley
Publications

N:n

September 13, 1966

Mr. James Giltmier
Emory University Hospital
1364 Clifton Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Dear Jim:

I was very sorry to learn you were injured in the Boulevard happenings Saturday night.

I have been told by several persons that your documentary on Vine City, etc., was excellent and I am hoping for a chance to see it myself.

Best wishes for a speedy recovery.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

September 13, 1966

Mrs. Esther Peterson
Assistant Secretary
Labor Standards
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Peterson:

I am attempting to collect information regarding consumer problems in the U. S. It has been brought to my attention that you have done considerable work in the area of legislative development in consumer education. Is it possible for me to obtain publications of this research or a list of the materials that are available?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization
Project

AU:rh

September 13, 1966

Mr. Gordon Bivens
Consumer Education Service
University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Bivens:

I am attempting to collect information regarding consumer problems in the U. S. It has been brought to my attention that you have done considerable work in area of legislative development in consumer education. Is it possible for me to obtain publications of this research or a list of the materials that are available?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization
Project

AU:rh

September 13, 1966

Mrs. John Fournier
1938 Carlos Avenue
Clearwater, Florida

Dear Mrs. Fournier:

I will arrive in Clearwater on Friday the 23rd of September and will stay through the 26th or 27th--depending on how things go.

Thank you for your patience in all of this. I hope I'll be able to contribute something.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
OPPORTUNITY

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

September 13, 1966

Mr. Al Ulner
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulner:

I am informed by Nathan Garrett, Deputy Director of The North Carolina Fund, that you are the director of a special program of the Southern Regional Council dealing with legal services and consumer education for the poor. I direct such a program for the Fund. Nathan suggests that it would be helpful if I could talk with you concerning the development of the Council's program. I feel that your experience and ideas would help me greatly.

I would like the opportunity to talk with you in Atlanta at your convenience during the week of September 26. If such a meeting with you can be arranged, would you kindly advise at your earliest opportunity.

With kind regards, I am

Yours truly,

M. C. Burt, Jr.

M. C. Burt, Jr.
Legal Counsel

MCBJr:sal

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S. C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

September 14, 1966

Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

This is in reference to your draft on the Cooperative Action, which is really most interesting. I had read the report of the meeting in Edwards, Mississippi with great interest because we feel that for one thing, this work parallels much of what we are attempting to do, though our emphasis is not on cooperatives.

In fact, my main suggestion in regards to the proposal is that it might reach more problems than that of the cooperative. I believe the proposal on page 22 in the first paragraph and also under number 2, hints at this when it speaks what the educational program could undertake, but limits this preparation in terms of cooperative endeavor. Persons trained in the cooperative methods of democracy are prepared for much further involvement in the total community, including efforts of school desegregation, elective municipal and county offices, membership in municipal and county boards, commissions, etc. With broader goals than cooperatives, it would seem to me that such a large undertaking would be justified.

Since the proposal does seem to be limited to cooperatives, I would make the following observations:

Marketing cooperatives, ~~our~~ ARE most important, but my limited knowledge of the agricultural economy makes me feel that the future of the small farms now held by Negroes would not warrant such a large program.

Marketing cooperatives are, apparently, dependent on federal loans. If such a large undertaking is launched, it would be necessary to be sure that there were adequate federal funds available for this increased activity. It would certainly be unfortunate if a group did organize a marketing cooperative with the best counsel and prospects of a market to only find out that loan~~s~~ FUNDS have been exhausted.

SOUTHWORTH CO. U.S.A.
25% COTTON FIBER

Tied closely to the previous statement is that I did not see in the proposal provisions for loans to local groups. On page 8, number 3, you mentioned the difficulty in securing credit. Even if there were adequate federal funds for loans, it would seem to me that in such a large undertaking, there would have to be some money available for loans or grants to get groups in the position where they would be able to get adequate construction and operating loans from agricultural agencies.

It would seem to me that one of the biggest needs in this field would be for marketing specialists to advise local groups what crops to plan for or what type of consumers cooperative to begin. Such a person would enable groups to keep up with the latest methods and designs of packaging. You may have this in mind when you speak of cooperative specialists or roving counselors. Such a person might benefit the program equally by discouraging the formation of certain cooperatives if around particular products as he would be to encourage cooperatives in other areas around other products, which would have a chance of success. This type person is recommended when you discussed handi-crafts on page 19.

It occurs to me that one way in which a program might be strengthened is the use of volunteer corps, perhaps recruited from college campuses for spending a year in a community. I could see such a person being used after a cooperative was initially formed to help out in the operation in terms of bookkeeping, membership, etc. Where there would be a number of members of the field staff in the state, yet it would be impossible to give such close attention to each of the cooperatives. One of the dangers in the use of such volunteers, though, might be that they would do the jobs themselves rather than seeing that the others obtain full experience in the operation.

I feel this is really an exciting proposal and certainly want to keep in touch with you on the developments. Perhaps we can discuss this at the time of the Southern Inter-Agency conference next week, unless I take all the time to get your ideas on our training program.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff
CS/fm

September 14, 1966

Mr. M. C. Burt, Jr.
Legal Counsel
The North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Dear Mr. Burt:

Either the 28th or the 29th of September is fine for me. I look forward to the chance to talk with you.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization
Project

AU:rh

September 14, 1966

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
The Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Reese:

It was an interesting afternoon, the kind of one that always makes me long to be a psychiatrist so as to be able to peer into Colonel Jones' head when Brother Wofford soothingly contradicts him.

I have been unable to find the law calling for special treatment for landlords owning many slum properties.

The New York law states that a tenant can bring a landlord to criminal court but doesn't refer to the amount of property he owns.

Interestingly, New York, which now has a receivership law allowing the city to seize buildings, make repairs necessary to meet minimum standards, and recapture the cost out of rent collections, had before this a statute similar to the one Atlanta got last year. The Department of Buildings could declare a building a public nuisance; let out contracts for repairs to be made and maintain a suit against the owner to recover the expense. The City Building Commissioner said of this procedure, "It is so unsatisfactory as to preclude its use. It is an open invitation to the unscrupulous owner to milk the profits from the property, have the city make repairs and through legal manuevering make it exceedingly difficult for the city to recoup expenditures.." Sure glad Atlanta landlords are different.

I have found some material I think you would enjoy reading when you have a chance. It's all about capital gains tax, municipal property tax, depreciation allowances and other equally fascinating subjects for your readers.

Best,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

September 26, 1966

Mr. Leroy Smith
Greenwood Apartments
Building # 15, Apartment # 6
Clearwater, Florida

Dear Mr. Smith:

I enjoyed talking with you Saturday concerning trying to get the Tenant Association active again. After talking with Mr. Jones, he agreed to call together the building captains for a Monday evening, October 3rd, meeting. I hope you will be able to attend this meeting, and I look forward to seeing you there.

Sincerely

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

September 26, 1966

Mrs. John Fournier
1938 Carlos Avenue
Clearwater, Florida

Dear Mrs. Fournier:

It was good to learn more about the situation. Here is what happened as far as future plans are concerned:

Mr. Jones agreed to call a meeting of the building captains for Monday evening, October 3rd, in order to discuss ways of getting the association moving again. With just first impressions, I think perhaps the water heater problem might be best to attack first.

I will be back in Clearwater on the 3rd and I will stay for several days to help implement whatever comes out of the meeting and also to go further into the longer term proposal for a non-profit housing corporation with Mrs. Halmi, and Mr. Ralph Richards.

I think it would be helpful to give Mr. Jones a reminder to get notices out immediately for the meeting.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:
E. R. Shockley, Pres., Whiteville
Art Emery, Vice-Pres., Somerville
Lorenzo Miller, Treas., Bolivar
A. F. Harris, Sec'y., Bolivar
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**MID - SOUTH CONSUMERS
OIL COOPERATIVE**

Box 323 -:- Whiteville, Tenn.

Setpember 27, 1966

TO: Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Gentleman;

Enclosed you will find a ststement of my expenses to the Sept. 17th. meeting in your City. You will also find a letter to Mr Edley asking his Foundation for a grant. Please check it, and send it to him if approve, or return it with your recommendation.

Very truly yours,

James O. Johnson

James O. Johnson, Manager

STATEMENT OF EXPENSE

Gasoline & Oil	$ 22.67
Meals	14.40
Lodging	14.52
Parking	2.00
Friday through Sunday Total	$ 53.59

September 29, 1966

Miss Dorothy A. Vandercook
862 Royal Green Avenue
Sacramento, California 95831

Dear Miss Vandercook:

The address of the marketing outlet for the McComb Leahher Co-op is,

Liberty House
P. O. Box 3193
Jackson, Mississippi.

Enclosed are two copies of a brochure the co-ops distribute to prospective buyers.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh
Encls. 2

Neil Maxwell Sept 2, 1966

Dear Sirs: Atlanta

In your paper of August 19th, 1966 there was a story by Neil A. Maxwell on the Co-ops started by the Negroes in Mississippi.

I was very much interested in this as I believe this a movement that ought to be helped. I sent a check for merchandise, and also offered to sell to friends if they would send me a price list and a list of their merchandise,

I was particularly interested in the Leather Co-operatives in McComb Mississippi as mentioned in the article

- Today I received my letter back stamped "Unknown" & "Insufficient Address".

Could Mr. Maxwell please furnish me with an address for the McComb Leather Co-operative in McComb, Mississippi?

Thank you,

Yours sincerely

Dorothy A. Vandercook

862 Royal Green Ave
Sacramento, California
95831

September 29, 1966

Mr. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
6241 N. W. 17th Avenue
Miami, Vlorida 33147

Dear Augie:

Finally, I got to Clearwater to meet with the Greenwood Tenant Association. I spent September 23, 24, and 25th there and have set up a series of meetings for the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of October. There appears to be some hope of welding a bit of an organization around the issue of faulty (and therefore expensive) hot-water heaters.

Also, a gropp of council people headed by Mrs. Halmi and Mr. Ralph Richards are interested in attempting a non-profit housing project. I have sent them information and will meet with them on October 4th or 5th.

As, I guess, you know Clearwater has done a nice, quiet, effecient job of absolute segregation of the city. There is no housing authority, no minimum code, no workable program for community improvement, -- nothing like this is needed in "sparkling" Clearwater. If you'd as soon suffocate as be hanged you'd enjoy living there.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

September 29, 1966

Mr. Robert Burlage
Institute for Policy Studies
1900 Florida Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Dear Robb:

Recently, I saw a copy of Milton Kotter's "memorandi" on Community Foundations of the poor. Is it possible to get ten copies of them? I will put them into good hands as well as pay you for them.

I hope all goes well with you and your wife. Come to Atlanta, ya hear.

Best wishes,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

September 30, 1966

Mr. B. F. Ihlenfeldt
The Cooperative League of the USA
59 East Van Buren Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Chuck:

Here it is, bio-sheet, run-down on the Community Organization Project and summary pamphlet of the Southern Regional Council. I don't have a glossy print of myself. How about one of my wife? She's much finer looking material.

I look forward to attending the Congress. Thank you for inviting me.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh
Encl. 3

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S. C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

October 3, 1966

AIR MAIL

Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

The Program Review Committee met this past weekend to discuss our proposed training project for community development workers. One of the questions raised was, what assurance would we have that once we obtained the grant, the kind of person we are seeking would in fact be free to participate in the five-month project.

I will be coming through Atlanta on Friday, October 7 and wonder if it would be convenient to see you on Friday morning around nine o'clock. I expect to be staying at the Atlantan Hotel and will try to reach you by 'phone to see if this will be convenient.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Courtney

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

October 3, 1966

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I apologize for the delay in responding to your letter asking if I would serve on the Program Review Committee for Penn Community Services.

I will be happy to serve on the Committee. Thank you for asking me.

I'm sorry a previous commitment makes it impossible for me to attend the October 1st meeting.

Best wishes,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S. C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

Mayesville, S. C.
September 14, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al Ulmer:

I am sure that you are aware that Penn Community Services has a Program Review Committee whose purpose is to give guidance to the Board in the area of program development. The Committee meets approximately twice a year and gives attention to how the program at Penn may become as effective as possible. The membership of the Committee is made up of Trustees and non-Trustees, and it is in the latter catagory we are requesting you to serve.

We feel that you have much to offer to the Committee in your considerable practical experience in this area, and it would please us a great deal if you would consent to participate.

Present membership of the Committee includes: Dean C. G. Gomillion, Dr. John Griffin, Dr, Hylan Lewis, Harold Fleming and Dr. Guion Johnson of Chapel Hill. We are also asking Dr. Parvis of Washington University to be a member.

21
Incidently, the next meeting of the Committee is scheduled for 7:00 P. M. at Penn Center, Saturday, October 1, running through lunch on Sunday, October 2. Of course regardless of whether or not you attend this next meeting, we would be very glad for you to serve.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Dabbs

James M. Dabbs
Mayesville, South Carolina

I hope you can accept.

EXCERPTS OF LETTER TO STEVE CARY, AFSC FROM TOM POTTS, COMMUNITY PLAYTHINGS, RIFTON, N.Y.

914-658-6561

October 3, 1966

"...We have another problem now, Steve, which we would also like to ask your help with. Our little business, Community Playthings, has grown beyond our ability to produce material to meet the demand. This is largely due to government money from the Head Start program and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; but we think it is also to some extent due to our quality of production. We do not want the business to grow any bigger as it now covers our needs and we wanted to share the available work with some formerly unemployed groups in poverty areas. We are already working with a group in Knox County, Kentucky, who call themselves "Cannon Industries", who have been organized by Sonnie Osborne of the Council of Southern Mountains, Inc. They have bought a few second-hand woodworking machines, rented a building, and are making parts for Community Playthings. Where formerly these few men were earning $8 to $10 a week they now are getting a couple of dollars an hour--and even more important--are working together and learning to manage their own show. We have not been able to furnish the organization and the capital but only the work and we wondered whether you knew or could steer us toward any areas where we might make a similar contribution to some cooperative self-help venture.

We could, of course, buy parts on the commercial market--and probably cheaper; but our hope would be that we could share our good fortune where it might be of some small help."

October 4, 1966

Mr. James O. Johnson, Manager
Mid-South Consumers Oil Cooperative
P. O. Box 323
Whiteville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Enclosed is a check covering your expenses to the last meeting of the Continuing Committee.

I was very glad you could find the time to attend what I thought to be a worthwhile meeting.

I have several suggestions regarding the proposal you sent me to review. Rarely does any foundation make a grant for the purchase of business equipment -- equipment from which profits can be expected. For this reason I doubt if the Ford Foundation would consider your proposal for capital outlay funds. Is it possible that these funds might be obtained through a loan instead?

I think it is necessary for your cooperative to consider seriously the fact that you are a business and to expect a foundation to give money to an oil business, regardless of its charter make-up, is a little unrealistic. If it is possible for your to have a good cooperative economist, who has experience in oil co-ops, visit Mid-South and make recommendations for your future expansion I think it would be helpful. Funds to pay such a man's expenses perhaps could be made available upon a request from Mid-South.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh
Encl. Check $53.50 - #1584

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
2115 S STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008 • 202/387-5100 • CABLE/NATSTUD

W. EUGENE GROVES
President

EDWARD SCHWARTZ
National Affairs
Vice President

RICHARD G. STEARNS
International Affairs
Vice President

October 4, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

Enclosed is my check for fifty dollars. Sorry this has taken so long to get to you; I just returned to the office today to discover that an earlier check had been made out improperly. Thanks so much for your help. Give my regards to Paul, Pat, et al.

Sincerely,

Steve

Steven McNichols, Executive Director
USNSA Books

SMcN/hb

ATLANTA BRANCH
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Oct. 10, 1966
3055 Westminster Cir., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30327

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ulmer,

Thank you so much for your kindness in sending me those copies of the Vine City story. I am acting as Chairman of a little study group trying to learn all we can about the problems of poverty, and I am sure the members will find this story as interesting as our group at Trinity did.

Sincerely yours
(Mrs. Fred) Marjorie Baxter

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOcust 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

October 13, 1966

Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Al:

There is so much to talk to you about that I regret more than usual the distance between Atlanta and Philadelphia. I am eagerly awaiting news of any progress that you are making in the Co-op training program and do hope there will be machinery by which those of us who are interested can be kept informed of progress. I was in Washington last week and had a long visit with Miles Hollister who told me of his cooperative interest and that he had been working with you. He seems like a very good person.

The purpose of this is to say you may be getting a letter from one, Tom Potts of Community Playthings, Rifton, N.Y. Rifton is, as you probably know, the Society of Brothers community and their "Community Playthings" are first class toys, etc. that are increasingly being used by Head Start and other educational programs. He wrote to Steve Cary of our staff about a problem. Confidentially, I have copied what he wrote and am enclosing it herewith. We referred him to you, to Randolph Blackwell and to Marian Wright in that order. It seemed to me that here might be a way in which some of those who need money could make it and make a contribution elsewhere also. So this is a burden and an opportunity we are passing on to you.

Best wishes to you and your good wife.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor

Eleanor A. Eaton
Community Relations Division

EAE:lw

cc: Constance Curry
Barbara Moffett

PEACE CORPS
Washington, D. C. 20525

October 17, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmen
Five Forsyth Street
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Al:

Enclosed is the book I mentioned to you during last week's meeting. The System was developed by a Volunteer in Colombia, and is presently in use by about 40 different cooperatives throughout the country. Peace Corps' Puerto Rico Training Camp also uses this System in training programs for cooperative Volunteers. It is really quite simple to use, and I hope it will be of value to you in your work.

Sincerely,

Jerry

Jerry Norris
Office of Training

Enclosure

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
OPPORTUNITY

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

October 17, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

At a recent co-op meeting in Washington, D. C., Paul Brest, NAACP Legal Counselor, showed us a copy of the proposal, The Co-op Action Program for Southern Low Income Groups. If possible, I would very much appreciate receiving a copy of this proposal.

Several neighborhood councils functioning in cities having fund supported community action programs, are interested in credit unions and co-ops. Presently, the limitations of OEO available percludes their securing money from this source. We hope to do something with this program in the near future, but in the meantime, we would like to gather as much information as available on the existing and proposed co-ops.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Elsie Cunningham

Elsie Cunningham

EC:grh

October 21, 1966

Mrs. Shirley G. Kotrba
Secretary to Milton Kotler
Institute for Policy Studies
1900 Florida Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Dear Mrs. Kotrba:

Please have my name placed on your mailing list.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

$10.00 ck enclosed

Institute for Policy Studies

1900 Florida Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20009 (202) ADams 4-9382

October 10, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

Pursuant to your request, we are sending, under separate cover (ten separate packages), Mr. Kotler's material on Community Foundations.

We would be happy to send you further material as it becomes available if you would so desire. You can write to me direct to request having your name placed on the mailing list.

To help offset the cost of printing and mailing the community foundation material, it is necessary for us to charge $1.00 per copy. Therefore, we would appreciate a check in the amount of $10.00 at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Shirley G. Kotrba

(Mrs.) Shirley G. Kotrba
Secretary to Milton Kotler
Resident Fellow

Ruth,
Please send #10 and also request that my name be added to Mr. Kotler's mailing list

OK

October 21, 1966

Mr. Hugh Wire
Community Action Coordinator
WAMY
Boone, North Carolina

Dear Hugh:

Here are the memos. I'd be interested to get your opinion about them and the program they suggest.

Thank you for your hospitality last month. I still feel a little strange about having played the role of "evaluator" with WAMY. I hope it wasn't a complete waste.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh
Encls.

October 21, 1966

Mr. Joseph Doherty
Farmers Home Administration
Economic Opportunity Loans - Cooperatives
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Doherty:

In your presentation October 11 concerning loans made to cooperatives under the economic opportunity section you mentioned a map showing the distribution of these loans. I wonder if it might be possible to receive in addition to this map, a list of the cooperatives, incorporated and unincorporated ones, including the addresses, type, and number of members to which you have made FHA loans.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

October 21, 1966

Donald S. Frey
Counsellor at Law
1514 Elmwood Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60201

Dear Mr. Frey:

Thank you for sending me your booklet, "How A Legal Cooperative Structure (a co-op) Can Help Guide You..." The booklet is good and in inclusion of the District of Columbia Charter, etc. should prove to be very helpful to communities attempting to establish co-ops. The only suggestion I might have, and it is really a question, is whether it is possible to simplify the materials and retain the true meaning. I am daily reminded of what a great need there is for simplified materials. Could you put the booklet into slides, for instance, or a picture book?

I am sending you under separate cover a draft of a proposal for a Southern Co-operative Program. It has been greatly reduced in size at this point, but the ideas remain the same.

Any comments you might have will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

October 21, 1966

Miss Elsie Cunningham
The North Carolina Fund
Post Office Box 687
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Dear Miss Cunningham:

Here is a copy of the Co-op Action proposal. It has been changed considerably since this draft was done, however, and its present status is still under discussion within the group that orininally proposed the idea.

I will keep you informed of developments as they take place.

There are tentative plans at present to attempt to form a federation of existing co-ops. If these plans firm up, any assistance you could give in helping find interested people to attend an organizing "congress" would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

Nonwhite Farm Operators

State	Total			Full Owners			Part Owners			Tenants		
	1964	1959	Pct. change	1964	1959	Pct. change	1964	1959	Pct. change	1964	1959	Pct. change
Ark.	8,589	14,657	-41.4	3,465	4,910	-29.4	1,358	1,647	-17.5	3,766	8,100	-53.5
Ky.	2,477	3,340	-25.8	1,198	1,576	-24.0	520	628	-17.2	759	1,136	-33.2
La.	12,290	17,679	-30.5	5,451	6,801	-19.9	1,593	1,669	-4.6	5,246	9,209	-43.0
So. Car.	19,602	30,977	-36.7	7,321	9,594	-23.7	3,626	4,747	-23.6	8,655	16,636	-48.0
Va.	11,609	15,689	-26.0	4,657	6,936	-32.9	2,768	3,275	-15.5	4,184	5,478	-23.6
West. Va.	92	143	-35.7	68	120	-43.3	15	14	7.1	9	9	0
Tenn.	10,654	15,037	-29.1	2,835	3,631	-21.9	1,618	1,856	-12.8	6,201	9,550	-35.1
Del.	122	195	-37.4	68	116	-41.4	33	49	-32.7	21	30	-30.0
Md.	1,721	2,137	-19.5	787	1,081	-27.2	328	365	-10.1	606	691	-12.3
N.C.	29,909	43,973	-32.0	7,720	10,541	-26.8	5,651	6,805	-17.0	16,538	26,627	-37.9
Ala.	20,941	29,234	-28.4	7,107	8,862	-20.0	3,791	4,306	-12.0	10,043	16,046	-37.4

MID-SOUTH CONSUMERS OIL COOPERATIVE
P.O. Box 323, Phone 254-8127
Whiteville, Tennessee

TO: Mr. Christopher Edley
Ford Foundation
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Edley;

We were very much encouraged, by the report of our manager Mr. James O. Johnson, on your meeting with the Continuing Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. in Atlanta on the 17th. of September.

We are very much interested in the training program, and trust that our area which include Six Counties-Fayette, Haywood, Hardeman, Madison, Lauderdale, and Tipton; will be included in any training program instituted in the region.

We are certainly interest in securing any grant of economic aid you may see fit to give us, to aid us in reaching many more of the low income farmer, that own their farms, or, are paying for them.

These people need all of the assistance in the way of training, and economics that can be given them through a cooperative movement.

The following show our present status and our projections through 1970.

1967 to 1970

Present set up= 167 farm famlies being serviced. 7 filling station pumps. Assets June 30, 1966 $ 61,959.52

Areas of expansion needed: 6 County Area Population 50% Negro. Farm ownership 50%, size 5 Acres to 150 Acres, average 75 Acres. We have on file about 600 farm famlies to be reached with in the next (3) Three years as follows 1967 -75, 1968 -125, 1969 -175, and 1970 -225, to receive services in marketing farm produce, furnishing farm supplies, Gasoline, Oil, Grease, Tires, Battries, and other farm and home needs.

Equipment needed to reach the above projections-follows;

1.	Farm tanks & fittings for 1st. year	75 @ $70.00	$ 5,250.00
2.	Farm tanks & fittings for 2nd. year	125 @ 70.00	8,750.00
3.	Farm tanks & fittings for 3rd. year	175 @ 70.00	12,250.00
4.	Farm tanks & fittings for 4th. year	225 @ 70.00	15,750.00
			$ 42,000.00
5.	Filling stations pumps installed		
	a. 1967 --------------------------	15 @ 600.00	9,000.00
	b. 1968 --------------------------	10 @ 600.00	6,000.00
	c. 1969 --------------------------	5 @ 600.00	3,000.00
	d. 1970 --------------------------	2 @ 600.00	$ 1,200.00
			$ 19,200.00
6.	Packing Sheds a. 1967 -----------	1 @ 7,000.00	7,000.00
	b. 1968 -----------	2 @ 7,000.00	14,000.00
	c. 1969 -----------	3 @ 7,000.00	21,000.00
			$ 35,000.00

7. Substation; Bulk Storage a. 1968 24,000 Gallons at a cost	$ 25,000.00
8. b. 1968 1,500 Gallons truck tank	9,000.00
	$ 34,000.00

Total outlay for the next 4 years --------------------- $ 130,200.00

We are,

Very truly yours,

Board of Directors,

E.R. Shockley, Pres. & Treas.
J.M. Anderson, Vice-Pres.
A.F. Harris, Sec'y.
J. Giles Jr., Ass'n. Sec'y.
Moses Jefferson
Tom Sanderlin
Robert Spencer

E.R. Shockley
E.R. Shockley, President

James O. Johnson, Manager

Spring 1964

THE *Journal* OF THE *Student Press*

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Contributions to The Journal of the Student Press are welcomed by the editors and may be sent to the Journal c/o USSPA National Office, 3457 Chestnut, Philadelphia 4, Pa. The Journal assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts.

Volume Two Number Two

United States Student Press Association

3457 Chestnut Street • Philadelphia 4, Pa.

4 January 1965

Dear Friends and Students:

For nearly a year now, there have been attempts to establish a strong College Council on Human Relations in the Richmond area. However, it has not taken us long to discover that enthusiasm for a new Virginia was not limited to the students at colleges in Richmond. Students all across the state have vigorously demonstrated their demands for a state-wide council which would, in addition to carrying out a number of state-wide activities each year, have local college councils affiliated with the senior council chapters in their respective areas.

In these efforts to establish a college council, one of our major discoveries has been the immediate need for a coordinator of college youth at the state office level. Therefore, we plan to present this and all the rest of the needs of this college enthusiasm to the State Board of the Virginia Council on Human Relations at their Annual Meeting in early February, and we need your help.

This Is What We Need You To Do, if you believe as we do that social reforms are sorely needed in Virginia and that our college youth are no longer satisfied with the prevailing archaic and laissez faire attitudes toward solving these problems. Talk to everyone you know who is interested in a State College Council; tell them to send to E. H. Peeples, Jr., at the address below, a brief letter or telegram indicating in a few well chosen words their support for our appeal to the Virginia Council on Human Relations for sponsorship of the college human relations envolvement. We need 500 letters and telegrams and 500 new names of interested students by January 25, 1965.

Do you want a voice in Virginia? Act Now!

Most sincerely,

Virginia College Council on
Human Relations Coordinating
Committee,

Charles M. Cummings
Goodwin Douglas
Gayle Ray
Linda Coble

Send communiques to:

E. H. Peeples, Jr.,
2409 Kensington Ave.,
Richmond 20, Virginia.

MINUTES FOR THE JANUARY 12, 1965 MEETING OF THE NORTH CAROLINA INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. ERDAHL-CLOYD STUDENT UNION BUILDING, NORTH CAROLINA STATE, RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA.

The January meeting of the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights was called to order by the First Vice-President, Mr. Leon Spencer of Wake Forest College, in the absence of Mr. William Parker, President, of Shaw University.

Mr. Spencer introduced to the assemblage Mr. M. Hayes Mizell, Director, of the USNSA Southern Project. Mr. Mizell spoke briefly to those present commending them for their foresight in organizing a program such as the Intercollegiate Council. He stated that in other states throughout the South interest is growing in such programs, and that many state councils on human relations are attempting to set up similar programs. Mr. Mizell then briefly outlined the USNSA's summer seminar. Anyone wishing details of this program should write to Mr. Mizell directly:

Mr. M. Hayes Mizell, Director
USNSA Southern Project
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Flyers on the film series, "Minority Report", were distributed to those attending. The films have been released to television stations throughout the state for previewing. Afterwards, they will be made available to the public for purchasing or on loan. For further information write:

Miss Jo McMakin
N. C. Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights
Room 301, 121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina.

The first order of business was reports from the various schools represented concerning the various stages of their individual tutorial projects.

Students from the Greensboro area reported that the five colleges there have formed an Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights of Greensboro: Guilford College, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Agriculture and Technical College, Greensboro College, and Bennett College comprise the Greensboro extension of the Intercollegiate Council with Miss Pamela Pfaff, of U. N. C. - G., serving as "unofficial" chairman. The schools reported that their joint project is going well, and that they are receiving help from the local school board as well as from the individual schools in which they are working.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has launched VIGAH! -- Volunteers In Giving A Hand -- a multi-faceted program involving tutorials; cooking classes for those in the community who receive surplus food; an interfraternity playground clearance project, and similarly related activities. Mr. Neal Jackson, N. S. A. Campus Co-ordinator at the University, reported that these projects are working from results of the North Carolina Volunteers last summer.

Meredith College reported that their program involved a relatively small number of tutors working on a one-to-one basis with tutees last semester. This project was successful, and the students plan to expand it this semester.

North Carolina State reported an ongoing tutoring program with plans to expand this semester to include field trips and other community activities.

Johnson C. Smith University reported that their tutoring project is being carried out in conjunction with the American Friends, the Unitarian Church, and Charlotte College. The Smith University representative, Mr. William Gaither, reported that the Charlotte project is two-pronged including individual tutoring and study hall supervision of elementary and junior high school students. The project has expanded to include an adult night class and field trips for the children.

Shaw University's representative reported that their efforts are concentrated in one junior high school, and that their project is being carried out through the student government.

Elizabeth City State College reported that their project will go into action this semester.

The next order of business dealt with discussion of a follow-up conference to the fall tutorial conference held at Wake Forest in November. Suggestions were made on the proposed conference theme. The suggestion was made that the conference deal with topics other than tutorials (i.e., academic freedom, "in loco parentis", etc.), but the consensus of the opinions expressed was that the conference should be related to the tutorial projects. It was suggested that the conference might deal with evaluation, expansion, and transition in the tutorial program. A tentative date was set for the first weekend in April.

The final item of business was the suggestion that the Intercollegiate Council begin to schedule guest speakers at its monthly meetings. It was suggested that educators, civic leaders, and other community-minded individuals be invited.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned to meet again in this building on the 16th of February at 4:00 P. M.

VIRGINIA COLLEGE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 EAST CARY STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219
January 19, 1965

Dear Student and Friend:

As you know, a group of some twenty-five students met in Richmond, January 9-10 to discuss the adoption of a proposal for a state student council on human relations for Virginia. This council would have full time staff and operate on the campuses of Virginia colleges and universities. We are enclosing a copy of the proposal as adopted. This will be used in an effort to raise funds for the project.

Many of you have been visited by members of the staff of the Virginia Council on Human Relations and asked to circulate a petition which will serve as a demonstation of student interest in a state wide program. This is essential in our fund raising efforts. We must have the petitions in the office of the Virginia Council on Human Relations (17 East Cary Street, Richmond 23219) by January 22!! Your cooperation in this matter will be of great assistance to us as we work for the development of an effective student program in Virginia.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely,

Pat Knight
Virginia Council on Human Relations

February 2, 1965

Memo To: State Directors
From : Al Ulmer
Re : Student Activities

An effort is being made to summarize activities of southern students in the area of Civil Rights. Could you briefly outline what the students in your state are doing at present, i.e., tutorial, recruitment, panels, etc.

Thank you for your help

P.S. Can you do this by February 15?

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON **HUMAN RELATIONS**

A council that seeks —
through fact-finding, discussion and action — to
attain equal opportunity
for all people in Virginia.

17 EAST CARY STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA
648-4445
Heslip Lee, Executive Director
Henry L. Caravati, Director of Development

February 5, 1965

Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Al:

We have a number of student activities with reference to the area of Civil Rights. We also have at present, plans for a state-wide Virginia College Council on Human Relations. Enclosed is a copy of the College Council proposal along with other related material.

I have been invited a number of times to participate on College panel discussions. This week-end I will be in Lynchburg at the Randolph Macon Woman's College. A few weeks ago I was at the Medical College of Virginia. I have also participated on programs at Mary Washington College and Virginia Union University.

With reference to tutorials, we have a number of colleges participating in this area. The University of Virginia for instance has made great strides in this area. As an affiliate chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, the University of Virginia has not only made great strides in tutorials but they have also made great contributions in bringing about an awareness of what this new movement is all about. Hampton Institute, Mary Washington, Randolph Macon Woman's College they all fall into the same category with the University of Virginia.

Perhaps our biggest problem at this point is getting this state-wide program off the ground. At present we have about 900 signed petitions along with approximately 60 letters in support of this program. We also have the services of Pat Knight, who in my opinion is one of the most energetic and inspiring persons I have yet to meet.

With Pat and I combining our efforts I hope we might have more to report in the near future.

P.S. Drop me a line sometime, and before I forget, I'll be in Atlanta on the 22nd, 23rd, and the 24th. See you then. A friend always Bobby

OFFICERS Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., *President* Mr. W. R. Walker, *First Vice-President* Dr. C. G. Gordon Moss, Dr. E. B. Henderson, The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion, *Vice-Presidents*
Dr. Harry Roberts, *Secretary* Dr. J. Rupert Picott, *Treasurer*

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 EAST THIRD STREET
ROOM 301 — TELEPHONE 376-6833
CHARLOTTE, N. C.

February 5, 1965

In September, 1964 the North Carolina Council on Human Relations affiliated with a student organization, the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights. The Intercollegiate Council grew out of the demonstrations in 1963. Former Governor Terry Sanford challenged the young adults to "turn toward civic enterprise and translate physical action into intelligible dialogue with the entire community." The students' answer to the challenge was "Minority Report", a series of four films presenting the reasons behind the demonstations and the essential aspirations of minority groups. These films, done with the cooperation of the North Carolina Film Board, were produced by students from Agriculture and Technical College (Greensboro), North Carolina College at Durham, Bennett College (Greensboro), and Fayetteville State College (Fayetteville).

The Intercollegiate Council's project for the current school year is a tutorial program. At present colleges and universities in the Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Durham, Chapel Hill, Fayetteville, Elizabeth City, Concord, and Hickory areas are involved in tutoring projects in various elementary and secondary schools. The projects are either set up on a supervisory study hall basis or in a direct tutor/tutee relationship.

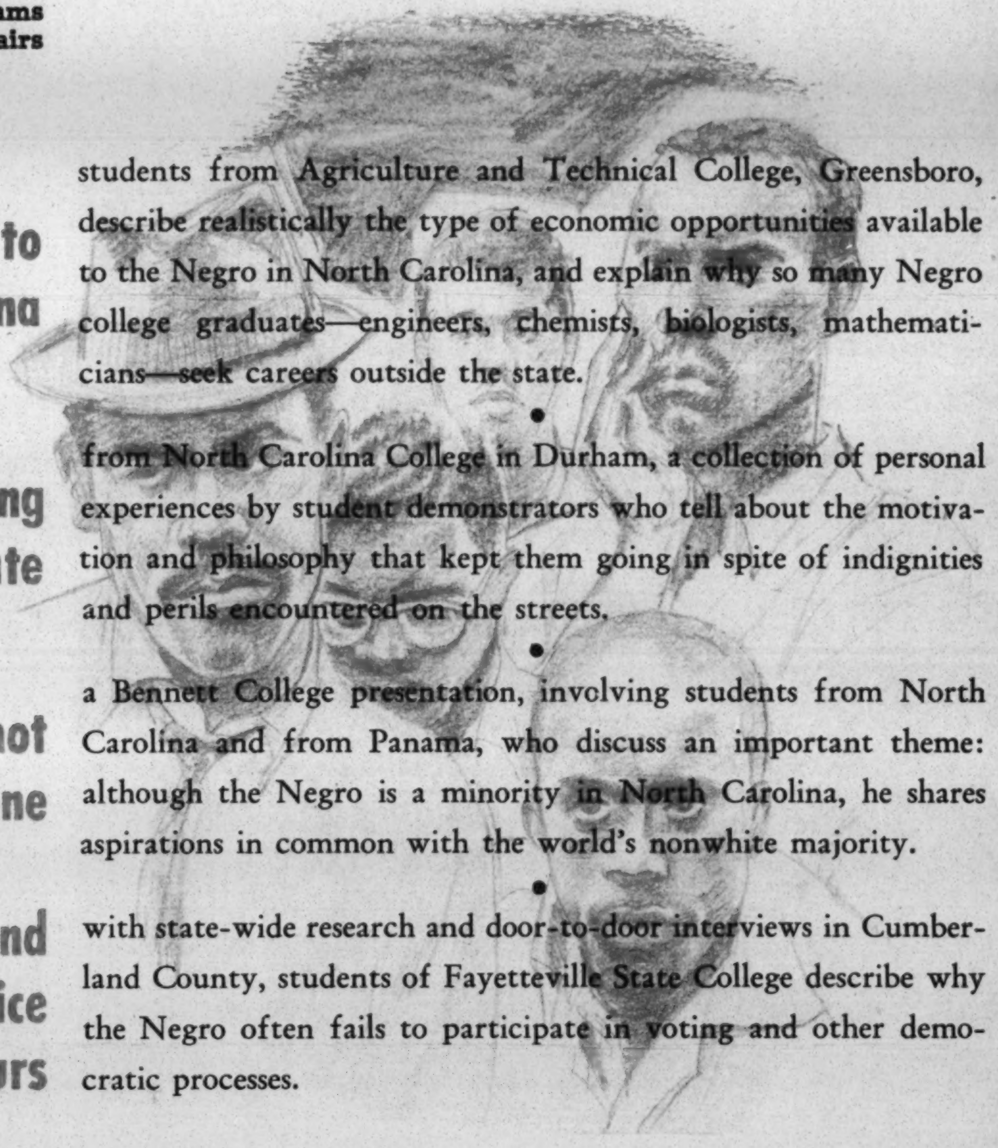
The Intercollegiate Council is planning an early April conference as a follow-up to the Fall Tutorial Conference which was held in November to aid students in the setting up of their tutoring programs. The April conference will deal with evaluation and progress reports on these programs; expansion of the project and of the Council membership; and the transition period during the summer.

"To strive to improve the educational, economic and civic conditions of all people of North Carolina; to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to strive to attain equal opportunity for all the people of the state as provided by the Constitution of the United States."

minority report

. . . . a continuing film series presenting the reasons behind racial protest in North Carolina, and the essential aspirations of Negro youth of today . . .

The first four programs in this Public Affairs Series are:



goodbye to carolina

students from Agriculture and Technical College, Greensboro, describe realistically the type of economic opportunities available to the Negro in North Carolina, and explain why so many Negro college graduates—engineers, chemists, biologists, mathematicians—seek careers outside the state.

•

a knocking at the gate

from North Carolina College in Durham, a collection of personal experiences by student demonstrators who tell about the motivation and philosophy that kept them going in spite of indignities and perils encountered on the streets.

•

we're not alone

a Bennett College presentation, involving students from North Carolina and from Panama, who discuss an important theme: although the Negro is a minority in North Carolina, he shares aspirations in common with the world's nonwhite majority.

•

vote-and the choice is yours

with state-wide research and door-to-door interviews in Cumberland County, students of Fayetteville State College describe why the Negro often fails to participate in voting and other democratic processes.

16mm Black & White film Each film 28 minutes

Planned by the NORTH CAROLINA INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. Research and scripts were supplied by the COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, a steering group founded in 1964 by students from schools all over North Carolina in response to Governor Terry Sanford's challenge that Negroes "turn toward civic enterprise and translate physical action into intelligible dialogue with the entire community."

Produced with the assistance of the ETV STUDIO OF NORTH CAROLINA STATE AT RALEIGH, and the NORTH CAROLINA FILM BOARD.

The films are available to television stations, educational and civic groups, church organizations, service clubs and others. For information please write:

MISS JO McMAKIN
North Carolina Intercollegiate Council For Human Rights
Room 301, 121 E. Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

The Jefferson Chapter
# of the
VIRGINIA
COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS

What is it?

What does it do?

What does it advocate?

Our Origin and Purpose . . .

In the spring of 1961, a group of University students, mostly Southerners, decided that an educational institution of such stature in the nation and in the South as the University of Virginia should not be devoid of an organization dedicated to the solution of problems arising out of relations between majority and minority groups within contemporary society. The result of this decision was the formation of the Jefferson Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

The Council on Human Relations, whose constitution was approved by the University's Student Council in the fall of 1961, is a non-profit, non-sectarian, non-political meeting ground for students and faculty members whose diverse views on specific political and governmental issues are reconciled in a consensus of agreement on one fundamental principle: that all persons should be dealt with and evaluated, personally and legally, on their individual merits, without regard to race, creed or color.

Moderation and Individualism . . .

Because the segregation-integration controversy has since 1954 posed the greatest problems of human relations to the South (if not, indeed, to the entire nation), it is not surprising that the Council should find itself most concerned with that issue. In times when emotion often subdues reason, when nothing is needed so much as a calm, moderate voice rising above the cacaphony of extremists on all sides, the Jefferson Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations offers to the concerned University student an outlet for his desire to ease, rather than magnify, the strains of transition in Southern society vis-a-vis the race question.

Devoted as it is to the concept of individual worth, trying to avoid the injustice of stereotyping, the Council feels no uneasiness in revealing its distaste for segregation or discrimination of any type which ignores the capabilities and dignity of individuals. Thus, on the personal level, the Council fosters inter-racial and inter-religious communications, convinced that only experience with a wide range of personalities can lead one to a wise judgment about the valid criteria for discrimination.

Similarly, the Council supports the incorporation of this attitude toward individuals into the policies of collective private groups and enterprises such as restaurants, civic clubs, etc. — not through legal coercion which merely redistributes the general burden of injustice and endangers the freedom of all, but through persuasion (not threats) aimed at procuring voluntary acknowledgement of the essential rightness of the individualistic approach.

Equal Opportunities . . .

On the legal side, the Council opposes laws which interpose the power of the state between the individual and what he could accomplish if the determinants of his success were his own talents, skills and character, rather than his race, religion or socio-economic background. Though the Council itself takes no direct part in politics, it follows that Council members would generally favor legislation which removes arbitrary ceilings on individual accomplishments — ceilings constructed of faulty building materials. The Council, moreover, harbors no pre-conceived opinion on what facilities, services or enterprises in society should be public; but it does suggest that those which are public should either (1) be of benefit to all persons, or (2) be of benefit to all persons in accordance with criteria which apply to all persons equally.

Some Specific Points: . . .

State laws which place blanket restrictions on interpersonal contact are viewed by the Council as infringements of individual freedom. The Council does not assume that all federal civil rights legislation is **a priori** good, just or necessary — the same might be said of State or local enactments in this field — and members of the Council may disagree over whether such federal legislation is Constitutional in the same way that non-members may debate the point. The Council supports enforced integration in some areas no more than it supports enforced segregation in other areas, and for the same reasons.

The Council is not unmindful of the rights of a majority within a democracy, though in supporting the rights of a minority it strives to prevent that "tyranny of the majority" against which Jefferson so eloquently warned. The Council does not pretend that public arrogance toward past or prevailing social and legal customs is an acceptable substitute for personal labors toward changing those customs which are not consistent with an individualistic value system; as a corollary, the Council finds it neither fruitful nor tolerant to attack all who may disagree with its aims as "bigots." The Council does not consider the destruction of property rights as a necessary or desirable pre-requisite to the advancement of individual opportunities.

Strength In Diversity . . .

All of this having been said, it becomes clear that as the Council on Human Relations is described on bases farther removed from the person-to-person level, that description reflects less precisely its essence. We reject any classification of our collective body as politically "conservative" or "liberal". The fundamental principle stated in the opening section of this presentation is the only one on which all members will probably agree, and adherence to it is the only philosophic requirement for good membership. This is why, when we use phrases like "The Council believes", etc., we are describing only a consensus of the membership or what can logically be deduced from the base of intellectual freedom which the Council has built into it.

A Posititve Program . . .

The Council endeavors to present to the University community regular programs of the discussion or lecture type, making use of qualified speakers from within and without the University. While we do not necessarily endorse the views expressed by these speakers, we do offer an uncensored forum for their expression. We are particularly interested in bringing to the University whenever possible persons who are outstanding representatives of their general points of view.

Meetings are held at least once a month during the regular school session and are publicized in the **Cavalier Daily**; members, moreover, are notified of all meetings by mail. Our major public programs, which usually follow the business meetings, are also publicized in other Charlottesville news media.

From time to time the Council may undertake special projects which are approved by the membership, such as conducting opinion polls, discussing the unique problems of Negro students with local businessmen, etc. Throughout the year, though, the Council performs one of its most valuable functions by simply extending the hand of welcome and assistance to students who are members of minority groups — not by imposing itself upon any student but by giving all students an equal opportunity for membership and constructive work in the organization.

You Can Help . . .

We solicit your inquiries and suggestions for ways in which we may be of service to the University community and to the people of Virginia and the South, whose best interests we — by our geographical setting and membership composition — are most directly hoping to advance. Finally, we invite you to join the Jefferson Chapter of the Council on Human Relations if you are in agreement with our principle and would like to augment our efforts.

Address inquiries To:

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Box 62

Newcomb Hall Station

University of Virginia

Charlottesville, Virginia

✓J ✓ WD✓
AV✓

MINUTES FOR THE FEBRUARY 17, 1965 MEETING OF THE NORTH CAROLINA INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, ERDAHL-CLOYD STUDENT UNION BUILDING, NORTH CAROLINA STATE, RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA.

Before the meeting was called to order, a film was shown, "Vote and the Choice Is Yours", the last in the Intercollegiate Council's film series, "Minority Report".

The February meeting of the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights was called to order by the President, William Parker of Shaw University.

The first order of business was discussion of the future conference. The floor was opened for suggestions, and Mr. Dick Ramsey of the American Friends Service Committee suggested a conference on the Viet Nam conflict.

Mr. Parker recommended that the conference pertain to the advancement of the tutorial program.

Miss Mattie Medlin of the Greensboro YWCA proposed a pre-school readiness conference projecting the idea that pre-schoolers should become acquainted with their schools, thus making them eager to learn when they enter in the fall.

The topics for the conference were tabled and will be discussed at the Executive Board meeting February 25, 1965.

The progress of the individual tutorial projects was the second item of business.

Johnson C. Smith University reported that their tutorial is on the basis of one tutor to two or three students. Smith is trying to capture the interest of the students through games, books, music, movies, etc.

Meredith College reported that their tutors are learning more about the pupils' families, and are thereby better able to communicate with their pupils. Although Meredith's tutorial is a pilot project, it has proven to be successful.

A. & T. reported that the Greensboro extension of the Intercollegiate Council will begin their second semester tutoring sessions with approximately 150 tutors from the five Greensboro colleges. They are tutoring on a one-to-one basis.

Shaw's tutorial is progressing, but there is a need for more tutors: Presently, there are twenty-five.

North Carolina State distributed data describing their tutorial.

Mr. Parker requested that each tutorial chairman send him a report including:

1. length of project
2. scope of tutorial
3. how the Human Relations Council may provide assistance
4. problems encountered.

The third order of business was bringing speakers into the Council's meetings. The question was asked by the President whether speakers should be concerned with tutorials or education in general. It was suggested that speakers should be concerned with education in general but placing emphasis on tutorials. Mr. Dick Ramsey suggested that interest should be broadened to deal with various topics.

Mr. Raymond Perry, of North Carolina College, moved that speakers be accepted into the Council's meetings and the motion was carried. The first speaker will be the Executive Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, Mrs. Helen Furman.

Mr. Parker stated that the mailing list must be brought up to date. It should include:
1. advisors
2. representatives and alternates
3. president of the student body.

The treasurer's report was given by Jo McMakin in the absence of Lester Moore of North Carolina College. There is $50.00 in the treasury.

Mr. Dick Ramsey stated that the American Friends Service Committee has a summer project that is in countries around the world. The project will deal with mental health and citizenship education.

Mr. Harry Boyte, of Duke University and a member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), would like to make contacts with colleges in eastern North Carolina and other colleges throughout the state. The Vietnamese crisis is a topic of discussion at Duke, and students plan to picket against the prolongation of the war. Mr. Boyte declared that the Students for Democratic Action (SDA) plan a March on Washington April 17, 1965. Mr. Boyte said that there are speakers who will be available to speak on any campus presently engaged in dialogue on the Viet Nam and related conflicts. To obtain more information write:

Mr. Harry Boyte
Box 4220
Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina.

The final item of business was a reminder by Rick Stevens of the USNSA Southern Project that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) is recruiting for a conference the 17th-19th of March in Atlanta, Georgia. Data may be obtained by writing:

Mr. Rick Stevens
USNSA Southern Project
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

There being no further business the meeting was adjourned to meet again on March 2, 1965 at 4:00 P. M.

Alice Walker

Alice Walker, Secretary

COMMITTEE FOR STUDENT RECRUITMENT
Box 13274, University Station
Gainesville, Florida 32603

February 26, 1964.

Dear Al,

This is a note in response to your note to let you know that a proposal is being prepared and I hope to get it to you within a week. Right now we are organizing a speakers program to go to Negro junior colleges after finding out that the Florida Blue Key speakers bureau program is only sending speakers to white junior colleges and refuses to include Negro ones after explaining that their exclusion was an "oversight." So any money we can get will help finance this and also we will begin our high school recruitment program early in the fall and hope to get to alot more schools this time. We got to about 15 in all and corresponded with students at about five others.

Our Freedom Party, if you remember, got sounded defeated in the election. We got about 900 votes and the other two parties got 3,000 each, but the party that swept most of the offices asked Jim to head a tutorial program to be run through the student government office so we did produce some results. We are setting up permanent headquarters for the Freedom Party and will remain forcing issues before the student body and continue attacking the incompetence of the administration and the apathy of the faculty. One very active Freedom Party worker, a girl, has dropped out of school and will work full-time as the Freedom Party executive secretary. I've enclosed a platform which you might be interested in.

This weekend Rick Stevens of NSA and Gene Geurreo (?) of SSOC will be here to plan a statewide conference—hopefully we can widen our base.

If you think the Florida Blue Key white-only program should be protested to the Civil Rights Commission, please let ~~me~~ us know—they use student government funds and also about $500 from the President's Office (of the U of F).

Sincerely,

Dan

Les,
I did this last Feb., 1965

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

(a brief summary of variouslstudent activities in the south)

Defunct
↓
(Now YES.)

Youth Educ. Serv.

North Carolina - The North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights

A. A series of Four films presenting the reasons behind demonstrations in N. Carolina and the essential aspirations of minority groups was made with the assistance of the Governor, Terry Sanford.

B. A tutorial program at present involving 10 colleges is the result of a jointly sponsored (NSA and NCICHR) fall conference on Tutorials.

C. An early April conference is planned for evaluation of the tutorials and to plan for summer projects.

D. VIGAH, or Volunteers in Giving a Helping Hand, U. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill group has tutorials, cooking classes for families receiving surplus food, an intra-fraternity playground clearance program; sponsors field trips, and has an adult night class specializing on literacy acheivement.

South Carolina - South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations

A. This long established group is directly responsible for 20 of the 26 Negro higher education students now attending previously all-white institutions in S.C.

B. Tutorial program involving the high students in Columbia. These students also have created their own bi-racial organizations and are affiliated with the cllege group.

C. Recruitment teams tour the state's all Negro high schools with information of opportunities for higher education available. Bi-racial teams make an impact.

D. Lobbying, under an alias, Students for Compusory School Education Legistlation is being done in an effort to re-instate the former law repealed in 1955.

Georgia - The Georgia Students for Human Rights.

(Defunct)

A. Conferences have been held to promote a state-wide organization; a fall mmeting will be followed with a March meeting to discuss the tutorial effort under way

B. Summer projects for students will include work in poverty areas throughout the state.

Florida - No state-wide organziation as yet, but several well-organized local campus groups, including a large chapter at the U. of Miami.

A. High school groups on the East coast of the state.

Not continued

B. Univ. of Florida group of 50-60 studnets are actively recruiting from Negro high schools.

C. Some studnets are helping find out the facts of poverty necessary before application for federal funds can be made.

D. A fund for a Negro football player has been started in an effort to bring Florida its first Negro player.

Tennessee - Activity has dropped in enthusiasm as groups adapt to other kinds of activities other than deomonstrations.

A. Knoxville Education Program has a tutorial, works in political action, tests public accomod ations, brings speakers to the Univ., is working on policies of academic freedom. It also has a publication.

B. A Joint Universtiy Council largely of Nashville schools sponsers contreversial speakers, Carl Braden spoke to an overflow crowd several weeksago. Capital punishment abelution is their primary goal at present.

C. Two colleges have week-end exchange groups and speaker sponsorship.

has held a conference

Virginia - The Jefferson Chapter ofthe Virginia Council on Human Rights

A. Panel discussion groups

B. Tutorials

C. 900 signed petitons and 60 supporting letters for a state-wide organizations

D. Plans for two state-wide meeting a year and a goal of chapters on all 44 campi.

Arkansas

Continue

A. Ferment over academic freedom after Bulgarian official was refused right to speak on Univ. of Ark. campus.

B. Essay contests held in local high school papers and awards given;

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

Houston

A fine high school council with over 100 students particiapting.

A. Tutorials

B. Panel discussions

C. Bus tours of the city in school buses showing the variety of living quarters.

Alabama

Nothing more

A. Essay contest held each Human Rights Day

B. Plans for a state-wide council under-way.

MINUTES OF THE MARCH 2, 1965 MEETING OF THE NORTH CAROLINA INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, ERDAHL-CLOYD STUDENT UNION BUILDING, NORTH CAROLINA STATE, RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA.

The meeting was called to order by the President, William Parker of Shaw University. The reading of the minutes from the last meeting (February 17, 1965) was waived. A reading of the treasurer's report showed a balance of seventy dollars ($70.00).

Mr. Parker next introduced the guest speaker for the meeting, Mrs. Helen Furman, Executive Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. Mrs. Furman first presented the problem of how to raise funds for the Intercollegiate Council's film series, "Minority Report". She stated that the N. C. Council on Human Relations is attempting to assist the Intercollegiate Council by asking for contributions from N.C.C.H.R. members. Mrs. Furman discussed the mechanics and purposes of the N. C. Council. She spoke of the three current projects of the N.C. Council:
(1.) placement service program (guidance counseling),
(2.) pre-school readiness program,
(3.) the newspaper, North Carolina Council Comment.

Mrs. Furman's talk was followed by a question and answer period.

The first order of business was the tutorial conference in Chapel Hill, March 26-28. Mrs. Nancy Elkins, representative of the Y.W.C.A. in Chapel Hill, spoke on the topics to be covered during the conference:
The Beginning Tutorial Program,
Improving the Tutorial Program,
The Pre-school Tutorial Program.

The North Carolina Council on Human Relations has offered to pay the Conference expenses of those members of the Intercollegiate Council who are to be used as unofficial consultants representing the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights. Members who are not requested to serve as consultants will be expected to meet at least part of their expenses.

There being no further business the meeting was adjourned to meet again on April 6, 1965 at 4:00 P. M.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING OF THE NORTH CAROLINA INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS: HODGES HALL, A. & T. COLLEGE, GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA, FEBRUARY 25, 1965.

The meeting was called to order at 3:15 P. M. by the President, William Parker of Shaw University.

The first item for discussion was the proposed Intercollegiate Council spring conference. Miss Jo McMakin suggested that delegates from the Council be sent to the YWCA Tutorial Conference at Chapel Hill on March 26-28. Mr. John Brooks, of the North Carolina Fund, stated that he felt we should combine efforts to make this Conference successful. Mrs. Nancy Elkins of the YWCA at Chapel Hill gave the Board information on the Conference: There will be several speakers, including Mr. Thurmond Harrison of the Philadelphia Tutorial Project, who served as a consultant at the Intercollegiate Council's fall conference at Wake Forest, workshop leaders and consultants. The Conference will be on different levels and cover various points of interest -- pre-school readiness programs; beginning a tutorial project; functions of a refined project. Lowell Dodge, of the North Carolina Advancement School, commented on the School's interest in the Conference. It was decided that some of the expenses of Intercollegiate Council members would be defrayed by the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, affiliate of the Intercollegiate Council.

The next item of business was the mentioning of new offices and officers for next fall by the President. Those he suggested are: General Chairmanship/Administrative Assistant to the President -- Cecil Butler, Press Secretary/Eastern Liaison to President -- Minnie White, Chairman Membership Committee -- Charlie Bugg.

The following item on the agenda was discussion of the possible creation of an advisory board. Miss McMakin suggested the need for such a board during transitional periods for financial assistance and advice. Mr. Parker stated that he will take the suggestion under advisement.

The agenda for the March 2, 1965 meeting was presented: Speaker -- Mrs. Helen A. Furman, Executive Director, N. C. Council on Human Relations, Speaker -- Mrs. Nancy Elkins, YM-YWCA Chapel Hill, Discussion of proposed advisory board.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 5:20 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,

Alice Walker
Secretary

Recd 3/23/65

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
OPPORTUNITY

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 19, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am writing to you at the request of John Ehle, of the Ford Foundation, who tells me of your interest in volunteer service activities for college students. John feels that you might be interested in our experience with the North Carolina Volunteers last year.

The program was an experiment to determine what services college students can contribute to short-term efforts supporting Community Action Projects against poverty. After a six-weeks recruiting period, which brought in 750 applications, the 100 top prospects were selected by a three-step screening process.

Published requirements for application to the Volunteers program stated simply that applicants must be North Carolina College students. This included both out-of-state students on North Carolina college campuses, and North Carolina natives going to out-of-state schools.

Those accepted for the program were from all college levels, from graduate students to college freshmen.

The students met for the first time in early June at Duke University, where they participated in a three-day orientation program.

Then, ten teams of ten members each, each team supervised by an adult advisor, moved into six North Carolina communities for eleven weeks of work.

Jobs for the volunteers were planned and assigned by existing service agencies, both public and private. The projects included programs in both urban and rural settings. Some volunteers could walk to their assignments, others had to drive 80 miles a day round trip to get to and from their work.

In actuality, many of the volunteers found that the public agencies had not planned specific tasks for them. Other volunteers found that the agencies had not planned appropriate tasks for volunteer services. So many volunteers asked for permission (and received it in most cases) to start their own programs of recreation, education and other services.

During the summer, North Carolina Volunteers drove bookmobiles to remote mountain areas, built and repaired houses, ran recreation programs, organized and taught adult literacy classes at night, assisted in the operation of day-care centers, worked in pre-school readiness programs, interviewed high school dropouts (for a motivation study) and did many other jobs. At the end of the summer program, each volunteer was given a $250 honorarium.

It is, of course, difficult to make any objective assessment of the accomplishments of the North Carolina Volunteers in the summer of 1964. It is obvious, however, that programs started by the volunteers have served to set a pace, and a visible example for community action programs now getting under way in the six communities in which the volunteers worked. For instance, in Laurinbrug, N. C. the North Carolina Volunteers, working in their spare time, started an adult literacy program that had involved 40 adults by the end of the summer. These classes were so successful and so much momentum had been created, that the community did not stop these classes at the end of the summer. School teachers volunteered to give two nights a week to continue the classes. Other community leaders decided the classes should be not only continued, but expanded. Now seven months later, there are 400 adults receiving instruction in this program, and it has spread from the original community into a two-county area.

Another example: in Craven county, one volunteer's spectacular success in surveying sanitation problems in a slum community and advising residents on possible corrective measures, resulted in the assignment of a VISTA trainee to the same task in the same neighborhood five months later. Eventually there will be full-time volunteers doing similar work in that neighborhood.

An often-overlooked but extremely important effect of the North Carolina Volunteer program was its effect on the lives of the 100 volunteers. These youngsters are of a caliber that assures their being community leaders in the very near future. It is likely that, having invested so much of their sweat and tears in North Carolina, they will be more apt to stay in their state after graduation. More important, those who do stay will have had a direct experience with problems of poverty--an experience that belies many of the old fables about poverty and the people of poverty. As community leaders, these volunteers will have a degree of experience and understanding that could have been acquired in no way other than this direct contact with problems of poverty. This long-range influence likely will be more effective in the total attack on poverty than any of the volunteers' specific on-the-job accomplishments last summer.

This year, the North Carolina Fund is sponsoring a second North Carolina Volunteer program to involve 250 students, working in 15 to 20 North Carolina communities.

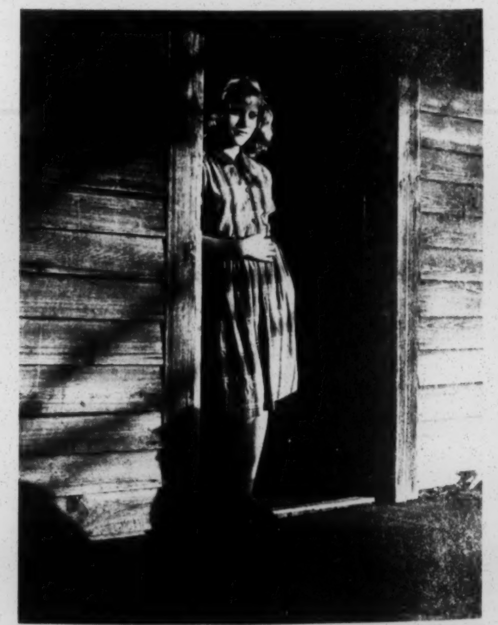
If you have any questions about either last year's program or this year's, do not hestitate to write.

Sincerely,

Billy E. Barnes
Public Information Director
The North Carolina Fund

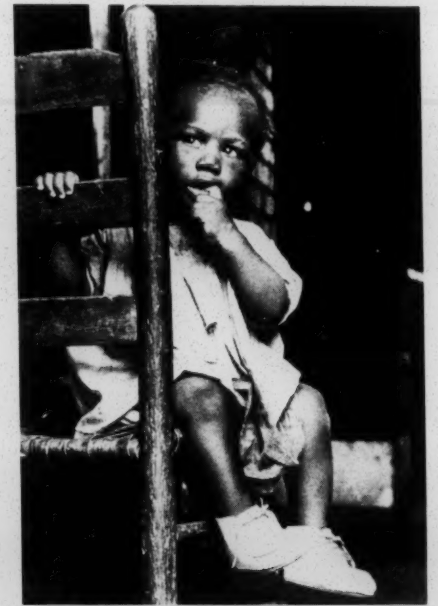
BEB/lp

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
OPPORTUNITY



FOR THE PEOPLE OF POVERTY

A NEW SOURCE OF HOPE



NORTH CAROLINA FUND

OPPORTUNITY

In this decade, Americans have come to the abrupt realization that, in a nation with a heritage of prosperity, and self-reliance, and respect for the worth of the individual, one out of five Americans lives a life of dependence, and self-doubt, living from day to day, underclothed and underfed, and ignored.

While the country spends billions on research in heart disease, mental illness, and moon-rocket development, the causes and cures of poverty have been all but ignored in our time.

Believing that every American deserves an opportunity to make his own way in competition with his fellow Americans, and believing that there are sources of support in this country to experiment with new ways to offer these opportunities to left-out Americans, a group of interested North Carolina citizens, in 1963, established the North Carolina Fund.

The North Carolina Fund is a private, non-profit corporation with headquarters in Durham, N. C. It operates under grants totalling $9.5 million, from three sources—The Ford Foundation ($7 million), the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation ($1,625,000), and the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation ($875,000). Its five-year program of experiments and demonstrations will receive matching support from participating communities and state agencies, bringing total initial backing to at least $14 million.

Former Governor Terry Sanford is the Fund's board chairman; C. A. McKnight, editor of the Charlotte Observer, is president; George H. Esser, Jr. is executive director.

The ingredients of a successful community action program include new and special efforts in education, health and welfare services, manpower training, housing improvement, and other basic programs. But these programs must be coordinated in a total program specifically tailored to the needs of disadvantaged people in each individual community. The aim must be to give every child, and every adult, the chance to develop his talents, find opportunity and become a productive and self-reliant citizen.

As a start toward selecting a few communities for project areas, and planning comprehensive programs for those areas, the North Carolina Fund invited every county in the state to examine the problems of its disadvantaged families, and submit a proposed program for attacking those problems. The Fund said a successful proposal must:

Reflect community-wide understanding of problems faced by families living in poverty.

Review existing programs dealing with those problems.

Define the newly-proposed program's short and long-range goals.

Include several ideas for experimental programs promising to attack the root causes of poverty, thus making people more self-reliant and better able to assume productive roles in the community.

Describe how community agencies, governmental units, and other local forces would work together to administer the project.

Submit a plan for financing the experimental program and a plan for evaluating its results.

Submit a plan for continuing the program once the North Carolina Fund's resources are exhausted.

Name one to four small areas within the community as target sites for experimental action.

In North Carolina, the county is the basic unit for administration of health, education, and welfare programs. So, the Fund established the county as a minimum-size community unit for submitting a proposal. Counties in sparsely-populated areas were encouraged to form multi-county action units.

In February, 1964, the North Carolina Fund received 51 proposals, involving 66 counties. After careful analysis of each proposal, and in-person visits to each of the 51 communities, the Fund's Board of Directors selected eleven communities (involving 20 counties) for initial grants.

The eleven were:

URBAN-RURAL

1. Nash and Edgecombe counties
2. Craven county
3. Richmond, Robeson, and Scotland counties
4. Rowan county

RURAL

5. Wautauga, Avery, Mitchell, and Yancey counties
6. Macon county
7. Bertie, Halifax, Northampton, and Hertford counties

URBAN

8. Forsyth county
9. Mecklenburg county
10. Durham county
11. Buncombe county

These eleven community projects are receiving grants and supportive services from the North Carolina Fund.

However, in addition to guidance and support for these 11 projects, the Fund supports many other programs which tie in with programs in the 11 key projects.

THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM is administered by the State Board of Education, and financed by $2 million from the North Carolina Fund, plus $2 million in state funds. This program is a statewide experiment to develop better ways of teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic in the primary grades.

NORTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS is a Peace Corps-style organization experimenting with use of college students during the summer in community projects.

COMMUNITY ACTION TECHNICIANS is a North Carolina Fund program for recruiting and training young people sensitive to social problems; for service in communities which have action programs dealing with poverty.

THE LEARNING INSTITUTE OF NORTH CAROLINA is a state-level, research and program development agency working in the field of education. The North Carolina Fund is one of the Institute's four sponsors.

When the Economic Opportunity Act was passed in August, 1964, the North Carolina Fund's activities and potential were at once broadened and increased. Many Fund-supported community action projects already have requested, and have been granted, funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity. This action is in keeping with the Fund's original intent to use its own resources as "seed money" to help

communities make maximum use of all resources—local, state, or federal—in their experimental programs.

The Fund also acts as a training center for professionals in community development. Twenty-five Community Services Consultants, working in a program administered through the North Carolina Department of Public Welfare, are being trained by the North Carolina Fund. These consultants are being assigned to communities that originally submitted proposals to the North Carolina Fund but were not selected for major Fund support.

The North Carolina Fund is an idea-development agency as well as a source of funds and information. For example, a unique proposal for combatting rural unemployment problems recently has been funded by a federal Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training grant of $1.1 million.

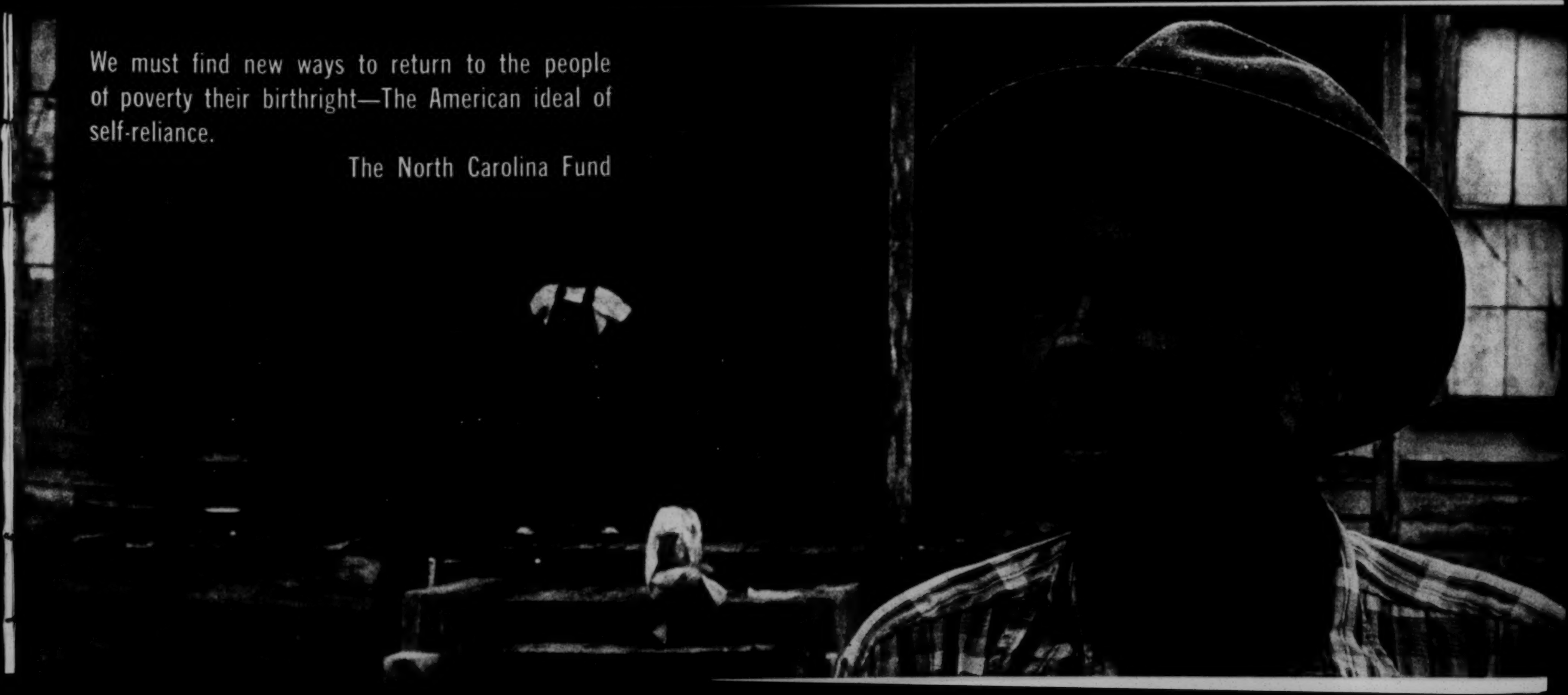
Because of its advanced position in the national move against poverty, the Fund was chosen to plan and administer the nation's first training program for Volunteers In Service to America (a part of the federal Economic Opportunity Program), and to develop publicity materials for national VISTA recruiting.

The North Carolina Fund's lifespan is five years. After that time, hopefully, North Carolina communities will have seen enough results, and the people in poverty will have had enough opportunities opened to them, so that the programs begun by the Fund will be continued by the communities themselves.

At the same time, other communities in the state and the nation can learn from the experience, and be encouraged by the accomplishments, of these eleven community action experiments.

We must find new ways to return to the people of poverty their birthright—The American ideal of self-reliance.

The North Carolina Fund



[illegible] Directors

[illegible] Board Chairman
[illegible] of North Carolina, 1960-64
[illegible] North Carolina

[illegible] A. McKnight, *President*
Editor, The Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina

John H. Wheeler, *Treasurer*
President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

[illegible] Jr.
[illegible]
[illegible] North Carolina

[illegible] Cone
[illegible]
Asheville, North Carolina

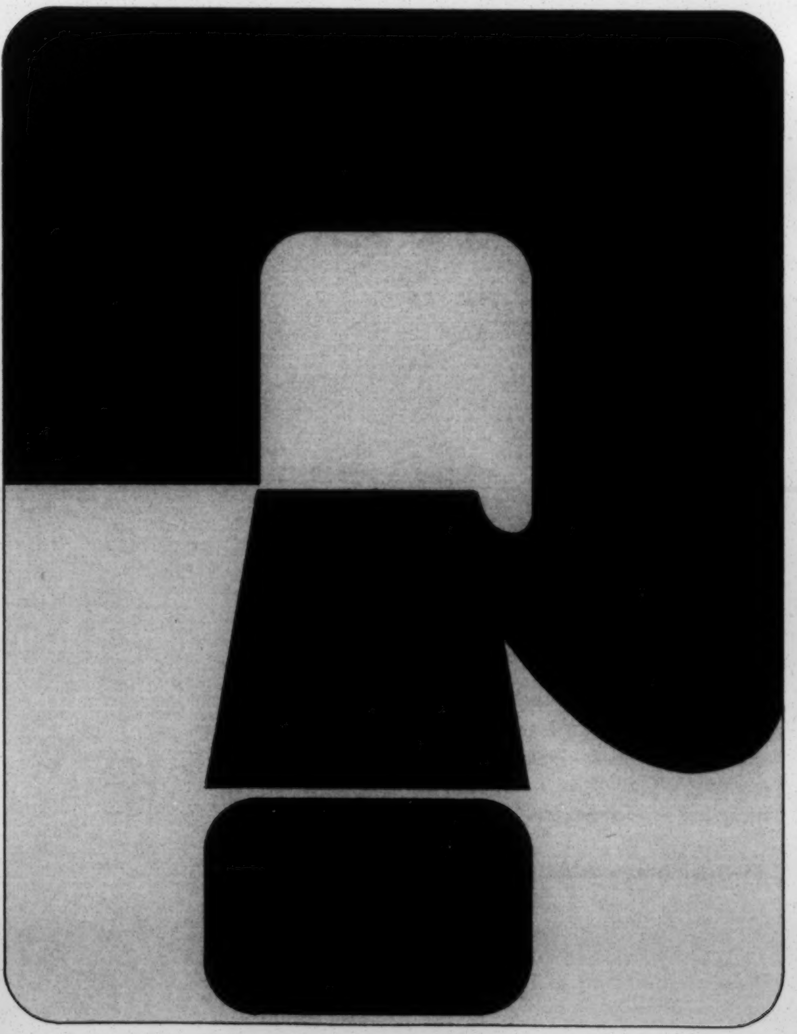
Dr. Samuel Duncan
President, Livingstone College
Salisbury, North Carolina

Dr. Hollis Edens
Exec. Director, Mary Reynolds
Babcock Foundation
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Mrs. [illegible]

[illegible] North Carolina [illegible]

DO YOU MEASURE UP



IF **you care about people and their problems,**

IF **you feel a need to give, instead of just getting,**

IF **you like hitting old problems with fresh solutions;**

Nothing . . . .

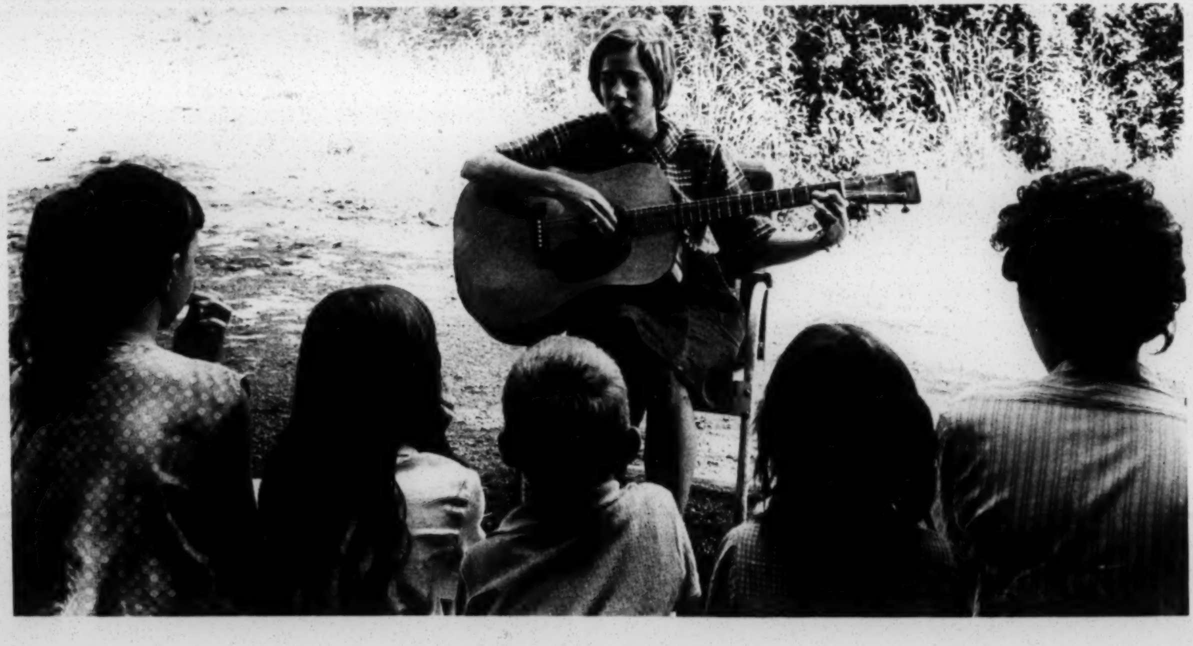
NOTHING. . . . . .

NOTHING CAN TOP A SUMMER OF SERVICE WITH THE NORTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS

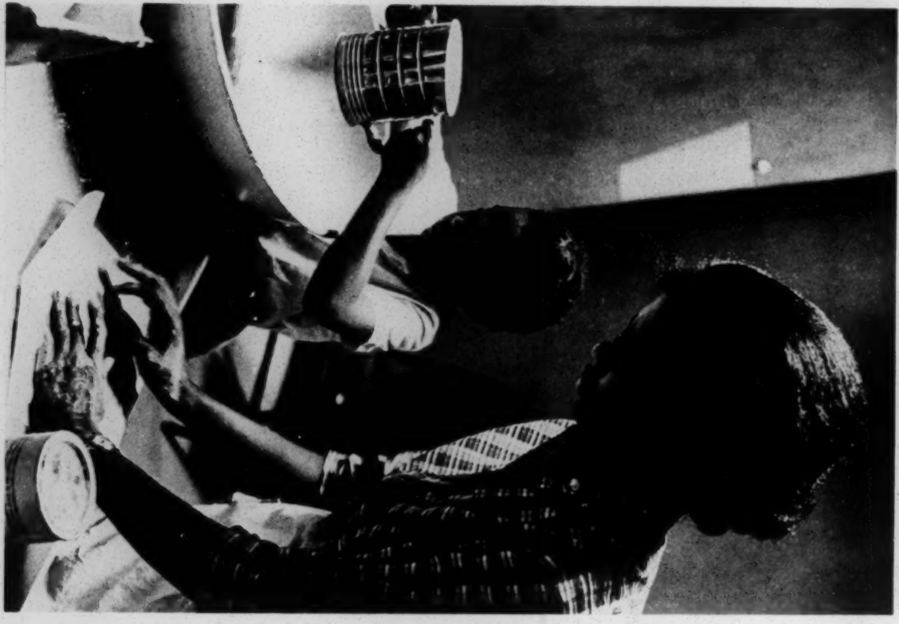
Can college students successfully go out into North Carolina communities, start programs, and stimulate local citizens to carry on after the students leave?

You can help to answer this question. You can be the spark that starts a program in welfare, education, health, or other services to help North Carolina's 400,000 disadvantaged families regain their self-reliance, and self-respect.

No experience is required. But you must have the heart and the will to go out and work with people, wherever they happen to be.



Last summer, the North Carolina Volunteers:
Built a house for a Carteret County family that had no decent place to live;
Got 35 adults started in a literacy-learning program in Laurinburg;
Gave pre-school training to hundreds of disadvantaged children all over North Carolina;
Brought love and affection and understanding to a class of mentally retarded children in Winston-Salem;
Drove bookmobiles all over the North Carolina mountains, bringing the outside world to isolated families.



To obtain an application, complete the information required on this form and return to North Carolina Volunteers.

Name ______________________ Marital Status
Last First Middle Single Married

College ______________________ Number of quarters completed / semesters completed ____

College Mailing Address ______________________

City and State ______________________

Mail to:

NORTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS
P. O. BOX 687
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

NORTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS
P.O.BOX 687
DURHAM, N.C.

The North Carolina Volunteers will report for orientation on June 13, and stay at their assignments for a total of 11 weeks, after which each Volunteer will receive a $250 honorarium. Volunteers will work in teams, under the direction of adult advisors, and local public-service agencies. Teams will be located in fifteen North Carolina communities, in all parts of the state.

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
VOLUNTEERS

There is poverty in every North Carolina county. These communities need your energies and ideas to get things started that promise better tomorrows for this state's 400,000 left-out families. They don't need a handout. They need a hand-hold on opportunity. Then they can stand on their own feet.

Fill in the application form. You may never have a better chance to prove to yourself that you have something to give. Applications must be mailed by March 31.

TUTORIAL CONFERENCE

MARCH 26-28 1965
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

Jointly
SPONSORED BY:
The Southern Region of the National Student YWCA
The North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights
The North Carolina Council on Human Relations

WHEN? Conference registration and tutorial library browsing center open at 1:00pm Friday, March 26.
Final Session Sunday morning, March 28, 9 to 10:30am.
Conferees will be invited to join the churches of Chapel Hill for Sunday morning worship at 11:00am.

WHERE? The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Registration will be at the YM-YWCA Building in the Center of the campus.

WHAT? The Tutorial Conference will include workshops for:

1. Pre-school work: aimed to help those who wish to learn more about possible work at this important level, considered to be the ultimate focal point for reaching youngsters, to help them to be ready for school.

2. Introduction to Tutorials: aimed to help those students who wish to begin a tutorial project at either elementary or junior-senior high levels. Discussions will include organization, recruiting, location, community relations, and tutor training.

3. Improvement of Tutorial Projects: aimed to help students refine and improve existing tutoring projects. Discussions will include refining the mechanics, developing materials, and on-going tutor training. Considerable opportunity will be given to exchange ideas with students who may have achieved a solution to your particular tutorial problem.

Mr. Lowell Dodge, staff member in charge of tutoring at the North Carolina Advancement School in Winston-Salem, has been very helpful to the planning committee and will offer the keynote address Friday evening. Mr. Dodge, a recent graduate of Yale, has been involved in the leadership of tutorial programs at Yale, in Washington, D.C. (Northern Student Movement), and in Los Angeles (Western Student Movement), before coming to take charge of the Advancement School program.

Other Program Features:
The Saturday evening address will be given by one of the leaders in North Carolina's recent innovations to improve state-wide education. An informal event is planned for Saturday evening also. Bring your guitars and singing voices.

WHO? Any person related to a college tutorial project or who represents a group interested in tutoring projects.

It is suggested that a team of 3 to 5 students represent each school or tutorial project. At least one person from each team is encouraged to participate in the pre-school set of workshops to gain insight into possible new avenues of student person-to-person help in the educational process.

Faculty and Advisors welcome as well.

COST? Expenses will be borne by the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights, through the assistance of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

NOTE: This Conference has been developed in part as a follow-up to the Conference last November at Wake Forest. S^T^udents who participated in that Conference will be able to build over and above the content of that Conference. Students who did not go to the Wake Forest Conference, however, will be able to attend sessions valuable to them as well.

HOPE TO SEE YOU THERE!

REGISTRATION FORM
Tutorial Conference -'65
Chapel Hill
March 26-28

We intend to send__________women delegates and ______men delegates to the Tutorial Conference. We are able___ unable_____ at this moment to indicate their names.

Note: Expenses will be borne by the North Carolina Inter-Collegiate Council for Human Rights, through the assistance of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

Signed________________________

School________________________

If names are available at this date, list here:

1.______________________ 3.______________________

2.______________________ 4.______________________

Mailing Address ______________________________

____

Please use space below to describe your project plan and problems (if your tutorial is now operating):

SPONSORED BY:
The Southern Region of the National Student YWCA
The North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights
The North Carolina Council on Human Relations

THE
NATION
1865 Centennial Year 1965

MAY 10, 1965 . . 35c

The Student Left

Revolt Without Dogma

Jack Newfield

BEHIND THE CRIME SCARE

George Shadoan

THE GREAT SOCIETY: AN OLD NEW DEAL

Stephen W. Rousseas

BE WEAK AND WIN

A Review by Stephen Potter

ably frank about his purpose. "I have attacked the conduct of many of the participants," he told his colleagues, "for several reasons, one of which is to rip away the façade of righteousness, smugness and respectability erroneously attributed to them, which allowed them to invade my home town and my state like a swarm of rats leaving an overturned hayrick."

Eight clergymen and a Catholic nun promptly called a press conference in Washington to refute the charges. Sister Mary Leoline, B.V.M., of Kansas City, said she found the conduct of the marchers beyond reproach. Letters from clergymen of all faiths, from all regions, have been pouring in to their Representatives, who obligingly place them in the *Congressional Record.* In the face of this avalanche of protest, the attempt to sling mud has backfired. But this will not stop the campaign to discredit the civil rights movement. The most likely next step will be to split the movement. Informers will be used; plants, masquerading as supermilitants, are doubtless at work even now. Every effort will be made to isolate the movement by pushing it out of the mainstream of American protest. At the same time, renewed attempts will be made to keep civil rights within the American consensus, to tame and discipline it. In fact, its momentum may be more impeded by the attempt to domesticate it than by the attempt to smear it. Fortunately, the movement has so deeply stirred the conscience of the nation (see articles by George B. Leonard, p. 502, and Jack Newfield, p. 491, this issue) that neither effort is likely to succeed.

What Time Have You Got?

On Sunday, April 25, some 100 million Americans in twenty states advanced their clocks, thereby gaining a daily hour of light until the clocks are turned back on the last Sunday in October. But as the Transportation Association of America points out, these 100 million Americans were out of step with the other 80 million Americans who either shifted to D.S.T. at other times (or haven't shifted yet but intend to when they are good and ready), and that segment which remains on what the farmers call "God's time." There is nothing divine about standard time, actually. The existing time zones were set up in 1883 by the railroads, whose conduct, in that era, was anything but godly in some cases. Prior to that sensible innovation, there were some 100 railroad "standard" times —eight different ones in Pittsburgh alone.

In 1918, Congress passed legislation making the railroad time zones official and charging the Interstate Commerce Commission with settling boundary disputes. The ICC still holds this authority, but daylight saving, of which most Americans approve, has thrown U.S. timekeeping into confusion. Atomic clocks can now divide one second into 100 billion precisely equal parts. Time-measuring devices can be set so exactly that two of them would diverge not more than one second in 5,000 years. Yet, according to Dr. William Markowitz of the U.S. Naval Observatory, the United States remains "the world's worst timekeeper."

It is a case of a good principle leading to a bad result. Americans treasure local option in all things, but when it comes to time, uniformity is more important than local whims. No one wants to force daylight-saving time on communities which do not desire it, but at least those that do could agree on uniform starting and ending dates. A bill before the Senate Commerce Committee, S. 1404, would make the last Sunday of April and the last Sunday of October mandatory for the transitions. If that is accomplished, perhaps in the distant future daylight-saving time or standard time can be made state-wide propositions. It would eliminate the untold confusion that now afflicts the railroads, the airlines, the telephone companies and a great many innocent users of these facilities.

Revolt Without Dogma

THE STUDENT LEFT

Jack Newfield

The first one now will be the last
for the times they are a changin'.
Bob Dylan

A new generation of radicals has been spawned from the chrome womb of affluent America. Any lingering doubts about this evaporated last month when 20,000 of the new breed pilgrimaged to Washington, D.C., to demand a negotiated peace in Vietnam.

These were the boys and girls who freedom-rode to Jackson; who rioted against HUAC; who vigiled for Caryl Chessman; who picketed against the Bomb; who invaded Mississippi last summer; and who turned Berkeley into an academic Selma. They are a new generation of dissenters, nourished not by Marx, Trotsky, Stalin or Schachtman but by Camus, Paul Goodman, Bob Dylan and SNCC—the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Their revolt is not only against capitalism but against the values of middle-class America: hypocrisy called Brotherhood Week; assembly lines called colleges; conformity called status; bad taste called Camp, and quiet desperation called success.

At the climax of the Washington march, arms linked and singing *We Shall Overcome*, were the veterans of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, freshmen from small Catholic colleges, clean-shaven in-

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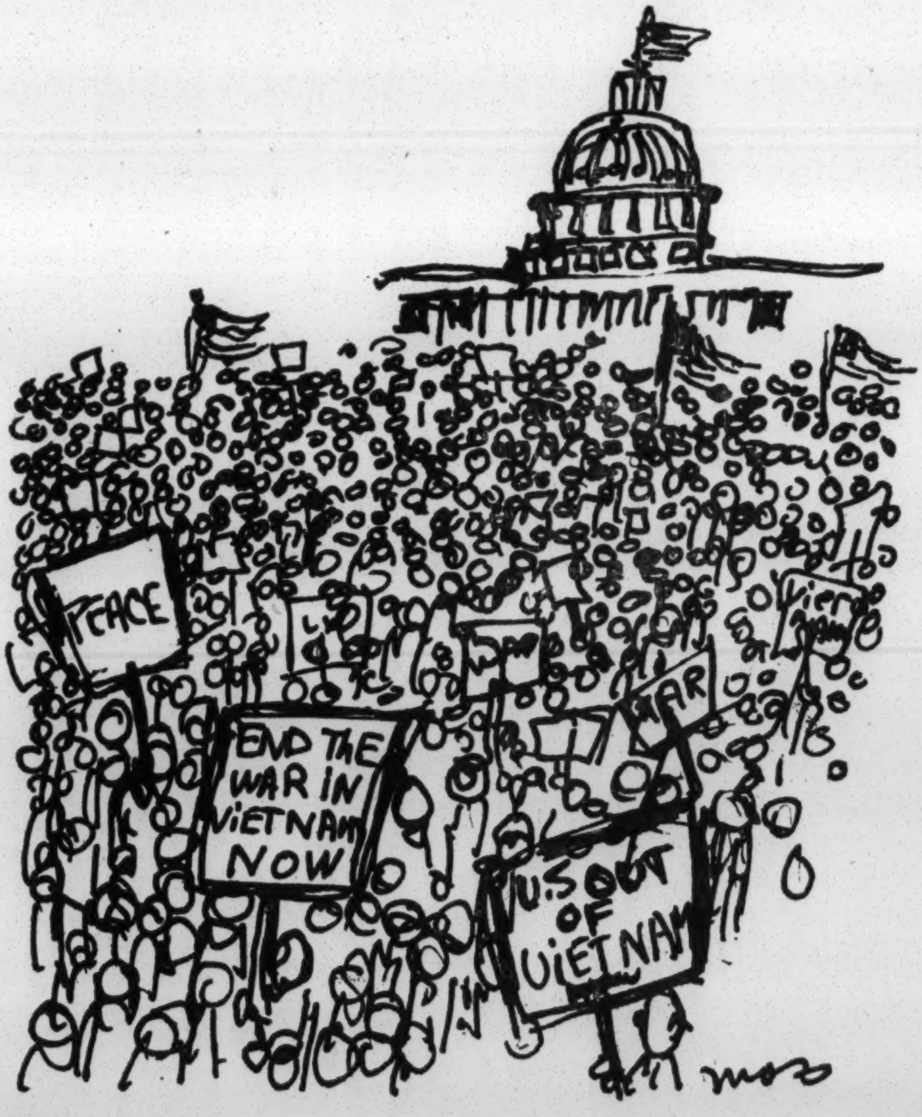
Jack Newfield is an assistant editor of The Village Voice, *New York.*

tellectuals from Ann Arbor and Cambridge, the fatigued shock troops of SNCC, Iowa farmers, impoverished urban Negroes organized by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), beautiful high school girls without make-up, and adults, many of them faculty members, who journeyed to Washington for a demonstration conceived and organized by students.

During the rally they heard the visionary voices of the new radicalism: Staughton Lynd, a young professor at Yale, who explained why he wasn't paying his income tax this year; Paul Potter, the brilliant president of SDS, who told them they must construct a social movement that will "change our condition"; Bob Parris, the poet-revolutionary of SNCC, who urged: "Don't use the South as a moral lightning rod; use it as a looking glass to see what it tells you about the whole country." And there were Joan Baez and Judy Collins to sing the poems of Bob Dylan.

This is literally a New Left—in style, mystique, momentum, tactics and vision. As Potter said in Washington: "The reason there are 20,000 of us here today is that five years ago a social movement was begun by students in the South." The two other major student groups of the New Left—SDS and the Northern Student Movement (NSM)—have no roots in the organizations and dogmas of the 1930s. The student groups affiliated with the old sects—Communist, Trotskyist and Socialist—remain small and isolated and are seen by the New Left as elitist, doctrinaire and manipulative. The enthusiasts of SNCC and SDS do not engage in sterile, neurotic debates over Kronstadt or the pinpoints of Marxist doctrine. They are thoroughly indigenous radicals: tough, democratic, independent, creative, activist, unsentimental.

Many of the new dissenters are philosophy students, like Bob Parris and Berkeley's Mario Savio, rather than economics and political science students. Their deepest concerns seem to be human freedom and expression. Their favorite song is *Do When the Spirit Say Do,* and their favorite slogan is, "One Man, One Vote." One phrase that they use a great deal is "participatory democracy," and they sing a chorus of *Oh Freedom* that says "no more leaders over me." At a SNCC-SDS organizers' institute on the eve of the Washington march, the young revolutionaries wrote poetry on the walls.



During the 1950s, the only symptom of campus disquiet was the Beat orthodoxy of pot and passivity. The Beats sensed that something was wrong with the America of brinkmanship, payola and green stamps, but lacked the energy and seriousness to do anything about it. So they withdrew into their own antisocial, nonverbal subculture to read the "spontaneous bop prosody" of Jack Kerouac. The magazines—middle-brow and slick—of the late 1950s were glutted with sociological hand-wringing about campus catatonia and excessive student concern with home, job and marriage. The label "The Silent Generation" was pinned and it stuck.

Nobody signed petitions. "It might hurt you later on," explained students weaned on McCarthyism. In 1959, Clark Kerr, President of the University of California, wrote with prophetic irony: "The employers will love this generation; they are not going to press many grievances. . . . They are going to be easy to handle. There aren't going to be any riots."

Most of the new radicals date the birth of their movement from the first student lunch-counter sit-in at Greensboro, N. C., on February 1, 1960. In the days that followed, this pacifist tactic of nonviolent direct action, which was to become the hallmark of their rebellion, spread spontaneously throughout the middle South—to Nashville, to Raleigh, to Atlanta. During the 1960 Easter vacation, 300 young Negroes, plus a few whites, assembled on the campus of Shaw University at Raleigh to found the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Roused by the first dramatic wave of sit-in demonstrations, students across the country turned to political action in the spring of 1960. Thousands marched on picket lines for the first time in their lives, in front of Northern branches of Woolworth and Kress department stores. Outside San Quentin, hundreds made vigil in a chill drizzle to protest the execution of Caryl Chessman. In San Francisco, thousands engaged in a riot against hearings conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In New York City, several thousand high school and college students refused to take shelter during a mock city-wide air-raid drill.

What began as an ethical revolt against the immorality of segregation, war and the death penalty, grew slowly during the next few years and began to take on political and economic flesh. Spurred by Michael Harrington's *The Other America*, the student movement began to leave the campus to confront the economic roots of racism and poverty. Some went to Hazard, Ky., to work with striking coal miners; others abandoned graduate school and promising careers to join SNCC or work with SDS and the NSM in organizing the black ghettos of the North.

Today, SNCC stands as the first monument built by the New Left. From its improvised beginnings in a single dreary room in Atlanta, SNCC has grown up to have 260 full-time field secretaries in the South, who work for subsistence wages. SNCC has become a magnet, pulling the entire civil rights movement to the left, pushing the NAACP out of the courtroom and into the streets, and fortifying Martin Luther King's redemptive love with social vision. SNCC's first sit-ins compelled the Supreme Court to revolutionize its definition of private property. SNCC's fertile imagination has generated the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). And SNCC's special quality of nobility tinged with madness first cracked the tradition-laden surface of Mississippi to make it a national disgrace.

SNCC has also been the crucible of much of the evolving humanist-anarchist philosophy of the new radicals: the idea that people don't need leaders; grass-roots organizing among the very poor; Quaker-like communitarian democracy.

SNCC's Bob Parris is so much an exile from leadership that he dropped his well-publicized last name of Moses last February and left Mississippi, where he was the first SNCC worker, to go to Birmingham to "talk to my neighbors." Says Parris: "The people on the bottom don't need leaders at all. What they need is the confidence in their own worth and identity to make decisions about their own lives."

Jimmy Garrett, writing in SNCC's April newsletter, expanded on the theory of egalitarian leadership:

> *We are taught that it takes qualifications like college education, or "proper English" or "proper dress" to lead people. These leaders can go before the press and project a "good image" to the nation and to the world. But after a while the leaders can only talk to the press and not with the people. They can only talk about problems as they see them—not as the people see them. And they can't see the problems any more because they are always in news conferences, "high level" meetings or negotiations. So leaders speak on issues many times which do not relate to the needs of the people. . . .*

Within SNCC, which has no membership, only staff, a Quaker style of consent has evolved, whereby decisions are delayed until the dissenting minority is won over. Occasionally this method causes observers from traditional liberal organizations to despair of SNCC's anarchy and confusion.

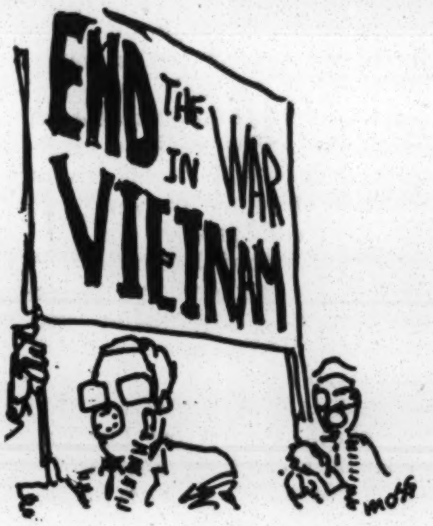
As for mounting insinuations of Communist influence within SNCC, Garrett says:

> *Man, the Communists, they're empty man, empty. They've got the same stale ideas, the same bureaucracy. . . . When he gets mixed up with us, a Commie dies and a person develops. They're not subverting us, we're subverting them.*

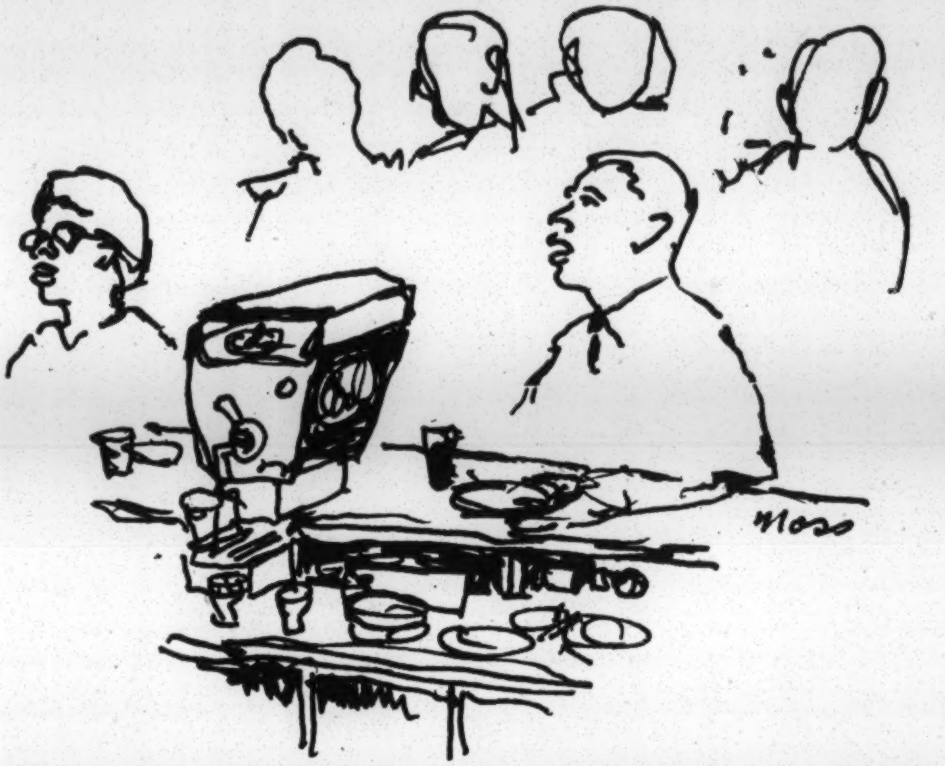
Like most of the New Left, SNCC is a-Communist rather than anti-Communist or pro-Communist.

Though less well known than SNCC, Students for a Democratic Society appears to be the most influential New Left group outside the South. On March 19, SDS organized a sit-in at the Chase Manhattan Bank on Wall Street to protest the bank's loans to the Union of South Africa, and forty-nine people were arrested. The April 17th Vietnam march, sponsored by SDS, attracted students from approximately 100 different campuses. And this summer about 500 SDS members will live in eight Northern cities where SDS projects are attempting to organize poor Negroes and poor whites into a populist coalition of the dispossessed.

In 1962, when it was reconstituted after a long period of inactivity, SDS was dominated by graduate students, meetings were conducted in sociological jargon, and the membership included many ADA-oriented liberals. Today, SDS has about sixty formal chapters and fifty staff members and has evolved a way-out foreign policy that opposes the West in Vietnam, the Congo and much of Latin America. Since these positions have not been accompanied by equal criticism of the Eastern-bloc nations, SDS has come into increasing conflict with its parent organization, the League for Industrial Democracy, which is dominated by social democrats and dependent on trade-union financing. SDS has also shifted its emphasis from campus recruiting to ghetto organizing and, in general, comes under SNCC's egalitarian and proletarian mystique. The group, however, has not lost its original intellectuality. President Paul Potter divides his time between graduate school and the ghetto project in Cleveland. Past President Tom Hayden, who did graduate work at the University of Michigan, is now an organizer in Newark. And one of the SDS organizers in Chicago is Richard Rothstein, a 21-year-old Harvard graduate and a former Fulbright scholar at the London School of Economics.


END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
moff

One of the major problems now confronting SDS is the role of those students who revivified it in 1962 and who are now 24 to 26 years old. While they are eager for the newer recruits to become leaders, they themselves have no adult organization into which they can graduate. Lately, the SDS internal bulletin has been filled with soul-searching essays on whether one can be a radical within his chosen profession, or whether a true radical must devote his whole life to revolutionary organizing. The long-range impact of the New Left may ultimately hang on whether or not the new crusaders can fashion in the next few years a new radical, national organization into which students can be funneled.



The Northern Student Movement started in 1962 as a band of students involved in the dual programs of fund raising on campuses for the movement in the South and of running tutorial programs for Negro school children in the North. Gradually NSM realized that the tutorial approach "treats symptoms without affecting causes," and today its field projects in Harlem, Boston, Hartford, Detroit and Philadelphia are engaged in rent strikes, block-by-block organizing and attacks on middle-class control of the war on poverty.

NSM executive director William Strickland, who wrote his Master's thesis on Malcolm X, insists: "We're not a New Left because we're not interested in a guy's memorizing Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution or some Stalinist with a line. We're interested in creating new forms and new institutions, like the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. We're interested in liberating energy, in people affecting the decisions that control their lives. Call us the New Democrats, or the New Realists."

Like most movements, the new radicalism has generated its own extremist fringe—a Pot Left, or perhaps more precisely, a Pop Left. This extremist tail of the New Left is seen in its most advanced form in the new bohemia of the East Village, in New York, although Berkeley's Dirty Speech Movement appears to have the flavor.

It is in the East Village that several thousand dropouts from society have coalesced to cheer LeRoi Jones's scorn for Mickey Schwerner and Andrew Goodman; to join the Peking splinter, the Progressive Labor Movement; to confuse drugs and homosexuality with political actions, to buy "Support the National Liberation Front" buttons for a quarter.

So far the Pop Left seems far more interested in style, shock and exhibitionism than in any serious program, Maoist or otherwise. Their gurus, playwright LeRoi Jones and writer Marc Schleifer, put SNCC down as nonviolent and middle class; Schleifer claims he is "left of anything that exists in the world today," and that "Khrushchev is the symbol of white liberalism." They'll picket to legalize marijuana, but not for much else.

Determined to write their own philosophy and their own history, the new insurgents have become isolated from all previous generations of American dissenters. Already many of the 1930s revisionist liberals, once burned by Stalinism, have issued polemics of scorn and skepticism against the New Left. John Roche, former chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, accused the student zealots as early as 1962 of "naïveté about the intentions of the Soviet Union," and of "escapism and otherworldliness." Other Polonius-styled essays have followed from Daniel Bell, Max Lerner, Lewis Coser, Nathan Glazer, Irving Howe—and, of course, Sidney Hook, who recently issued a stern rebuke to the Berkeley insurrectionists. Many of the same writers and critics who recently eulogized the dead wobbies excoriate the much less violent SNCC workers.

Unfortunately, these unfounded attacks, plus a fierce identity of generation, have maneuvered the students into estrangement from the handful of radicals who fought so bravely through the 1950s, so that there might be a New Left today. Immediate predecessors like Socialists Bayard Rustin and Michael Harrington are repudiated on the absurd ground that they have "sold out to the Establishment"—Rustin because he supported the 1964 moratorium on street demonstrations and the compromise offered the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the 1964 Democratic Convention, and Harrington because he is a consultant to Sargent Shriver and Walter Reuther. The new radicals also reject the Rustin-Harrington theory that social change is achieved by an institutionalized coalition of church, labor, Negro and liberal groups reforming the Democratic Party. The New Left sees institutions like the NAACP and the UAW as essentially impotent and believes that social progress can be won only by insurgent forces disrupting society.

The few older figures whom the new generation seems to respect come out of the radical pacifist tradition—men like Paul Goodman and the 80-year-old A. J. Muste. The once strong influence of C. Wright Mills appears to have diminished since his death in 1962. And although they have a great hidden admiration for Martin Luther King, the young anti-heroes do recoil from the "cult of personality" that has sprung up around the Nobel laureate.

Five years ago, academics and liberals hunted frantically for heirs to the flickering torch of American radicalism. Now that a new generation has finally materialized, the liberals suddenly wish it were more domesticated, more anti-Communist, more middle class and less anti-liberal.

The strategists of the emerging radicalism dream of an anti-Establishment alliance of Southern Negroes, students, poor whites, ghetto Negroes, indigenous protest movements and SNCC—all constituting an independent power base of millions. Most likely they will fail in this utopian vision; certainly they will blunder as they grope for it. Perhaps the final impact of their rebellion will be small. But the impulse that drives them into the lower depths of America is the same one that motivated the Abolitionists and the wobblies. Like the anarchist strikers at Lawrence, Mass., in 1912, the new radicals want "bread and roses too."

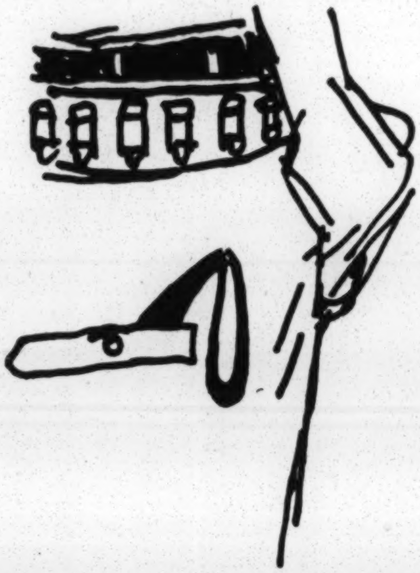
Behind the Crime Scare . . . . . .

George Shadoan

President Johnson's March 8, 1965, message to the Congress of the United States begins:

> *Crime is a malignant enemy in America's midst.*
>
> *Since 1940, the crime rate in this country has doubled. It has increased five times as fast as our population since 1958.*

J. Edgar Hoover tells us that the streets in our large cities are as paths in a jungle. The news media inform us in detail how a Long Island woman was slowly murdered by a maniac, as neighbors who "didn't want to become involved" looked on. New York subways are taken over at night by juvenile gangs who assault and kill innocent passengers. Crime statistics trumpet the continuing spiral of our degeneration. Police officials plead to be released from the shackles of the Supreme Court. We are called upon to support laws which will restrain the Court, release the police, and put the criminals in jail where they belong. Otherwise the nation will be destroyed. But the facts do not accord with this outcry, and a clarification of the real nature of the crime problem, the basis for the attack upon the courts, and the historical significance of the controversy is the purpose of this article.



Violence sells newspapers as well as television programs. Ever-mounting statistics lead us to believe that the streets are swarming with vicious criminals waiting to rape and kill. It is encouraging to note signs of resistance to this propaganda. James V. Bennett, before retiring from his quarter-century reign over the federal prison system, reported in a 1964 article, "A Cool Look at the Crime Crisis": "There is reason to believe that progress is being made in controlling crime if we study the data in depth. For example, in the past 30-odd years, the homicide rate has been cut in half, dropping from 8.9 per 100,000 of our civilian population in 1930 to 5.1 in 1962. The actual number of homicides declined for a time from the 10,500 that were recorded in 1930, and later rose again. In 1962 the total reached only 9,500 although the population had increased 50 per cent since 1930. We may conclude that the life of the ordinary citizen is a good deal safer than it used to be—despite the contrary impression created by the headlines." He also noted that despite public furor over the increase in bank robberies, the number of such crimes had decreased from 609 in 1932 to 461 in 1962, in which years the number of banks had increased by 5,300.

An N.B.C. White Paper of April 6 set forth even more pertinent figures. For example, the vast majority of homicides are the result of family disputes. The overwhelming percentage of aggravated assaults are husband-wife fights, which are not prosecuted because the wife refuses to prefer charges. Most thefts and crimes of violence are intraracial. Auto theft accounts for a considerable share of the FBI's "serious crime" category which has shown such an alarming increase in recent years, and these thefts are in fact mostly "joy rides" — temporary thefts by juveniles. The absolute increase in crime reflects, among other things, the fact that the post-World War II baby boom has reached adolescence—the age group accounting for the highest percentage of criminal behavior — rather than that moral values are disintegrating.

Throughout the nation, voices of other lawyers, criminologists, sociologists and some policemen are becoming audible in their dissent from the prevailing view. Historians agree that previous generations have been incontestably more lawless. It is also relevant that the general prison population of the country is declining, although the general population is rising. This could reflect leniency on the part of our courts, but does it?

The allegation that the Supreme Court has strait jacketed state and federal police has been widely spread and believed. And restrictions have been imposed upon the police despite protests that complete breakdown in law enforce-

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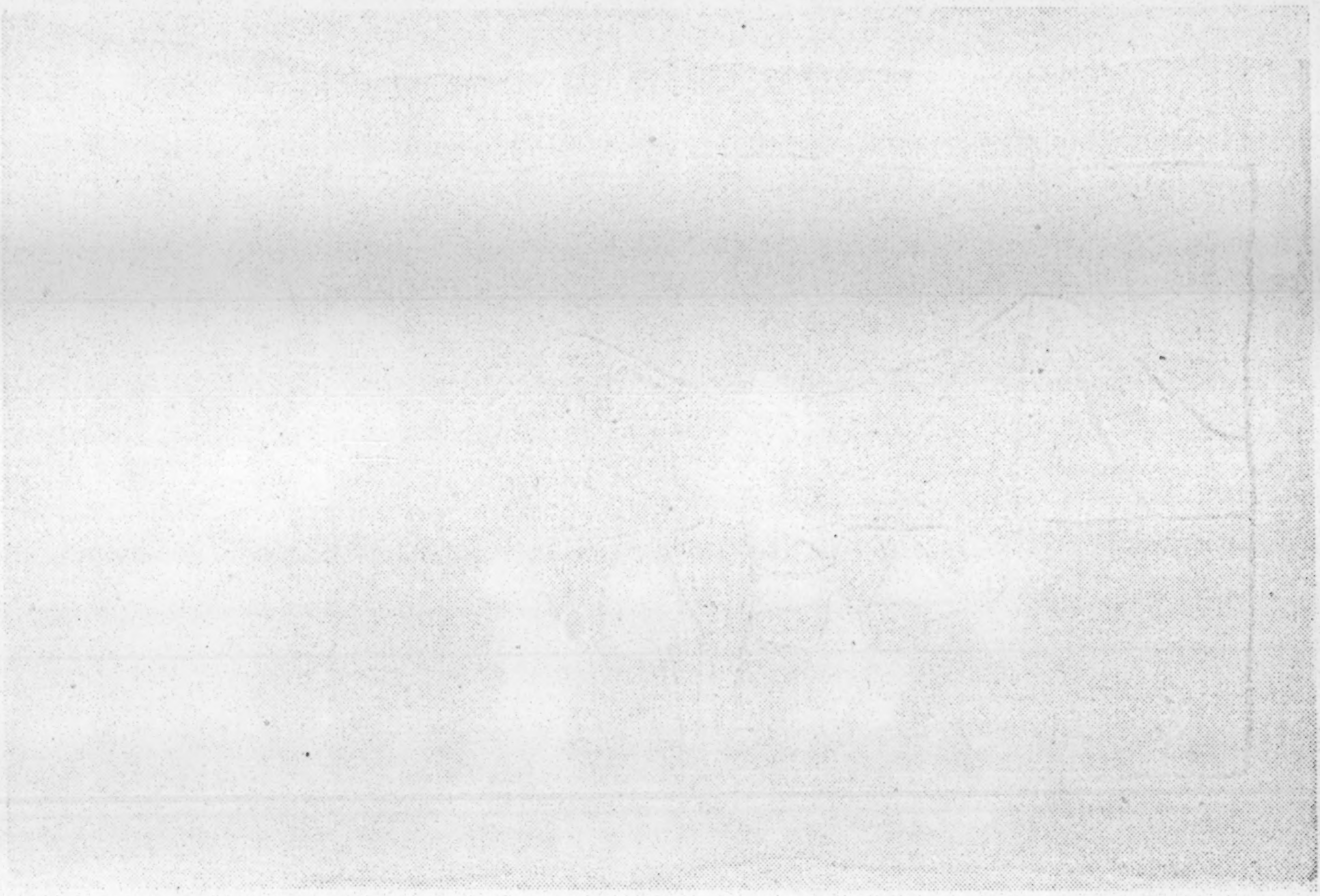
George Shadoan, a Washington, D.C., lawyer and City Attorney for Rockville, Md., is a former associate professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center, and co-author of Law and Tactics in Federal Criminal Cases *(Coiner Publications, Ltd.).*



This comical llama and cow is one of the embroideries done by the children of Chijnaya village in Peru.

Art Pays the Way of Revolution

Progress brought enough leisure to a group of Indian villagers in the high Andes of Peru to permit them to indulge their artistic nature, and this, too, has now been turned to profit.

A group of tapestries brightly embroidered by the children of Chijnaya village will go on a 15-day exhibit at the State Department Thursday.

The tapestries are simply stitched on light beige homespun cloth. The children use gaily colored wools to depict the animals and life around them. The animals are charming creatures standing among little tufts of green thread grass. There are sheep and pigs and llamas and birds, and sometimes people at work. Under each design the child has stitched his name.

PEACE CORPS

Chijnaya is a village founded by 74 families with the help of the Peace Corps in 1963. Their original homesite had been flooded by the huge Lake Titicaca and they were forced to move where future flooding could not reach them.

With the help of the Peruvian Government and the Peace Corps these Indians developed a new efficient agricultural community, and the children, who used to guard farm animals, started going to school.

Two problems arose, however. The villagers found their economy did not provide enough funds to pay back the Peruvian Government a $200,000 investment. And, women and children had free time with the new advantages.

EXPORTS

This was the beginning of the arts and crafts industry in Chijnaya. Women started making alpaca yarn which they now export to the United States under the name of La Puska.

A Peace Corps volunteer came up with the idea of making tapestries and started working with the children. Now these tapestries are a major source of income, along with the yarn, for the Chijnaya people. — P. H.

Charles A. Caldwell   DU 2-2054
Peace Corps, Public Information
Washington, July 6, 1965

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

TAPESTRIES, PERU AND THE PEACE CORPS

This is a yarn about some tapestries that changed the lives of Indian children in the Peruvian Andes.

The tapestries can be seen at the State Department the last two weeks in July in an exhibit sponsored by the Peruvian embassy and the Peace Corps. The show is the first stop in a two-year tour around the country arranged by the Smithsonian Institution.

Peru's ambassador to Washington, the Honorable Celso Pastor and Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver will be hosts at a reception honoring the opening of the show at the State Exhibit Hall at 6 P.M. July 15.

The tapestries, which consist of scenes embroidered in vividly colored yarn on a light beige homespun cloth, depict the life, animals and mountainous countryside which form the childrens' world. Visitors will enjoy the colorful, simply executed works, but the pleasure for both the Peace Corps and the Peruvian governmen comes from the story of Chijnaya, the village where the tapestries were made.

Before the founding of Chijnaya in the fall of 1963, Indian children had no time for tapestries. If they were young, under 12, they had their families' few sheep and cattle to herd. If they were

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older, they spent long hours in the fields bordering Lake Titicaca, working alongside their parents. Staying alive was a full-time job; there was no time for education or recreation.

About once every 20 years Lake Titicaca floods. The high waters often take as long as five years to recede. A severe flood in 1963 had cost a large number of families their lands, farm animals, homes and tools--in short, it wrenched from them their means of livelihood. Life would end bleakly as it had for centuries--or begin anew.

The problem of beginning anew became the chief concern of two engineers of a Peruvian government development agency and a Peace Corps Volunteer. They decided an entirely new community should be founded on land far enough away from the lake to be secure from future flooding.

Months of searching and talking resulted in the purchase of a 1,200 acre hacienda from a local church official. The Indian families were asked to decide what kind of houses they would build for themselves. (Architects donated various designs. The settlers selected a one-story two bedroom brick model which provided them with indoor cooking facilities and running water for the first time.)

Some families refused to become involved in the project, their suspicions aroused by the fact that no one had ever tried to help them before. Several local merchants, afraid of losing customers to a settlement nearly 100 miles from the lake, said that the Gringo Peace Corps Volunteer was luring Indians to a faraway spot

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where they would be shot and boiled down into airplane fuel. Nevertheless, 74 families set out for the new community of Chijnaya in September 1963. The funds for the land and needed equipment had been loaned them by the Peruvian development agency.

The families set to work building houses (some 60 of them will be completed by this September), a school building and a community center which contains a health clinic, offices, carpentry shops and sewing rooms. Technical problems made the farmers decide to till the land on a collective basis. A tractor was obtained and a government agronomist taught modern seeding and fertilizing techniques. For the first time, the Indians had the opportunity to utilize modern farming methods.

Farm animals were pooled so that the entire herd could be watched by one or two people, rather than having young children look after two or three privately-owned head. The free time gained enabled Chijnaya to become the first Indian village in the area requiring school attendance.

The villagers soon discovered that an agricultural economy could not make the profit needed to pay back the funds borrowed to build Chijnaya. At the same time, the women complained that they didn't know what to do with the free time the new community's advantages afforded them. Arts and crafts production provided an answer to both problems. The women began making a high quality alpaca yarn now being imported into the United States under the name of "La Pushka," which is the Indian word for the

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wooden spindle about which the yarn is spun. (La Pushka is the only handspun alpaca yarn being sold commercially anywhere in the world.)

The idea of the tapestries came from the Peace Corps Volunteer, who was living in a nearby city, Puno. The proposal was received cautiously by the children. Few of them had ever had the opportunity to even draw on paper. But several gave it a try. The results won large orders for more tapestries from markets in Lima which challenged the children's "mine is no good" attitudes. The project caught on rapidly.

Today, more than 200 children spend much of their spare time working on tapestries. Their ages range from six to eighteen. A visitor to Chijnaya would find boys and girls sitting alone, quietly working over squares of homespun cloth. He would probably see groups of children huddling around a tapestry offering praise or criticism. The children have gained the professional confidence, and dexterity of finger that sets artisans apart from other men.

At first, the income from the tapestries was limited; it could only buy school supplies or perhaps some clothing. But in the past year the tapestries, together with the alpaca yarn, have become the major part of the Chijnaya arts and crafts industry--an industry which is paying back to the Peruvian government the funds used to found the community (an investment totaling some

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$200,000).

Chijnaya then is an example of how aid can work; that given adequate local resources with limited professional support, people will pull themselves out of hopelessness. The communal aspects of life and development at Chijnaya are expected to disappear as the income now coming into the community pays off the common debt and becomes private capital.

Chijnaya may be remembered as the starting point for a non-government assistance effort to bring the Andean Indian into a better life. The Andean Foundation, recently established in Washington as a private, non-profit organization, has grown out of the Chijnaya experience.

Maintaining that "rural economic development is not a matter of sophisticated economic technology, but of the attitude and ambitions of very ordinary people," the foundation is currently involved in developing markets for Chijnaya's products. It has two other aid programs under study; a "Five Village Program" which would incorporate four additional Indian communities into a Chijnaya crafts guild and a "Caribaya Frontier Program" which would develop virgin land settlements for Indians along the Peruvian Amazon. The Foundation offers primarily advice and assistance, for it feels that Indians will pay their own way--when given the chance.

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FREEDOM MEDICAL AND HOUSING CORPS
303 HIGHLAND AVE
ALBANY, GEORGIA

Dear Friend, July 19, 1965

Greetings once again from Albany, Georgia.

Many of you have followed the work in Albany previously and have been helpful. The following is a prospectus for a new project which will attempt to organize the community to remedy the unbearable health and housing conditions found throughout much of the poor community here.

We all share the belief that we must love our neighbor. Most of us would even agree that this is an unconditional commitment that we must follow no matter what the consequences. Yet today most of us completely fail to face the really brutal facts of poverty. It is not our lack of concern, nor of at least an abstract wish to follow it. It seems rather to be a failure of imagination which would make it possible for us in our relative comfort to even conceive of the conditions under which many people in our own communities are forced to exist by circumstances and social conditions which they cannot change alone.

Maybe we can help.

> We entered a house in Mac Jones' Quarters to see an old man sitting in a rocker as the children played around on the floor. It was hot, the smell was bad, the flies were thick, we talked. On the floor lay a small boy about three years old with an empty baby bottle in his mouth. The flies crawled across his face and into his mouth around the bottle. He did not move to brush them away. He had a fever and occasionally he coughed. The old man said he had been like that for over a week.
>
> "He has a cold", the old man said. He held up the bottle of tonic cold medicine and a sticky spoon and a two year old holding onto his knees licked the spoon.
>
> Larry's mother took him to the hospital that evening when she came home from working at the carwash where she makes $15 a week to support herself and three children. Larry had pneumonia. When we last stppped by the hospital he was sitting up drinking orange juice and smiled at us.

Mrs. Johnson lives alone at number 21 Box Botton. She isn't sure how old she is but appears to be over eighty and is crippled with arthritis. Her house is scrubbed clean and is sparsely furnished. There is no electricity, the outhouse is falling down,the screens are old and patched over and over again. The only water is from a faucet tap outside in back.
"How is your house?" we asked.
"It isn't too bad," she said, "But when it leaks outside it rains in here". She pointed to a large peeling area over the bed. "The only thing is I can't go to bed when it rains".

Even when we admit that there is the need and that Larry and Mrs. Johnson are our neighbors, we are still faced with the next question, "But what can I as one person do to change a whole social pattern?"

Each of us wondered about that question for a long time. Then finally we stopped wondering and came. There is only one real answer to it and that is, "I'm going to do something to help, no matter how small it may seem."

There is a song which we sing down here.

It goes:

One man can't break a prison down,
Two men can't break a prison down,
But if two and two and fifty make a million,
We'll see that day come 'round,
We'll see that day come 'round.

We need your backing and your help and your belief.

. . .

And so do they. . .

Sincerely Yours,

Kit Havice
Bob Childs
Claude Richardson
Donna Cedrone.

The Freedom Medical and Housing Corps.

FREEDOM MEDICAL AND HOUSING CORPS

PROSPECTUS

Albany, Georgia has undergone considerable transition during the past several years. With the ending of the symbolic forms of segregation the polarization of the city into two camps has lessened. At the same time the less obvious, but more basic problems underlying the conditions of people in the total poor community have become exposed. Concern of the Albany Movement and other active groups in the city is reorienting to the problems of unemployment and poor employment conditions by the formation of labor unions, political organization through continued voter registration, and educational needs with the establishment of Head Start and tutorial programs. The Freedom Medical and Housing Corps herein described will attempt to organize the community to deal with the problems of inadequate health and housing conditions prevalent through the poor community in Albany.

While planning the project we talked to a number of people within the Dougherty County Public Health Department and the Public Welfare Department. Generally we met with both cooperation and encouragement. Local health agencies feel that the poor community has not utilized the existing facilities to the extent that they could. They feel that this is due to a general lack of knowledge and motivation about health needs. These agencies are not now equipped with the kind of programs which could speak to this lack. Several people in the agencies felt that our more personal and intensive approach might bridge the gap between the people of the poor community and their services. We strongly feel that people must understand their health problems and participate in remedying them if there is to be any significant or lasting change. We hope this approach avoids the pitfalls of paternalisms and doles that destroy much of the effectiveness of the remoter governmental agencies.

Wherever poor health and housing conditions occur within a segment of the community the problem must be addressed on a community rather than on an individual level. The passive acceptance of slum conditions by the people who live in them must be changed first by raising the community's expectations of itself and what is tolerable. However, when the roots of the problem are traced it will be found it is not the poor community alone that is responsible for the slum conditions found there. Only as a total community awareness develops in all of Albany is it possible to change the conditions at their cause. The time has come in Albany when people must join together with a new sense of responsibility to face the problems which are now so painfully obvious. It is now only a question of whether each of us who has adequate health and housing conditions will accept the responsibility that is ours to help make of Albany a place where no one has to suffer because of hunger, slum housing, or preventable disease. We ask you to join us in this work.

The work of the Freedom Medical and Housing Corps will initially be directed toward the Negro community because the worst poverty is found here, we have a biracial team, and the Negro community is sufficiently interested in its problems and their elimination to welcome community action in this area. However, we want to pursue the program in the poor white community as well, and hope that cooperation can be initiated on common health and housing concerns.

The Freedom Medical and Housing Corps is a project of four people, (see biographical notes at end), which functions independently but in coordination with the other groups active in Albany. So far some financial help has been received from the United Church of Christ, a new labor union just formed here, and a few individuals. The project is still badly in need of funds simply to meet its already minimal budget. The idea of the project has met with approval from the executive director of the Medical Committee for Human Rights, local Movement leaders and various people within the local white community. The duration of the project has not been set. All of us are prepared to continue work through the Fall and for as long as progress can be made and support is forthcoming.

PERSONNEL AND BUDGET

Donata Codrone-20- from Norwich, Connecticut. She is on leave from Goddard College. She has worked as a psychiatric aide for six months.

Robert Lee Childs-18- from Albany and Moultrie, Georgia. He was one of the chief student leaders in the Moultrie, Georgia scholl boycott this Spring.

Kit Havice-24- from Boulder, Colorado originally. Now a resident of Albany, Georgia. Her schooling includes college and a year of medical school at Stanford School of Medicine. She has had work experience as a nurse's aide. She has worked in Albany for a year on interracial communications development which was supported by church agencies.

Claude''Shortman''Richardson-23- from Albany, Georgia. He is well known throughout the community particularly within the poor community and the pool hall crowd. He has many good contacts and knows the area and its problems well.

BUDGET

The following budget is minimal.	per MONTH
Food and Personal Maintenance $10 a week per person.	$ 172.00
Rent Two Apartments	77.00
Utilities and Household supplies	25.00
Office Equipment	20.00
Postage	10.00
Phone	10.00
Volkawagon Gas and maintenance	30.00
TOTAL per MONTH	$344.00

MEDICAL PROGRAM

I. INFORMATION PROGRAM

All available and potentially available health facilities in the area particularly for those who cannot pay will be investigated. A list of the available facilities, their location, and procedure for gaining referral will be made, duplicated, and distributed through the poor community by door to door visits, mass meetings, and the Headstart and tutorial programs. We will become familiar with the welfare programs, the means of applying for federal housing, remedial schooling services and other programs so we can refer interested people to the proper source.

II. HEALTH EDUCATION PROGRAM

In door to door visits we will explain the importance of innoculations and basic sanitation. We will encourage and help organize local meetings within the communities at which speakers could be invited to speak on basic health subjects that the community desires such as:

Birth Control
Baby Care
Common childhood illnesses
Nutrition and Diet
Sanitation and Hygiene
Pest Control
Veneral Disease
Arthritis
Heart Disease
Strokes
High Blood Pressure

III. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

We will contact local sympathetic professionals and volunteers and attempt to enlist their aid in supplying speakers, providing emergency services and advice. All efforts will be made to bring this group together to function as a local health association which can continue and expand the program here. Local areas within the city will be encouraged to meet and form their own health committees to decide what their needs are and what should be done to meet them.

Dieticians in the community will be asked to devise low income balanced diets to be preparedon wood stoves that can be taught to people.

IV. PRATICAL ACTION PROGRAMS

In some of the areas people may wish to form teams to help clean up trash from vacant lots and around houses, poison rats, build showers, search for and eliminate mosquito breeding places, and to collect garbage particularly in areas just outside the city limits.

V. LOCAL AND STATE HEALTH AND WELFARE DEPARTMENTS

People will be encouraged to let their state and local health departments and other agencies know what their needs are. Attention would be given to encouraging school health programs including dental and eye care, the extension of the birth control information and medication service to include birth control pills, and the extension of the pest control programs depending on the interest and the needs of the community.

HOUSING PROGRAM

Along with the medical program outlined in the previous pages, the project is opening up in the direction of community action and protest of unbearable housing conditions. This is a necessary extension of the medical concern because decent health standards cannot be maintained with the housing conditions still found in the poorest areas in and around Albany.

In going dor-to-door in some of the poorer areas of the city distributing information on the free medical care available and the means of obtaining it, we encountered rod sub-standard housing which is in violation of the minimum Housing Code of Albany. Many of these houses have no electricity, no inside running water, outhouses, leaky roofs, shaky floors, and an absence of screens on windows and doors which permits the entry of flies and mosquitoes. The people of these committees have exprxssed a readiness to meet and discuss their common housing and sanitation problems and to take whatever action is commonly agreed upon.

We have conferred with City Manager, Steve A. Roos, who has expressed concern and asked us for house by house maps of the depressed areas in order to facilitate enforcement of the code. We plan to try to work to encourage the city officials to enforce the Minimum Housing Code of Albany. This would result in the condemnation of houses utterly unfit for habitation, and the repair, by the owner, of these houses which feasibly could be rendered sanitary and fit for human occupancy.

Among other things the code requires that a house should have a flush toilet and inside running water. Since some parts of the city do not have a sewer system, it wouldbe unjust to expect the house owners to install the plumbing fixtures. We have brought an obviously substandard area, Box Bottom, to the attention of the city officials. They worked quickly to begin inquiries and plans for the construction of a sewer line for this area. When this is accomplished we can then reasonably expect the owners to conform to the minimum standards, and we plan to continue working with the people of Box Bottom until their homes reach this level.

Although the repair of these houses is logically the owners' responsibility, if the people so choose, a self-help program might be initiated. Through this program, people of these areas would use materials supplied by the house owners to improve the conditions of their homes by patching screens, repairing roofs, and rat-proofing the houses. A local white minister has suggested that perhaps the youth group of his church could work with these families.

We have already started a simplified version of this program through which individuals of an area come together to clean up trash and debris as a community project. This program has met with a considerable amount of enthusiasm from the people and their minister. We plan to continue with this idea as a work-day once a week to motivate the people toward community action so that they may become aware of their mutual problems and their power to help alleviate them.

We are working in one area, Mc Jones, just outside of the city limits where housing codes are technically not applicable. The majority of the families living in this district are renters and, therefore, cannot legally request their annexation by the city. They have chosen, however, to voice their request in petition for which will be presented to the property owners and the Albany City Commission. An additional petition will be presented by the families living nearby within the city limits stating their concern for the intolerable conditions of their neighbors' homes, and the health hazard of this area to their own homes and children.

Publicity might also be used to built community awareness of the slum housing in and around Albany. The encouragement of concerned private citizens and also the concern of Albany for its own public image could serve as an inducement to the city to annex this area.

We have been told in private interviews with many city officials that they did not feel the city would easily take on the responsibility for this section by extending the city limits. If all efforts to include it in the city fail, we hope that the County Minimum Housing Code now being revised will be more stringent and be enforced more readily.

The community self-help program is particularly valuable in this area since it will be the only recourse available to these families to change their living conditions if annexation, a suitable county code, and the force of public opinion do not materialize.

If the Minimum Housing code is enforced and people are evicted because of condemnation proceedings, we plan to aid in individual relocation of families by supplying realtor's lists of low income housing, and by referring families receiving welfare aid to their case worker to determine whether their aid can be increased to meet a higher rent in a more desirable area.

Additional Federal low-income housing would answer the needs of many of these families by providing adequate housing at a cost that would be scaled to their income. However, the city is, at this time, reluctant to accept Federal funds for additional projects, although there is a real need for such housing.

If all efforts at persuasion, cooperation, and petition fail, more direct nonviolent encouragement may be considered. This might include legal action, delegations to the city authorities and picketing at their offices. Other action might include picketing of realators and owners, and rent strikes.

Throughout the program we will function as advisors, encouraging and providing information and suggestions when needed. The people of the local community must do what they want done for themselves if they are to develop a sense of responsibility toward their health needs and housing needs and conditions which will carry over in the future.

To our knowledge, a project directed towards intolerable housing conditions has not been tried in the Deep South. One of the ways in which people are exploited is in high rents on near worthless housing. This produces a heavy financial burden on people already unable to provide the basic necessities of life, and continues the mechanisms which keep the poor trapped in the social and physical conditions of poverty.

PA✓
LWD✓
PW✓
AU

While Pickets Parade, 800 Students Applaud Humphrey's Talk on War

MADISON, Wis. (AP)—While 50 students demonstrators marched outside the hall, some 800 students delegates on the inside gave Vice President Humphrey shouts of approval for the administration's Vietnam policy Monday.

"If they can show us how to get out of Vietnam without the Communists getting in," Humphrey said in reference to the picket line, "We'll put the placards around here in the Hall of Fame rather than the Hall of Shame."

His audience, delegates to the 18th National Student Congress at the University of Wisconsin, applauded that sally, and most persons stood and cheered.

That was the vice president's only specific reference to the marchers carrying white-lettered black signs bearing the message, "Get Out of Vietnam," through whom he passed without pausing as he entered the Wisconsin Union Theater on the campus.

But he bore down hard on the whole subject of demonstrations during his one hour and 40 minute speech, returning repeatedly to what he called the "obvious difference" between peaceful demonstration and "brutal, uncontrolled, destructive, hoodlumism and rioting."

"The right to be heard does not automatically include the right to be taken seriously," he said. "The latter depends entirely upon what is being said, not on how often and how loud.

"The wanton destruction of and gunfire will only destroy the property; gangsterism, arson and gunfire will only destroy the framework of justice and law we are laboring to build. No responsible public official can condone violence in Los Angeles any more than in Mississippi."

About two dozen policemen were stationed outside the theater. There were no incidents.

The demonstration was conducted by the Student Peace Center and the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam. A spokesman, Evan Stark, a University of Wisconsin graduate student in sociology, said he expected some of the delegates to walk out on Humphrey and join the picket line. That didn't occur.

Inside the theater, reaction to Humphrey's talk was markedy favorable.

"I agree we shouldn't demonstrate unless we have an alternative that makes as much sense as the course being pursued," Brent Hayrynen, a junior from West Washington State College, said.

Minch Lewis of Mount Prospect, Ill., disagreed. "The Vietnam demonstrators have an alternative-to get out—but they're is 22, a senior, and president of not being heard," he said. Lewis the Student Association at Notre Dame University.

From Peter Broderick of Brown University came the comment that Humphrey's defense of administration policy in Vietnam was valid.

"I still think he left room for picketing but he doesn't believe it offers very constructive criticism," Broderick said.

'Heed Education,' Publishers Asked

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September 10, 1965

Mr. Edward Richer
Free University of Florida
P. O. Box 13658
University Station
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Richer:

I read your letter of August 24 and the attachments with great interest. I apologize for not having replied sooner, but life for me has been rather hectic lately.

I am not sure how much good our mailing list would be to you for fund-raising purposes. We have 20-odd separate mailing lists, made up on the basis of whom we think ought to read various of our publications, and this kind of selectivity does not maximize fund-raising potential. As a sample of what we have, I am sending you on gummed tape our Florida New South subscribers. If this looks promising to you, get in touch with us again about other lists we might have and be able to furnish. Keep in mind that running tapes takes some time, and also that if you wanted many names we probably could not afford to do them on gummed tape.

I don't think I would have the guts to attempt what you are doing. Good luck. It's very exciting, and I shall always be interested in how you get along.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

FREE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

P. O. Box 13658, University Station

Gainesville, Florida

August 24, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We met at a SSOC conference in Atlanta last spring, but there's no reason to suppose you would recall so swift an introduction. Anyway, the enclosed are sent along to you with the notion that you will find them an interesting development for the South.

Our biggest problem thus far is real estate; I think we might have less of a problem with money in the long run than we will in finding a suitable physical location for the school. Church and school facilities are shut out to us altogether; the people who control the university (of Florida, that is) also control the church centers nearby.

But our reputation is spreading. Someone from Berkeley came through yesterday and told us we were the hope of the Free University movement. I'd prefer it otherwise. My own idea is that Ann Arbor is the place to watch for the development of a great Free University, but so far that's only speculation, not on their part (they're actually making a school), but on mine.

Within two or three days we'll have 10,000 copies of a fund-raising brochure, and pathetically enough, no mailing lists. (Do you suspect some craft behind this letter?) We are new to the mailing list business, and rather naively are asking others for help. Florida lists are what we need, South-wide lists would be (in our judgment) really advantageous.

I'll send you a copy of the brochure as soon as the printer fixes his "Dualith 500." (I'm presiding over this brochure as if I were a mid-wife. This business of building institutions instead of making--or rather, in addition to making--guerrilla assaults on them is quite a lesson.) After you've seen it perhaps you can share your judgment with us about a probable mailing list.

If you ever come to Gainesville and fail to stop by our shop for awhile, we won't forgive you.

Sincerely,

Edward Richer

Edward Richer

EDWARD RICHER: Chancellor
Free University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida
June 22, 1965

BIOGRAPHY

The following biographical sketch was prepared and authorized for public information by the board of trustees of the Free University of Florida pursuant to their election of Mr. Richer on June 21, 1965, to the office of chancellor.

Personal Data

Mr. Richer was born March 1, 1930, in Mason City, Iowa. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Sam Richer, currently reside in Coral Gables, Florida. Mr. Richer has two sisters: Mrs. Merle Litman of Miami, and Miss Miriam Richer of Berkeley, California. He met his wife, the former Barbara Hall of St. Paul, Minnesota, while a graduate student at the University of Minnesota; they have two children, Emily (4) and Barnaby (2). The Richers have been residents of Gainesville since September, 1961.

Education

Mr. Richer graduated from the Mason City public school system in 1948, and in the autumn of that year enrolled at the University of Minnesota. In 1954 he received a B. A. (cum laude) from Minnesota. His major was political theory, and his major advisor was Professor Mulford Q. Sibley; his minors were philosophy and economics, with major credits in English Composition.

Beginning in the summer of 1954, and until the close of summer in 1955, he attended graduate school at the State University of Iowa. Most of his work was in the Iowa Writers' Workshop; his major advisor was Ray B. West, Jr.

Mr. Richer returned to graduate school in 1958, at the University of Minnesota, and received his M. A. in Journalism in 1961. His major advisor was George Hage. Mr. Richer's thesis was "Burdens of Practicality in the Civic Arts: Journalism and Architecture," a study of the impact of industrial bureaucracy on popular institutions.

Professional Experience

Beginning in September, 1956, and until the close of 1957, Mr. Richer was a newsman for two California dailies, the Turlock Journal and the San Mateo Times & News Leader. His duties covered the whole spectrum of news work, from farm editor to city desk.

Between the autumn of 1961 and the summer of 1965 Mr. Richer was employed by the University of Florida as an instructor in that school's general education core course system called University College. His time was assigned mostly to Humanities, though for two years he taught American Institutions half time, and for about a year and a half taught Freshman English on a third-time basis.

In the summer of 1962, Mr. Richer returned to the State of Minnesota to work for Karl F. Rolvaag, then Democratic-Farmer-Labor party candidate for Governor of Minnesota. He served as assistant public relations director in the Rolvaag campaign.

He has published one poem, "Professor America Misses the Point," in the Minnesota Review, Spring, 1963.

Civil Rights, Peace, and Academic Freedom

As one of several faculty sponsors of the Student Group for Equal Rights, Mr. Richer entered the civil rights movement of Gainesville in the spring of 1963. He was in charge of faculty participation in student-manned picket lines at local segregated public accommodations that were picketed for several thousand hours by the S. G. E. R. in 1963 and 1964.

While picketing with the N. A. A. C. P. of Ocala, Florida, he was arrested (along with three other U. of F. faculty members and eight students) in December of 1963. Trial on charges of "breach of peace" has never been held.

In the spring of 1964 he assisted in the S. C. L. C. campaign in St. Augustine by recruiting faculty members for sit-ins in that city's segregated public accommodations.

Mr. Richer is faculty advisor to the S. G. E. R.

In January, 1964, Mr. Richer helped students organize a local chapter of the Student Peace Union. Public meetings and peace vigiling on the part of S. P. U. spurred the school's administration to sponsor in its faculty senate a resolution to abandon compulsory R. O. T. C.

S. P. U. sponsored the first peace walk in Gainesville, at Easter time, in 1964, when they were joined by the C. N. V. A. Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo walkers.

Mr. Richer is faculty advisor to the S. P. U.

In February, 1964, student leaders of S. G. E. R. and S. P. U. combined to form a student government political party, Freedom Party. Freedom Party, for the first time in the school's history, brought off-campus social issues to the student government campaign, and stimulated the largest total vote in the school's history.

As faculty advisor to Freedom Party, Mr. Richer assisted the students in re-orienting their activities from direct action to the problems of practical politics.

Following the campus elections of 1965, the activist students formed a permanent off-campus confederation of issue-oriented organizations called Freedom Forum, with a Freedom House near the campus. Mr. Richer, along with other veterans of the Gainesville freedom movement, serves on the advisory council of Freedom Forum.

As a consequence of being terminated by the University of Florida under conditions patently violative of academic freedom, Mr. Richer was supported in a protest of his dismissal by Freedom Forum students. A petition of over 1700 names was delivered to the school's administration on his behalf.

The local A. A. U. P. committee on academic rights and privileges was invited by Mr. Richer to investigate his dismissal, and the A. A. U. P. committee has concluded that his academic freedom was violated by the termination.

Currently, the faculty senate committee on academic freedom and tenure is conducting a hearing in the case. Mr. Richer is represented before the committee by two law professors, one of whom is acting president of the A. A. U. P.

As a consequence of Mr. Richer's case, and others of a comparable nature, two new organizations have formed on the campus: the Student Committee for Academic Freedom, and a faculty study group independent of the A. A. U. P., both of which are seeking constitutional reforms vis-a-vis the protection of faculty and students in areas of academic freedom.

It was owing to Mr. Richer's interest in a free institution of higher learning that the Free University of Florida was formed in May, 1965. Mr. Richer has led several student discussions about the nature of the free university, and from those meetings a student-faculty consensus has developed into the current structure of the institution.

Mr. Richer has been asked several times by the Southern Student Organizing Committee of Atlanta and Nashville, and by the Southern Project of the National Student Association, to speak in the South on university reform. He has also toured the dorms of his own campus on the same issue.

THE FREE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA:

A Summary Prospectus

Conception and History

The concept of an experimental, compensatory program of course offerings in higher education was borrowed from the Free University of California, which in turn was invented during the FSM's sit-in at Sproul Hall.

What occasioned the borrowing for Florida was the conviction that the first order of business for students and faculty is the creation of a free community of scholars. After two years of continuous struggle in civil and academic rights, the university-staffed freedom movement in Gainesville this Spring took the form of a student government political party (Freedom Party), ran candidates on a liberal-to-radical platform, and took in 879 votes.

Reaction to Freedom Party, both from within and from outside the movement, made clear the following necessity: if the university as an American social institution is not as free as it might be, then not until the advantages of a free university are made sharply visible will students, faculty, and administration move in this generation toward significant academic reform.

Philosophy

John Dewey once remarked that democratic ways of living together ought to serve "a freedom which is cooperative and a cooperation which is voluntary."

FUF not only hopes to make a serviceable freedom visible in educational forms, but it hopes, as well, to respond to the yearning for democratic ends by a use of democratic means. FUF is incorporated as a non-profit educational enterprise in the State of Florida; members of the corporation are its teaching and learning scholars, and only members may serve on its Board of Trustees. There are no admission standards, no qualifications for its faculty, no coercive mechanisms whatever to obtrude between what is presumed to be a natural bond between scholars. The minimal administration of the school serves primarily as a medium through which students concerned for an area of knowledge seek a teacher, and teachers who are prepared to offer a course seek students.

Teachers may or may not credential their students, but at any rate there will be no ranking, grading, screening, or serving the hierarchial interests of the extramural society. Classrooms will hopefully function within the principles of mutual aid -- the teachers will be volunteers from the nearby state university or the city of Gainesville, and the students will no doubt be largely drawn from the 15,000 enrollment at the same school.

The students are expected to be in quest of a free classroom, knowledgeable and engaged teachers, course content that is attractive by its relevancy to their felt needs or because, for a variety of reasons, it is unavailable in the larger institution.

FUF also pictures itself as a community resource. The old tradition of having a place, usually a park or outside public area, where anyone might speak his mind is here, in effect, institutionalized and put indoors. Our facilities are in principle open to everyone inthe community; indeed, we have thus far sought out representatives of regional and ideological points of view that could be taught at FUF but not at an established university.

Another self-image current amongst the creators of FUF is the notion that what the Founding Fathers had intended for the press -- a kind of autonomy that is almost, if one reads the First Amendment literally, a kind of sovereignty — has, by the default of the press, become the opportunity of the university. This opportunity must be dramatized before the established institutions will opt for so radical a role in American life, and the free university movement is an ideal vehicle for such a dramatization.

Affiliations

FUF is an autonomous corporate body of scholars. It has close kinship, however, to a community-wide organization called Freedom Forum. Included in Freedom Forum are off campus groups, such as CORE, Freedom TV (a fast-expanding) training center in the Negro ghetto for young people and would-be craftsmen), Friends of FUF, and the Student Recruitment Committee (which travels the state recruiting qualified Negro high school and junior college students for the University of Florida); on campus, university-recognized groups in Freedom Forum include the Student Group for Equal Rights, the Student Peace Union, a Faculty Dismissal Investigating Committee, the Student Committee for Academic Freedom, and perhaps most significantly, Freedom Party.

Community affiliations on an informal basis would make FUF responsive to a local community action program within the OEO system, to the Gainesville Women for Equal Rights, the local AAUP, and civic action groups principally concerned with municipal politics. Also on an informal basis, FUF identifies with the Southern Student Organizing Committee, the NSA Southern Project, the Florida Civil Liberties Union, and any other free university experiment that exists in this country. Needless to say, FUF would be very sensitive to the fate of the student movement generally.

Activities: Present and Projected

As of August, a tentative catalog and faculty was released by the Chancellor's office. Most of the work in this regard is brokerage between students and faculty, and is currently the preoccupation of the school's head, a chancellor. Classes are expected to begin in late September.

The pursuit of endowment is, of course, critical, if only to secure for the school a full-time, qualified, energetic chancellor dedicated to the institution and fully aware of its local nature.

Projected activities are quite ambitious given the fragile current condition of the school. Nevertheless, FUF is planning ahead toward an FCC licensed educational radio channel, a printing plant, a theater, a cinema society, an art studio, and an arts and crafts plant. FUF's articles of incorporation enable the school to administer acceptance of research grants, and to sub-contract for such projects as the training of Vista volunteers.

The proximity of an enormous reservoire of under-employed talent, both in Gainesville as such (pop., 60,000) and at the University of Florida, lends great horizon and flexibility to projected activities.

Resources to Date

FUF, as yet, has no offices and no physical plant, and (unlike its ~~religious foundations~~ counterpart in Berkeley) no access to the Florida campus classrooms, auditoriums, or other facilities. Real estate conditions in Gainesville make the leasing of a site very difficult, but the problem is not insoluble.

Freedom Forum's resources, such as they are, are at the disposal of FUF, but Freedom Forum pays its way month by month. Freedom Forum has a four room, blighted residence donated to it by a sympathetic Gainesville resident; FUF shares that house not only with the Forum's other organizations, but also, on a part-time basis, with North Florida CORE's legal counsel. FUF's minimal housing needs are expected to be extensive.

Nominal student tuition of $1 per week per course is FUF's sole source of regular income. Since FUF has yet to hold a class, its current income is limited to contributions from its founders and sympathizers in Florida and throughout the country. As of August, contributions of money exceeded $1,000. When classes begin, tuition is expected to pay the rent.

FREE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA:

Proposed Annual Budget (REVISED), 1965-1966

A. Administrative Salaries		$10,790
1. Chancellor	$7600	
2. Administrative Assistant	2750	
3. Car and Travel Allowance	200	
4. Maintenance Personnel	240	
B. Property Expenses		2,950
1. Rent per month	150	
2. Telephone per month	20	
3. Utilities per month	30	
4. Heat per season	150	
5. Furniture	400	
C. Formal Public Relations		1,350
1. Brochure-Bulletin	400	
2. Monthly News Letter	350	
3. Ads, Signs, Posters	300	
4. Speakers Bureau	300	
D. Miscellaneous		450
1. Office Supplies and Equipment	300	
2. Fees and Services	150	
	TOTAL	$15,540

ARTICLE II

Purpose

Section 1. The general purposes of the Free University of Florida shall be:

A. To institute an experimental college of teaching and learning scholars who shall, upon their own initiative, prepare curricula, create courses of study, credential, and in other ways freely manage their natural bond of scholarship;

B. To institute educational facilities and means of

State of Florida

I, Tom Adams, *Secretary of State of the State of Florida,*
do hereby certify *that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of*

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION
OF
FREE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA INCORPORATED

a corporation not for profit organized and existing under the Laws of the State of Florida, filed on the 10th day of June, A. D., 1965 as shown by the records of this office.

Free University of Florida

CHARTER YEAR

CATALOG and FACULTY

Gainesville
August, 1965

Catalog and Faculty

FREE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Law and Sociology....................................Baldwin

Law as a vehicle for creating, influencing, and destroying social institutions: family, mass media, university, and church; also, an examination of the state's police power and its relationship toward all forms of social structures.

Law and Liberty......................................Laughlin

An examination of the paradox of liberty and equality; the historical relationship of law and liberty; legal environment of individual autonomy; current cases in marginal areas of freedom: narcotics, sex, speech, and conscientious objection.

Race, Segregation, and Intelligence.................Jones

A review of results and theory in psychological testing, genetics, and anthropology as they bear on the comparative intelligence of white and black Americans.

Statistics and Anti-statistics in the Behavioral Sciences...................................Jones

A pre-course for behavioral science students on the use and abuse of statistics, taught around the elementary concepts: frequency distribution, central tendency, variability, correlation, analysis of variance, sampling theory.

Comparative Economic Systems.........................Reynolds

Capitalist and socialist patterns of development in non-industrial societies; past performances and future prospects.

International Developments Since World War II.......Reynolds

The expansion of the socialist world, the anti-colonial revolt, the Cold War, and the inter-relationship of these developments.

African Government..................................Lemarchand

Surveys the rising development of nationalism in sub-Sahara Africa, and its relation to tribalism, regionalism, and Pan-Africanism.

The Negro Experience of American History............Daniels

A re-estimation, from an Afro-American point of view, of the basic directions of American history.

Communism...Open

A history of the idea of communism; the universal functions of ideology; Marxism-Leninism as a classic vehicle for entering modern history; China as a world-revolutionary matrix; dilemmas of international communism: neurosis, racism, scientism, and nationalism.

Contemporary Chinese................................Open

Introduction to the Chinese language as currently taught in the schools of mainland China.

Basic Arabic..Open

Elementary writing and reading in Arabic, with some discussion of the problems of dialect.

The Engineer as a Moral Decision-Maker..............Collier

Some human aspects of the problems of engineering brought about by the modern world of man-machine systems.

Christian Field Exposure to Community and Student Issues..................................Touchberry

A Georgia Seagle Residence Hall seminar, open to all, that structures personal encounter in local areas of concern: ghetto, factory, school, temple, coffee house, and rebel camp. Each encounter is followed by a period of reflection involving ethics, social values and theology.

The Young Christian Conscience and
Its Problems...Neville
Meyer
Scarborough

Seminar-style discussions of moral decision-making for the contemporary young Christian; an examination of case histories that pose the tougher problems of conscience; a general introduction to moral case law, or casuistry; exploration of the language of conscience, as distinguished from the languages of the social and natural sciences.

Student Political Activity in Brazil................Weiss

Supervised Fieldwork in Selected
Poverty Areas..McVoy

Designed primarily to acquaint volunteers with fieldwork problems in Negro ghettos: racism, oppression, insularity, communication, and other issues of ghetto life to be confronted through self-encounter and hard work.

How to Read the Daily Newspaper.....................Richer

Critical awareness through tactics of informational self-defense; forms in modern mass communication as modes of authoritarian social control; prescription for a humane and artful system of democratic communication.

Humanities for Post-Modern Man......................Richer

Selected readings in pursuit of the cross-logics and various drifts of modern civilization; use of psychoanalytic and anthropological "lenses" to help make visible alternative systems of decision-making that compete for our loyalties within everyday life behavior.

The Legacy of Provence..............................Open

An interpretation of the romantic tradition from its sources in Southern Europe and North Africa; an exploration of Courtly Love and its impact on the western idea of love; medieval heresy as at once millenial and erotic; the religious and erotic antecedent of modern revolutionary thought.

Sexuality and Freedom...............................Open

The interpenetration of emotional and political freedom: a review of the literature on the relationship of man's sexuality and his institutional arrangements.

The Ideas of Psychotherapy..........................Open

Psychotherapy as a vital sector of the humanities; various theories and techniques of the mental healer and their relevance to intellectual traditions of both the East and the West.

Improvisational Theater Workshop....................Open

Extemporaneous playwriting and acting: the adaptation of the theater to the moods and needs of those attending the workshop.

Cinema History and Workshop........................Staff

A brief history of cinematography, after which the class re-organizes into a film production unit employing its own resources for crews, writers, actors, technicians, etc. Purpose of the course is to learn cinematics by making a movie.

Jazz: A Survey of an American Art Form.............Curry

Negro Folklore.....................................Waugh

A comparison of Northern and Southern, urban and rural Negro folklore traditions and their relationships; relic, isolated culture areas studied also.

Communicating Poetry..............................Tatham

Oral readings to be followed by discussions; purpose of the course is to sharpen student sensibilities as they apply to daily poetic perception.

World-Political Awareness in 20th Century American Literature..............................Penrod

Impact of European fascism and World War II on the American novel and the world-consciousness of American writers.

Literature of the Spanish Civil War................Penrod

(To be offered in Winter, 1966)

The Image of Business in American Literature........Goldhurst

Occasional lectures on the relation of business to American life as seen by the nation's fiction writers.

Poetic Analysis...................................Goldhurst

Hart Crane, T. S. Eliot, Wallace Stevens--a close reading of mature American poetry.

Charles Dickens and the Modern Novel...............Levy

Reading Dickens for value structures characteristic of recent fiction and relevant to contemporary social conflict.

Africa as a Theme in European Literature...........Waugh

Rimbaud, Joseph Conrad, Joyce Cary, Graham Greene, Alan Paton and a discussion of Jomo Kenyatta's *Under Mt. Kenya*.

Our Children's World..............................Offord
Wolking

Characteristic problems of child-adult relationships, and the influence of prevailing social norms on the development of children and their parents. A course

(continued on page 6)

Our Children's World (continued)

especially for collegians who look forward to parenthood, for mothers and fathers, and for those generally puzzled by the world of children.

Youth Culture: Past and Present....................Open

Political and economic sociology of adolescence and young adulthood, with emphasis on rank and status problems, work and political relationship with adult culture, and a comparison of past and present youth environments.

The word "open" in the catalog indicates that a course has been initiated by students or by the Chancellor's office and has yet to find a teacher. A would-be teaching scholar for the course may change its content or description after consulting with those who requested the course.

Fletcher N. Baldwin

A.B., LL.B. (Georgia), LL.M. (Illinois); taught at Georgia, Illinois, Florida Colleges of Law. President, U of F chapter, AAUP.

Courtland Collier

E.B. (Yale), M.E. (Florida); taught at Lehigh, and Florida (civil engineering).

Martin Curry

Student, University of Florida.

Albert Daniels

A.B., M.A. (Florida A & M); taught at Lincoln High School, Gainesville.

William Goldhurst

Ph.D. (Tulane); taught at Tulane, Ohio State, Puerto Rico, and Florida.

Marshall B. Jones

A.B. (Yale), Ph.D. (UCLA); former research associate, U.S. Naval School of Aviation Medicine, Pensacola; ass't professor, psychology and psychiatry, University of Florida.

Stanley K. Laughlin

A.B. (Miami, O.), J.D. (Ohio State); taught at Michigan, Florida Colleges of Law.

Rene Lemarchand

Ph.D. (UCLA); former research associate, Institute of Sociology, Brussels; taught at Louvainium U. (Leopoldville, The Congo), UCLA, Florida.

Herman Levy

Ph.D. (Florida); taught at Tulane and Florida.

Steve McVoy

Owner-operator, Freedom TV; director, Neighborhood House; former project director, North Florida Voter Education Campaign.

Roxcie Meyer

A.B. (Valparaiso); student director, First Lutheran Church.

William Neville

B.D. (Union Theological Seminary, Richmond); student pastor.

David Offord

M.D. (Queens, Ontario); University of Florida Department of Psychiatry.

John Penrod

Ph.D. (Penn); taught at Pennsylvania, Miami (Fla.), and Florida.

John H. Reynolds

A.B. (Harvard), M.A. (Brown); five years as Massachusetts labor movement organizer; taught at New Hampshire and Florida.

Edward Richer

A.B., M.A. (Minnesota); taught at Minnesota and Florida; Chancellor, Free University of Florida.

Robert Scarborough

A.B. (Baylor), B.D. (Southwestern Seminary, Ft. Worth); student pastor.

Lewis Tatham

Ph.D. (Florida); taught at VPI and Florida.

John W. Touchberry

A.B. (Furman), B.D. (S. Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville); pastoral clinical training, N. Carolina Baptist Hospital, Winston-Salem; resident director, Georgia Seagle Hall.

Butler Waugh

Ph.D. (Indiana); taught at Kansas, Indiana, and Florida; ass't editor, Southern Folklore Quarterly.

Joseph Weiss

Graduate student, University of Florida.

William Wolking

PhD. (Minnesota); University of Florida College of Health Related Services; taught at St. Olaf, Minnesota and Florida.

"...the faculty dealing with general education must be independent of and even isolated from the university, close enough to it to get the advantages of its facilities and a few of its men; remote enough from it to be able to work on its problems without the interference or control of the university...It remains to be seen whether any such organization can ever be effected and if so whether it can succeed. Nothing short of it can bring order out of the confusion produced by the conflicting aims of collegiate and university work."

--ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS

* * * * *

"...the organization of higher education, the construction of the university, must be based upon the student, and not upon the professor or upon knowledge. The university must be the projection of the student to the scale of an institution. And his two dimensions are, first, what he is--a being of limited learning capacity --and second, what he needs to know in order to live his life.

"The concept that the university is the student is to be carried out even to the point of affecting its material organization...put the students in charge of the house, and let the student body constitute the torso of the institution, complemented by the faculties of professors. The maintenance of discipline through administrators gives rise to shameful squabbles, and organizes the students into a rebellious horde. The students are not to blame, but the institution, which is badly planned. The students themselves, properly organized for the purpose, should direct the internal ordering of the university...and feel responsible for the morale."

--JOSE ORTEGA Y GASSET

FREE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Office of the Chancellor
Gainesville, Florida

August 19, 1965

To Students and Faculty:

Lest the impression be given that this catalog is somehow complete or final, I want to remind those associated with FUF that the curriculum is the property of the scholars themselves.

That is to say, any course mentioned in this catalog may be cancelled at the faculty member's discretion, or cancelled by non-attendance of students.

Additional courses are not only possible but welcomed at any time. A would-be teaching scholar need only file his course title and description (and length in terms of weeks) with the chancellor's office.

Courses desired by students may be listed after the chancellor's office is petitioned by at least five students; no rule compels students to subject their petitioned course to a review by the college office, but the college would like the opportunity to discuss the course with the students before they formally file. This is not meant as a censorship device, but rather as a way of making sure that the language used in the course title and description is such that it will make possible a recruitment of a qualified teacher.

While the chancellor's office may initiate courses, it is not a healthy practice if allowed to expand more than half of the catalog (if FUF can, in a proper manner of speaking, be said to have a catalog at all). My suggestion is that would-be teachers and students take advantage of their power to create courses, for the chancellor's office, being administrative in character, has an instinctive compulsion to absorb the curriculum--as have administrative offices everywhere else in collegiate America.

Edward Richer

Edward Richer
Chancellor

FREEDOM PARTY

ISSUE SHEET #1

Sept. 20, 1965

ROTC

Compulsory ROTC has been one of the most controversial issues on the University of Florida campus, yet it has been hidden behind a curtain of administrative silence. No student government in the past has disclosed the true facts, and, by their silence, they have supported the administration. FREEDOM PARTY has investigated the case, and now discloses these revealing facts:

***The Land-Grant (Morrill) Act of 1862, which established the ROTC program, leaves to the universities the option of compulsory or voluntary ROTC.

***In the spring of 1964, a campus-wide straw vote overwhelmingly rejected compulsory ROTC in favor of a voluntary program. This student decision was ignored by the administration and student government.

***A majority vote of the 600-member Faculty Senate would abolish compulsory ROTC. On February 25, 1965, with only 104 members present, the Senate voted 54-50 to maintain compulsory ROTC. This unrepresentative vote was against the Senate ROTC investigation committee's recommendation to make ROTC voluntary.

In an academic community, a military program should be an individual decision. A student government committed to abolishing this compulsory program would approach Senate members to inform them of the necessity in supporting the student position toward this issue. A student government committed to the student body on this issue would make sure that the ROTC issue be put on the next Senate agenda for immediate review. FREEDOM PARTY IS COMMITTED TO THIS STAND.

FREEDOM PARTY CANDIDATES

Off-campus
Alan Levin
Brian Ashley
Ted Cooper
Joe Weiss
Dan Goodman
Bonni Greenspan
Dennis Arnold
Joel Starkey
Vic Comras
Jim Fine

Rawlings Hall
Leslie Weiss

Hume Hall
Ernie Lent

Broward Hall
Kitty Leeks

A VOTE FOR FREEDOM IS A VOTE FOR VOLUNTARY ROTC

The Southern (Reprinted from) PATRIOT

Vol. 23, No. 7

September, 1965

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

The Accents are Southern

Experiment in Virginia

(By Staff Correspondent)

BLACKSTONE, Va. — It's very much like the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project in miniature—except that the accents of most of the workers are Southern.

This is the 1965 Summer Project of the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee (VSCRC), headquartered in Blackstone and fanning out through six Black Belt counties.

Through the summer, 20 young people worked in the project, 15 of them white, virtually all students in seven Virginia colleges, most of them native Southerners.

Ben Montgomery, chairman of VSCRC and a student last year at Hampton Institute. tells how it came about:

"We began talking at a statewide student conference called by SNCC last fall. We decided we didn't need to go to Mississippi to find work that needed doing. We had problems right here."

The area they chose, Virginia's Black Belt, lies south of Richmond, the state's Fourth Congressional District. Negroes make up 47.9 per cent of the District population and are a majority in 10 of its 18 counties. Last June only 18.6 per cent of those eligible were registered to vote.

Median income for the entire district is $3,532 a year—putting it 405th among the 435 congressional districts in the nation; from one fourth to one third of the Negro families earn less than $1,000 a year. The area is rural, the main crop tobacco.

To the casual observer, however, there is nothing at all like Mississippi's vast flat stretches of cotton fields sprinkled with tiny cabins and then one big mansion where the owner lives. The country here is prettier—hills and greenery and variety.

"The problems are covered up better," explains Lucius "Duke" Edwards, a project worker. "Many people think Virginia Negroes are free just because nobody is shooting at them every few nights."

Edwards says that if Mississippi is the "closed society," Virginia is the "controlled society."

Traditionally, this state has been run from the top by the few. Registration and voting figures are among the lowest in the nation, for white as well as Negro. The government is highly centralized. Real power lies with circuit court judges elected by the legislature; the judges appoint key local officials including those who control schools and welfare.

VIRGINIA STUDENTS
CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE
NOW

—Southern Patriot Photo

DISCUSSING VIRGINIA'S 'CONTROLLED SOCIETY' and what to do about it, some members of the Virginia summer student project gather in front of their Blackstone headquarters, (from left) Howard Romaine, University of Virginia, Lucius "Duke" Edwards, Virginia State College, David Lubs, University of Virginia, and Ben Montgomery, Hampton Institute.

Even local elected officials are beholden to centralized power, because a state compensation board annually fixes their salaries. The whole system was made to order for machine control, which Virginia has long had.

How do a handful of idealistic college students go about tackling such a formidable force to let some fresh air of democracy in?

You start somewhere, these students say—in one county, now six counties, later more. And you work, you have faith—and when you get discouraged you start all over.

The first thing these students did, last winter, was research. No civil rights project in the South has been more carefully prepared for than this one. They collected facts and figures on the area. Then they visited some local people.

Then they talked among themselves. Stanley Wise of the SNCC staff met with them. By summer they were deeply imbued with the SNCC philosophy that an organizer is not a missionary who goes out to help "the people" but a catalyst who helps people help themselves.

"Our job," explains Howard Romaine of the University of Virginia, "is to find out what people want and need and help them organize themselves."

So this summer they spent a lot of time just listening.

Voter registration was an obvious objective, but far from the only one. Crop allotments were a big issue, for there is often evidence of discrimination.

Lack of jobs is a major problem for Negro young people; most of them leave, a Lunenburg County youth told the *Patriot* reporter, because they think they will find a job in the North. They rarely do, so usually come back—and join the Army as a last resort.

And sometimes the problem was just food.

"Let's don't talk about civil rights, honey, let's talk about food," one woman told Anne Romaine (Howard's wife; there were two young married couples on the project). This woman had four children and was really hungry. So that set the students to trying to get surplus food into the county.

SCOPE, the summer organizing project of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, also had workers in this area (they were from out of state), and a Presbyterian group had a tutoring project. They all worked together.

What is the reaction of local Negroes to these white students who come to their homes—not Northern students but white Southerners?

"They just don't believe it," laughed Duke Edwards, himself a Negro. "They ask where they are from, and the kids say

Virginia Project....

Southern Students Organize

(Continued from Page 1)

Staunton or Lynchburg, or somewhere else in Virginia—and they can't believe it."

Trust, of course, does not come overnight, but it is not impossible, and real relationships grew.

As for the white students themselves, they are an inspiring group; full of the contagious joy of those who have found their way out of the sham of the Southern segregated world. Unlike the mavericks of earlier generations, they are beginning to have the numbers that make them know they are part of a real movement.

There is Howard Romaine, native of Louisiana who was studying bio-chemistry when he discovered the sit-ins and Mississippi and the movement and couldn't get his mind on the chemistry anymore ("It bugged me, man, it bugged me.") There is Nan Grogan, cheerleader at a Virginia high school, social leader at Mary Washington College—until she worked in an Atlanta slum on a YWCA project, saw poverty firsthand, found SNCC, went to Mississippi.

And so on down the list—each with his own story, breaking away, finding freedom.

Nan Grogan thinks they feel it all more deeply than many Northern students who come South. She worked in Mississippi last summer and was amazed during the winter when she visited another summer worker in New England and found that his interest in the movement had cooled.

"They went home to be heroes, had dinners given in their honor, all that," she explains. "If you are from the South and work in the movement, you may go home to ostracism and pain. So you think a long time and when you make up your mind you really believe."

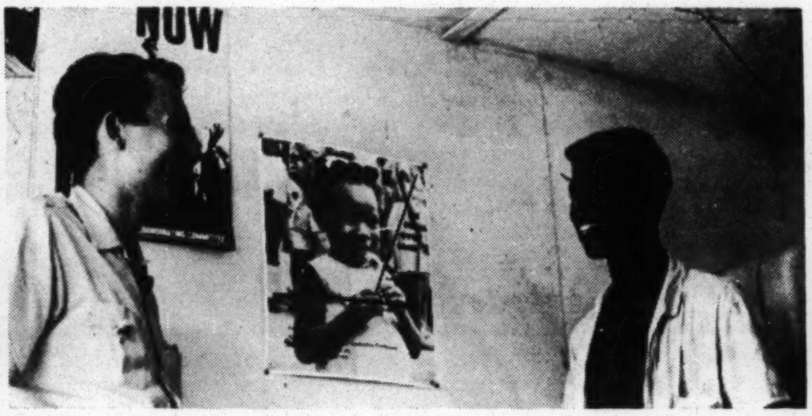
One future objective of the Virginia project will be to organize among the poor white people as well as the Negroes of this impoverished region and to bring them together.

There is also talk of literacy schools, political action to support independent candidates for both local and state offices, and community organizations to make use of anti-poverty programs in a way that makes them really belong to the local people.

The project will continue; some summer workers will stay. Those returning to campuses will be telling their experiences, attempting to bring other searching young people to the wide world of emancipation and social commitment. There will be weekend organizing projects during the year, and hopefully many more on the job next summer.

Here perhaps is the greatest significance of this project: not only Southern black and white students working together, but working in communities close to home and thus bridging the gap that so often separates the intellectual from his fellowman.

(The Virginia student project is not the child of any national organization, so has limited financial resources. You can make a tax exempt donation through the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) P.O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tenn., which is supporting them. Make checks to SSOC, and mark them for VSCRC.)



—Patriot Photo

THE VIRGINIA STUDENTS and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's SCOPE workers jointly set up an office, library and community center in Victoria, Va. Here SCOPE worker Bill Monnie of West Virginia Wesleyan College (left) talks with a local civil rights worker, John Boyd.

HELPING LOCAL PEOPLE learn the mechanics of organizing is part of the Virginia students' work. Here two project workers, Howard Romaine (left) and Bill Towe, show Richard Wallace and Lawrence Fowlks how to run the mimeograph machine.

SUPPORT VSCRC NOW
The Work in Virginia Must Continue !!!

Tear Off And Return to:
Enclosed is my contribution of $ Or,
I pledge $ per month to the Virginia Students for Civil Rights Committee (VSCRS).

Name...

Address..

City.........................State.............
(Zip Code)

Contributors to VSCRC receive a subscription to the NEW VIRGINIA. Send to: VSCRS, Box 79, Kenbridge, Va.

AGENDA

October 5, 1965

I. Introduction....................................Rick Stevens
Melinda Freedman

II. Introduction of Agencies represented:

Southern Student Organizing Committee.........Gene Guerrero

American Friends Service Committee............Connie Curry

Atlanta Council on Human Relations............Eliza Paschal

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith........Melinda Freedman

Southern Project, USNSA.......................Rick Stevens

Georgia Civil Liberties Union.................Florence Robbins

National Council of Christian and Jews........Don McAvoy

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.....Ruth Howard

National Urban League.........................Ken Crooks

Georgia Council on Human Relations............Mrs. Frances Pauley

World University Service......................Robert Farley

III. Projections for 1965-66 School Year: On-Campus Activities

1.	Student Activity Series	Melinda Freedman
2.	Emory Teach-In-Committee	Gene Guerrero
3.	Black-Nationalism Forum	E. J. Brisker Morehouse College
4.	Emory Civil Liberties Union	Gene Guerrero
5.	Student Involvement Emphasis Week, Agnes Scott	Barbara Dowd
6.	Morris Brown Human Relations Club	McKinley Young
7.	Political Science Club Georgia State	Lee Raudonis
8.		
9.		

Inter-Campus Activities:

1. Vine City Project	Gene Guerrero Al Ulmer Otis Cochran
2. Tutorial Projects:	
Vine City Tutorial	Alice Haines
Emory Tutorial	Rev. Lon Chestnut
Techwood Homes Tutorial	Rev. Harwood Bartlett
3. Ad-Hoc Committee on Abolishment of Capital Punishment	Florence Robbins Georgia Civil Liberties Union
4. Atlanta Viet Nam Committee	John Steinburg, SNCC
5. Panel for Americans	Eliza Paschal
6. Equal Housing Project	Rick Stevens
7. Intercollegiate Council	Barbara Dowd
8. Committee on Appeal for Human Rights	Robert Threerell
9. Georgia Students for Human Rights	Rick Stevens

A student is a responsible individual. He is not only seeking to become a citizen, an effective member of society, a determiner of public and organizational policy, but he already is, or should be, all of these things. It is by being that one becomes something more.

The responsibilities of a student are individual. Group membership and participation in the democratic process are necessary for carrying out these responsibilities, but decisions of right and wrong, of support and non-support, of self-development and of self-dispersal are made by individual students, not by institutions or groups of students. The most institutions or groups can do is to provide a setting which hinders, or situations which assist in self-development and the acceptance of individual obligations and opportunities.

A student's first duty is to secure an education. This implies that he must first learn what an education is. Education should prepare for a vocation (whether the vocation be college teaching or homemaking, welding or philosophy), but it should primarily develop the agility to think, the knowledge of how to find facts, and the experience of applying facts through thought to the problems of everyday life, as well as to great events. The best way to learn is to do. What is learned in a vacuum will remain neatly sealed away, never to be applied, never to find its purpose. Education is an active process, not a passive acceptance of exterior events.

To visualize one's responsibilities as a student in community, national and world terms requires a realization that the business of college or university is the business of life in the deepest sense. Today we remember few of the rulers or generals of ancient Greece but many of the philosophers and political theorists; the name of St. Augustine has long outlived that of the generals who besieged his city; Galileo and Cardinal Bellarmine who defended his studies are familiar to many while Cardinals and inquisitors who secured the scientist's conviction and recantation are known only to historical specialists. John Maynard Keynes was as much a practicing businessman as a theorists, more a student of political economy than a university scholar, but his own words; "In the long run, it is ideas which are powerful for good or for evil" are already illustrated by the influence of his writing. Policy and politics, decision and acceptance are based on fact as well as emotion, on ideas and principles as much as on fact. The university must seek to promote research for the testing of ideas whether in physics, philosophy, economics or aesthetics.

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EXISTENCE OF AND THE FINAL ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION OF THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH A COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY PLACES BEFORE A STUDENT IS, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, THE STUDENT'S.

The following list is comprised of topics of immediate interest to the student - the student as student, as citizen, and as human being.

The purpose of the list is to refresh in your minds the issues of the day, to stimulate your thoughts, and to spark your interest in planning programs, seminars, forums and action programs around these topics.

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

Urban Power Structure
Root Causes of Poverty
Discrimination in a Complex Society
The Student in Community Issues
Prejudice: The Root Causes
The College Student and a Changing South
The Future of Today's 1st and 2nd Grader

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Capital Punishment
Legislation and Minority Groups
Government and Higher Education
Church and State
Civil Rights and Voting Rights Bill: Their Implementation
Economics of Equality
Federal Penal System
Anti-Semitism
Labor's View of Business
The Radical Right
Automation: the Ethic of Work

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Southeast Asia
South Africa: The U.S. and Apartheid
Arab-Israeli Relations
Foreign Affairs and American Business
Latin America: Alliance for Progress
The African Nations in the U.N.
The African and the American Negro
The Dominican Crisis
The Atlantic Alliance and the United Eurpoe

For further information, resource material, speakers and organizational aid contact:

Richard L. Stevens
U.S. National Student Association
Southern Student Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, Room 701
Atlanta, Georgia
telephone: 523-8322
residence: 231-2824

Melinda Freedman
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
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STUDENT INVOLVEMENT SERIES

Topic:
Discrimination In A Complex Society: Segregated Housing Patterns

As students, we are concerned about justice; can we tolerate injustice of denying persons opportunity to buy or rent homes because of the pigmentation of their skin? As students, we are concerned about persons and all conditions which directly affect human welfare; can we neglect the ghettos of our cities crying out with problems caused by intolerable housing conditions? As students, we are concerned for unity among men; if we are serious can we separate ourselves from whole groups in restricted residential areas?

There is substantial agreement among students that racism is a sin. But the sin of racism always takes specific forms. A key manifestation is discrimination in housing. We cannot really solve the issue of racism apart from resolving the issue of freedom of residence. Housing cannot be purchased freely in an open market even yet with equality for all. Continuance of segregation in residential ghettos makes desegregation in schools, churches, and other institutions more difficult to achieve.

Segregation in housing is the parent to many evils. In the north particularly, it is the device used to maintain the school segregation that is so criticized when it occours in the south. It is vitally linked to the spread of slums which are eating away the heart of the American city. The conditions in these ghettos breed crime and violence, and flood the city streets with frustrated, under-educated youths who cannot find work in today's labor market. These urban ghettos are confined by a "white noose" of surburban developments which, with few exceptions, even in states with fair housing laws, are sold to whites only.

It is true that there are some Negroes who would seem to prefer ghetto living, but the great majority of the Negro population live in a racial ghetto only because they can't live elsewhere in a place of their own choosing. They wish to avoid racial-area living for many reasons:

1. Racially designated housing usually gives less value and service per dollar than non-racial housing.

2. Racial concentrations are usually in the older structures of a city and are frequently exploited by owners not living in the area, who fail to apply good maintenance standards.

3. Municipally maintained services in the congested and/or racially designated areas are usually neglected. This includes the various buildings, health and safety inspection services, inadequate police protection, old and crowded school buildings, haphazard garbage collection and street cleaning, and crowded traffic arteries.

4. Racial concentrations acquire the status of a racially designated area and subsequently are isolated from the political and economic life of a community.

5. Racially designated areas are subjected to types of exploitation that do not exist in other areas.

Many forces in our society are responsible for the formidable barriers faced by minority group families in their quest for housing. The villians are many; the angels, few. The housing and leading industries, local "improvement" associations, individual prejudice, customs, and codes have all been part and parcel of the abridgment of one of man's most basic rights. It is not unfair, however, to lay major responsibility at the door of the United States government.

When the late President Kennedy issued the Executive Order barring discrimination in Federally-aided housing, he actually laid no new national mandate. What he did do was to direct the government of the United States, in the operation of its far reaching housing activities, to start obeying the mandate of the Constitution and Federal law, both of which had been violating in its housing programs for a number of years.

America, the "land of the free" must come to grips with the hard truth that no man is free unless he can freely choose where he will live. At stake is the integrity of our democratic system, both for ourselves and before the peoples of the world.

Atlanta is in a very important transition stage in regards to open occupancy housing. The present patterns are rigid and panic has been prevelant whenever a minority group attempts to purchase a house in a previously segregated neighborhood. The move for equal rights has progressed in almost every other area except housing. Businesses, which have attempted to integrate their work force, have found that Negro employees must travel great distances to come to work. This is the next great responsibility in Atlanta, and the sponsorship by students of an interesting conference on segregated housing patterns with an orientation toward education and action would be of great service.

Suggested Topics to be Covered

1. Origin of separate housing patterns
2. Disadvantage of separate housing for class, racial or ethnic groups
3. What is a good community?
4. What about the fear of price declines?
5. What factors affect the use or fall in prices?
6. Will minority neighbors maintain the property?
7. Will social relationships create problems?
8. Will conflict accompany neighborhood integration?
9. Will one minority family signal panic moves?

Resources Available

1. Organizations:

a) American Friends Service Committee
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 501
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

b) American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 703
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

c) Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 1100
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

d) National Conference of Christian and Jews
78 Marietta Street, Suite 417, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

e) National Urban League
1009 First Federal Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

f) National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
323 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

g) Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ
289 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

h) Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

2. Publications - guidelines and program activities

a) "Fair Housing Handbook," 1965
The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
323 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016 - 50¢

b) "Freedom of Residence," Social Action, May 1963
Council for Christian Social Action
10 & Saull Streets
Lebanon, Pennsylvania - 25¢

c) "Citizen Action for Housing and Renewal," April 1964; 3rd in a series.
Roland M. Sawyer, Housing Consultant
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh 22, Pa. - free

d) "Toward Integration In Surburban Housing,"
by Leacock, Deutoch, and Fishman, 1964
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Publication number 6417, 75¢

3. Publications--Reading - Educational

a) "Residential Integration and Property Values," Social Problems, Summer 1962, Volume 10, No. 1

b) "New Neighbors," Look, January 14, 1964

c) "Homes and Community," 1965
American Friends Service Committee, 16 pages

d) "Trends in Housing," published bi-monthly by the
National Committee Against Discrimination In Housing,
323 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

e) "The Quiet Integration in the Suburbs," by Margaret Fisher, Council Woman, June 1963, pages 4-6.

f) "Ghettos, Property Rights, and Myths," by Joseph B. Robinson, Frontier, June 1964.

g) "What Integrated Housing is All About," Community,
Friendship House,
4233 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

h) "New Challenges to Neighborhoods," by Stanley B. Winters, The Crisis, February 1961. Reprinted by Newark NAACP,
190 Clinton Avenue, Newark, New Jersey

i) "The Struggle for Open Housing," by Frances Levenson, The Progressive, December 1962. Reprinted by NCADH
323 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

j) "Good Neighbors In Washington," by Eleanor Garst, Progressive, March 1965.

k) "Racism In Suburbia: A Constructive Answer," by Galal Kemahan, Reprinted from The Christian Century

l) "We Moved To An Integrated Neighborhood," by Lois Mark Stalvey, Reprinted from Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin Magazine.

m) "Who are Your Neighbors?" by Irving Babon, reprinted from Childhood Education.

4. Resource Publication

a) "Fair Housing Laws," 372 pages, Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402
$1.50 per copy

b) "The Federal Role In Equal Housing Opportunity,"
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036 - 28 pages

c) "Action Guide for Racial Justice Now - Housing," No. 2,
Council For Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ,
289 Park Avenue, South, New York, New York 10010.

5. Audio Visual Materials:

1) "All The Way Home" - 29½ minutes/black and white

A house in an all-white neighborhood is up for sale. When a Negro family stops to inquire about it, neighborhood fear and anxiety mount to a dangerous point, until responsible community leadership asserts itself. Film shows that integrated community can work. (Adult and senior high school levels)

2. "The Burden of Truth" - 67 minutes/black and white

A Negro family moves into a white suburban community and a mob gathers in protest. Through flashbacks, we discover the problems - and the prejudices - that the young Negro father faced in growing up. Sponsored by the United Steelworkers of America. (Adult and secondary school levels)

3. "For White Christians Only" - 30 minutes/black and white

A kinescope of the NBC-National Educational Television program on housing discrimination against minorities - specifically, Negroes and Jews. In addition to a round table discussion with three experts, Jackie Robinson describes his house-hunting experiences, and a Fairfield County, Connecticut real estate broker shows how housing discrimination against Jews operates in his area. (Adult and secondary high school)

4. "Wanted - A Place to Live" - 15 minutes/black and white

Employs unusual audience participation plan through "stop the projector" technique. A Negro is rejected when he answers an ad to share a room with three other university students. In a second ending to the film, a Jew is the rejected room-seeker. (Adult and senior high school levels)

5. "Walk In My Shoes" - 42 minutes / black and white

A documentary in the "Close-Up" series exploring the innermost feelings of the Negro as he reacts to prejudice and discrimination in America. Originally presented by ABC-TV, the film endeavors to project what it is like to "walk in the shoes" of the Negro - whether as a professional in Chicago or a laborer in New York. (Adult and secondary school levels.)

The above material can be obtained from:

Southern Regional Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

STUDENT INVOLVEMENT SERIES

TOPIC: Root Causes of Poverty

"The American economy, in the eyes of corporation leaders and, to a certain extent, of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, is basically sound. Great progress has been made since World War II, the argument goes, in raising the income of all Americans and in decreasing the gap between the so-called haves and have-nots. There are more people employed today than ever before. While pockets of poverty are said to exist, it is thought that these can be cured through tax cuts and reform and other isolated economic answers such as retraining programs and increased public works."

"In his significantly titled "The Affluent Society" (1958) Professor J. K. Galbraith states that poverty in this country is no longer "a massive affliction (but) more nearly an afterthought." Dr. Galbraith is a humane critic of the American capitalist system, and he is generously indignant about the continued existence of even this non-massive and afterthoughtish poverty. But the interesting thing about his pronouncement, aside from the fact that it is inaccurate, is that it was generally accepted as obvious. For a long time now, almost everybody has assumed that, because of the New Deal's social legislation and - more important - the prosperity we have enjoyed since 1940, mass poverty no longer exists in this country.

"However, there is growing awareness that poverty is very widespread and likely to increase. Studies have shown that up to 40 per cent of the nation live either deprived of necessities (beginning with enough to eat) or exist "above poverty but short of minimum requirements for a modestly comfortable level of living." While the actual percent may be debatable, the fact that a considerable portion of our nation is deprived of what are considered essentials should not be. Dwight MacDonald's pamphlet, "Our Invisible Poor" (available free from the Sidney Hillman Foundation Reprint Department, 15 Union Square, New York, 3, N. Y.) clearly demonstrates the validity of this belief. That the poor are on the "other side of town," on the farms, and usually out of sight helps to explain the myth of the "affluent society."

"Believing that the poor are small in number has fostered the belief that isolated social legislative stabs can solve what remains of the problem. The continued existence of a massive number of poor clearly demonstrates the weakness of this approach. Poverty is not the result solely of adverse business conditions but a combination of social, political, and economic factors. MacDonald argues that poverty tends to perpetuate itself through conditions such as poor housing, low educational opportunities, and high incidence of illness. Such an interrelated problem cannot be solved by a fragmented approach. A program to retrain the unskilled, for example, will fail unless positive steps are made to insure that the new worker will be able to escape from slum conditions and the continual threat of illness."

Topics to be discussed:

1. Technology, automation, and economic growth.
2. Are economic growth and social progress inseparable in America?
3. The U. S. market: Amount of poverty and deprivation.
4. The recent slowdown in the rate of progress.
5. Recent regressive trends in income distribution.
6. Significance of "special" factors in poverty and deprivation.
7. Are current goals and programs adequate?
8. Some needed program changes.
9. Specific goals to reduce poverty and deprivation.

Publications - Resource material:

1. "1/5th of the Nation," by Elma L. Greenwood; Department of Publication Services, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027, 50¢.
2. "Our Invisible Poor," by Dwight MacDonald. Reprinted by Sidney Hillman Foundation, Reprint Department, 15 Union Square, New York 3, New York.
3. "Readings on Poverty," Edited by Ken McEldowney. Reprinted by Students For A Democratic Society, 1103 East 63rd Street, Chicago, Illinois.
4. "The Power of the Poor," by Warren C. Haggstrom. Issued by Students For a Democratic Society (see above).
5. "This Is War?" by Robb Burlage, Distributed by SDS, (see above)
6. "Life on A.D.C.: Budgets of Despair," by Charles Lebeaux. Distributed by SDS (see above).
7. "Poverty Prognosis: Who Needs The Poor?" by Nat Hentoff. April 1965, Motive, pages 15-18.
8. "Philadelphia Polls The Poor," by James Ridgeway. The New Republic, June 5, 1965, pages 8-9.

9. "An Ad Hoc Individual For the Green Revolution," by Karl Meyer, Liberation, August 1964.

10. "The Big Gun on Poverty," by Edwin L. Dale, Jr. The New Republic, August 7, 1965, pages 13-15.

11. "Below The Poverty Level" and "Progress Against Poverty," pamphlets printed by the National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 East 19th Street, New York, New York 10003

12. "Exchange: Government Poverty Program," by Paul Jacobs and Hyman Bookbinder, New America, August 9, 1965.

13. "The Psychological Effects of Poverty," by Ruth A. Kloepfer. Reprinted by Southern Project, USNSA, 41 Exchange Place, S. E. Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

14. "Caught on the Horn of Plenty," by W. H. Terry, Center For the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California.

15. "The War on Poverty: Two Reports," Renewal, May 1965, pages 16-19.

16. "Poverty," by Sargent Shriver, Americana Corporation, 575 Lexington, Ave., New York, N. Y. 10022.

17. "An Interracial Movement of the Poor?", by Tom Hayden and Carl Wittman, distributed by SDS, 1103 East 63rd Street, Chicago, Illinois.

18. "Toward the Fuller Life," Time, February 5, 1965, 20 pages.

19. "Fast Start For Head Start," Time, July 2, 1965, 64 pages.

20. "Federal Anti-Poverty Programs," Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

21. "Can The Job Corps Do The Job?" by Barbara Carter, The Reporter, March 25, 1965, pages 21-26.

22. "Communities In Action," March 1965, Vol. 1, No. 2, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C. 20506.

23. "Big Business Enlists for The War On Poverty," by John McHale, Trans-Action, May-June 1965, pages 3-9.

24. "VISTA: A New Kind of Public Service," by Hannah Lees, The Reporter, April 22, 1965, pages 31-32.

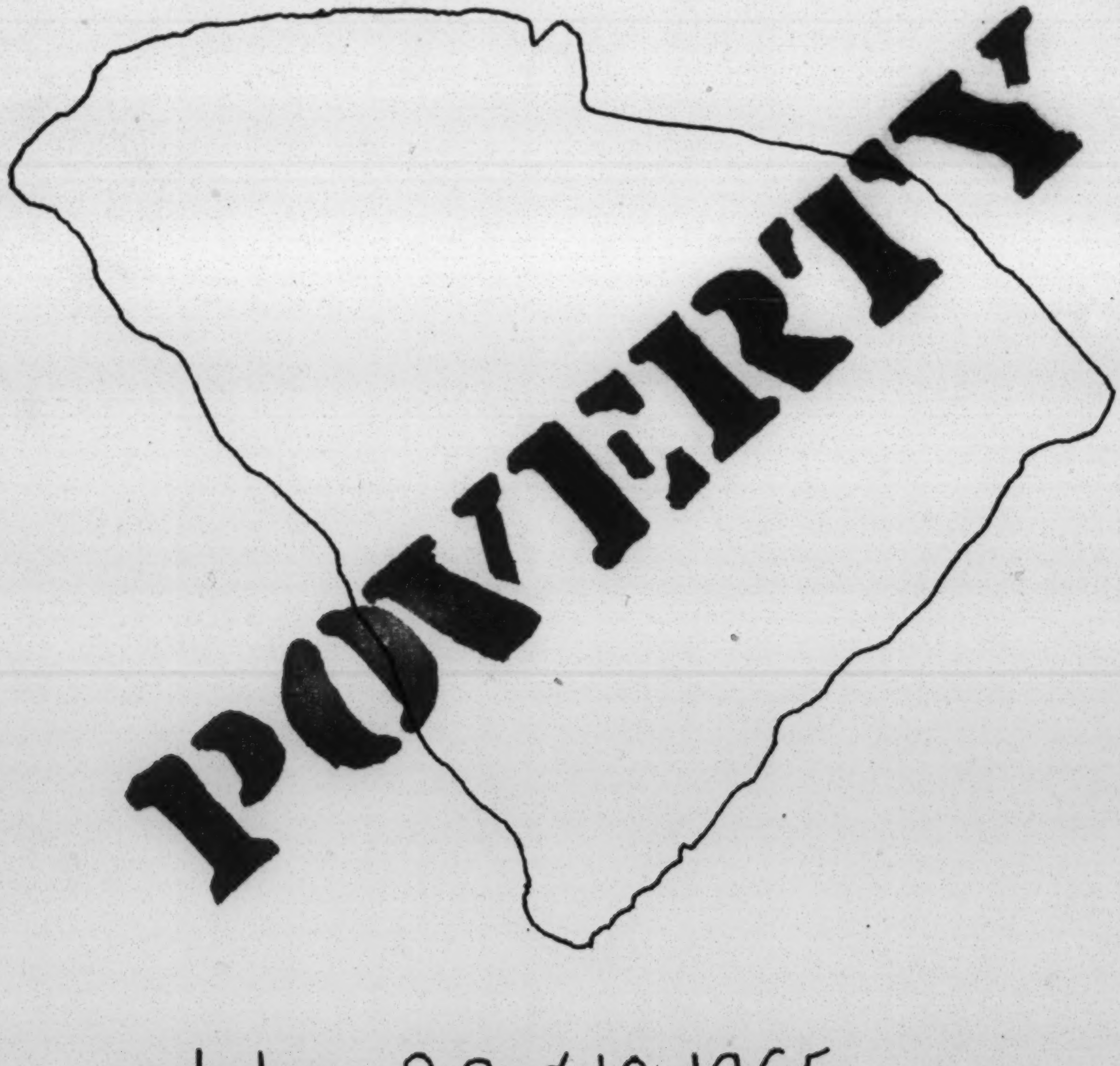
25. "Atlanta Fights Poverty," by James Ridgeway, *The New Republic*, May 29, 1965, pages 12-15.

Books:

1. Bagdikian, Ben H., *In The Midst of Plenty* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).
2. Caudill, Harry M., *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* (Boston: Little, Brown 1963).
3. Conant, James B., *Slums and Suburbs* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961)
4. Council of Economic Advisers, *Economic Report* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964).
5. Galbraith, John K., *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958)
6. Gordon, Margaret S., *The Economics of Welfare Policies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).
7. Harrington, Michael, *The Other America* (New York: Macmillan, 1962).
8. Jouvenal, Betrand de, *Ethics of Redistribution* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1950).
9. Keyserling, Leon, *Poverty and Deprivation in the United States* (Washington: Conference on Economic Progress, 1962).
10. MacDonald, Dwight, "Our Invisible Poor," The New Yorker (New York: Jan. 19, 1963).
11. Marshall, Thomas H., *Citizenship and Social Class* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1950).
12. May, Edgar, *The Wasted Americans* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).
13. Miller, Herman P., *Rich Man, Poor Man* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell,1964).
14. Schorr, Alvin L., *Slums and Social Insecurity,* Social Security Administration Research Report No. 1 (Washington: U. S. Gov't Printing Off.,1963)
15. Smith, T. V., *The American Philosophy of Equality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.)
16. Tawney, R. H., *Equality*, (London:Allen and Unwin, 1931).
17. Thomson, David, *Equality* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1949).
18. U. S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee of Committee on Education and Labor, *Hearings on H. R. 10440* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964).
19. Clark, Kenneth B., *Dark Ghetto*, 251 pages, New York and Evanston: Harper and Row.

south carolina student council on human relations

STUDENTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS



FALL CONFERENCE

october 8, 9 & 10, 1965

SCSCHR CONFERENCE LEADERS

MR. FRANK K. SLOAN, who has recently been appointed to the position of Regional Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for the Southeast, is a South Carolinian, having received his AB and LLB degrees from the University of South Carolina. Mr. Sloan practiced law in Columbia from 1948-1959 and since 1959 has been on the University of South Carolina Law School faculty. From 1961 to 1964, on leave of absence from the University, he held an important post in the Defense Department, being Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. In the fall of 1964 Mr. Sloan returned to the University of South Carolina Law School faculty and in September was appointed to the post of Director of Economic Opportunity program in the South. Mr. Sloan was a Naval officer during the war and is now a Commander in the Naval Reserve.

MR. WILLIAM K. MARSH is originally from Baltimore and was educated at the University of Baltimore and the University of Maryland, where in addition to Bachelor Degrees in Law and Business Administration, he also received a Master of Law Degree. He is an attorney and a member of the Maryland Bar. He also holds certificates in City Planning and Public Administration. Before coming to Columbia Mr. Marsh was Supervisor of the Baltimore Housing Program and Director of Urban Renewal and City Planning in Canton, Ohio. Mr. Marsh organized Columbia's Department of Urban Development in 1955, a program which has received national recognition. He is a Director of the Executive Board of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials. Mr. Marsh began his work as Director of the Richland County Economic Opportunity Commission on June 8, 1965.

THE REV. MATTHEW D. McCOLLOM is a graduate of Claflin College where he received the Bachelor of Arts degree. He is also a graduate of Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta. Mr. McCollom has held pastorates in a number of South Carolina communities, most recently at Trinity Methodist Church in Orangeburg for eight years. He is now District Superintendent of the Walterboro District of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Rev. Mr. McCollom has held leadership positions in various civil rights groups; is currently a member of the Board of Directors of the SC Conference of NAACP and on the Executive Committee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. For a number of years Mr. McCollom has also served on the Board of Directors of the S.C. Council on Human Relations.

MRS. MODJESKA SIMKINS of Columbia is Director of Publicity and Public Relations of the Richland County Citizens Committee, Inc., a member of the Richland County Economic Opportunity Commission and Vice-President of Southern Conference Educational Fund. Mrs. Simkins was for many years Assistant State Director of the S. C. Tuberculosis Association and is at present assistant cashier at the Victory Bank.

Al,
Hope you can make it. Bud

POVERTY

SOUTH CAROLINA STUDENT COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FALL CONFERENCE AGENDA

Friday, October 8, 1965

4:30-6:30	Registration
6:30-7:30	Dinner
7:30-8:00	Introductions, welcomes and announcements
8:00-8:45	Address: "Poverty and the Economic Opportunity Act" Mr. Frank Sloan
9:00-9:30	Small Discussion groups
9:30-10:15	Dialogue with Mr. Sloan

Saturday, October 9, 1965

8:00-8:30	Breakfast
9:00-9:45	Address: "More Poverty" Mr. Bill Marsh
9:45-10:30	Dialogue with Mr. Marsh
10:30-12:00	Workshops Feelings and Fears----------The Rev. Mr. James Jackson Local Councils---------------Mr. Hayes Mizell Capital Punishment----------Mr. Matthew Perry Peace------------------------ Morality on trial-----------Mrs. Alice N. Spearman Church on Trial*------------Mrs. Gladyce Cole Beyond Desegregation--------Mrs. Modjeska Simkins
12:00-1:00	Lunch
1:00-5:00	Activities---Meet at Main Hall
5:00-6:00	District Meetings
6:30-7:30	Dinner
7:30-8:15	Address: "Beyond Desegregation--What Now!" The Rev. Mr. Matthew McCollom
8:15-9:00	Dialogue with Mr. McCollom
9:00-9:45	Entertainment----Songs
9:45-10:15	Film: "Which Way the Wind?"
10:30-till	To the El Rendezvous

Sunday, October 10, 1965

8:30-9:00	Breakfast
9:00-9:30	Business Session
9:45-10:30	Worship Service
10:30-11:30	Address: "The Time is Now!" Mrs. Modjeska Simkins
12:00-1:00	Lunch-And away we go

Please turn in you conference evaluation forms after Mrs. Simkins closing address and before Lunch

Dear SCSCHR members and friends:

Great News!!!!!

The conference is coming! Reserve the dates October 8th, 9th & 10th.

Again this year the Conference will be held at beautiful Penn Community Center in Frogmore, S. C., just about ten miles out from Beaufort and close to the Ocean. The best route is US 21. Follow this highway through Beaufort to the Post Office at Frogmore; turn right and youre heading for Penn-just a half mile up the road.

We hope we have an exciting program lined up for you. We have some top notch speakers, such as; Mr. Frank Sloan, Mr. Matthew McCollum, Mr. Bill Marsh and Mrs. Modjeska Simkins.(See program for details) We also have some exciting activities, for example, we have tours planned into the poverty areas around Frogmore as well as discussion sessions with Local students to tell them about the various colleges in South Carolina.

What should you bring? Be sure and bring plenty of comfortable casual clothes, musical instruments and loads of ideas. We especially hope you have plenty of the latter because our conference can not function without your participation.

The cost of the conference is $7:50. This includes both room and board.

So, mark October 8th, 9th & 10th "Reserved of the SCSCHR conference."

We would like for you to fill out and return the Advance application slip on the bottom of this letter and assure yourself of a reservation. Send in by October 4th.

See you at Frogmore,

SCSCHR Officers
Bill Roberts
Al Gray
Cathy Tyler
Libby Johnson
Jim Dennis

S. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 LAUREL STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

- -

APPLICATION BLANK

NAME: ____

SCHOOL ADDRESS: ____________________________________

HOME ADDRESS: ______________________________________

REGISTRATION FEE($7.50) ENCLOSED ______ WILL PAY AT CONFERENCE ______

SCSCHR Fall 1965

S. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 LAUREL STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

COLUMBIA, S.C. 2
DEC 6
PM

5¢ U.S. POSTAGE

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1106-19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

February 11, 1965

MEMO:

TO: Al Ulmer

FROM: Katherine Jones Katherine Jones

RE: Student Activities in Tennessee

I am attempting to answer your memo since Baxton Bryant is out of the office with flu, and perhaps I know something more of this than he does.

Throughout the state, the student activities have not been as much in the forefront this school-year. It is quite probable that considerable is going on that we do not know about. For many of the traditional civil rights student groups, the compliance with the Civil Rights law took the wind out of their sails. They were not the kind of groups which could adapt readily to other kinds of activities.

MEMPHIS - No organization or structured activity that I know about. Students from Southwestern (white oriented Presbyterian but with two or three Negro male students) joined other students from the Negro colleges in trying to gain admittance to some of the segregated and status churches last spring. There has been renewed effort this winter (see clipping) but I am not sure what part students are playing. There have been some meetings between white and Negro students, but no structure, although the meetings have been successful in themselves, I understand.

JACKSON - Last year there was a good group of students from Lane College (Negro) and Lambuth College (white), both Methodist, which met regularly for informal discussions. Some structure was added to this when the group had an all day session in early May, 1964 which Vernon Jordan attended along with a scattering of students from nearby Kentucky colleges. The Lambuth College students were part of this without formal college approval. This year, the president of Lambuth insisted that they must have a faculty adviser and he appointed one who is not acceptable to the students, either because of personality, or because he is not in sympathy with the movement. All communication has ceased. The other college in Jackson, Union University (Baptist) has never been a part of the fellowship.

NASHVILLE - The Joint University Council on Human Relations was extremely active last spring, but has not had as much enthusiasm this year or real goals. They participated actively in the tutorial programs last year which were staffed entirely by volunteers. They were not very well administered, and the adult who headed the program last year became incapacitated this fall. In addition, the schools are doing something in this area this year. The Council, composed of students largely from Peabody, Scarritt and Vanderbilt, with some Fisk students, decided to sponsor one of the programs at Vanderbilt which are open to any group which is part of the Vanderbilt Student Senate. The Joint University Council was accepted for membership. They intentionally went out to bring a controversial figure in and against my advice had Carl Braden here on February 9 to speak in Alumni Hall, Vanderbilt to an overflow crowd. (See clipping) There was some stated resistence from right wing groups, but no organized protest. They are working on abolition of capital punishment at the current session of the Legislature.

MARYVILLE COLLEGE - Maryville, Tenn. An ongoing group with some cooperation especially with Knoaville College involving week-end exchange visits, bringing of speakers, etc. Both are Presbyterian supported schools.

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE - I do not know of any organized group this year but there may be on.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH, Sewanee - Students are supplying most of the tutorial help with the project now under way for tutoring and enrichment, especially for Negro students. The primary school is integrated, including teacher integration, and it became apparent last year that Negro students were suffering from poorer education (formerly a two teacher school for 8 grades) and lack of enrichment afforded children of the white population largely composed of University faculty children. Students have regular times when to report for tutoring service.

CHATTANOOGA - Tutorial program is run by Community Relations Conference, and staffed by adults, but some mature students are used in the teaching program, and there is considerable interchange in the high school and college discussion groups.

The brevity of this report may lie, in part, with our lack of knowledge. I have not made my usual fall visit to East Tennessee, because of the uncertainty concerning our Annual Meeting, originally set for October, moved to November, and hel in late January.

STUDENT DEMOCRACY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Contents:

I. Introduction

II. Students' Influence in the Leadership of the University

III. Student Welfare

Leiv H. Tvedt
Misjonsveien 33
Stavanger, Norway

Helge J. Kolrud
Bjørkveien 13
Nesstun, Norway

I. Introduction.

The students at the University of Oslo elect representatives to work for them in the affairs of the University. Their authority lies in two fields.

The first field concerns a right to take part in the University administration and leadership. This right is not merely a gift from the University, but has been authorized by law since 1955.

The second field of authority concerns the Student Union (Studentsamskipnaden). This organization has as its duty to take care of the students' scholastic, economic, social and cultural interests.

In the following the students' influence in the affairs of the University will first be accounted for, then follows a description of the Student Union and its activities.

II. Students' Influence in the Leadership of the University.

1. In order to give a picture of the part the students play in the administration of the University, one must first understand how the University is organized. It can then be understood how the student fits in as an independent part of this organization.

2. The University of Oslo, which has approx. 10.000 students, is divided into seven schools called "faculties". These seven are the theology, judiciary, medicine, history-philosophy, mathematics-science, dentistry, and social-science faculties. Each faculty is headed by a faculty council, assisted by a secretariat.

The highest governing body of the University is the Senate (Det akademiske kollegium), which consists of the Rector, the Vice-Rector, the Deans of the seven faculties, one representative of the non-professorial staff and one representative of the student body. The Senate has its own secretariat which is headed by the University Director.

3. The student representative to the Senate has the same privileges and authority as the other mem-

bers. His task is to promote the students' interests and opinions. It is the opinion among most of the students that this arrangement is satisfactory. A year and a half ago questions concerning student representation were discussed by the students and it was decided that no change was necessary.

The election of the student representative is done by the Student Advisory Board (Studentenes Fellesråd). This board has approx. 45 members composed of student representatives from the seven faculties.

4. The Student Advisory Board attends to the common interests of the various student groups. Issues which will be brought up in the Senate are in many cases discussed in advance by the Board. The student representative takes part in these discussions, and he will present to the Senate the majority opinion of the Board.

5. The representatives to the Student Advisory Board are elected at the so-called "public meetings". These are the open meetings which are held each spring and fall, one for each faculty. Every student has a right to take part, but as a rule, only about 5-10% participate. This small percentage of students who participate in the student government is one of its greatest weaknesses and must be interpreted as a lack of interest on the part of the average student.

6. Also elected at the open meetings are the Student Committees (Studentutvalg). These committees are made up of 5 members who are to see to the students' interests at the faculty level. They also work with the central leadership of the University if there are cases that are too special to be handled by the Student Advisory Board.

Each faculty is lead by a Faculty Board (Fakultetsråd) consisting of the professors and associate professors of the faculty, two representatives for the non professional staff of the faculty, and two representatives for the students.

The student representatives are the chairman and vice-chairman of the Student Committee. They have equal status with the other members of the Board. As a rule, the opinions presented by the student representatives are respected. Even though the professors and the other board members may be in the majority, it is very seldom that they will not accept a reasonable request from the students.

Each faculty has a number of standing committees, for instance on questions of budget and curriculum, and the Faculty Board may from time to time set up ad hoc committees to give recommendation on various matters. Usually these committees would also include one or two students among its members.

7. Besides those already described, the student representatives have many other duties. These may vary from faculty to faculty, and also vary with the amount of initiative shown by the individual representative.

In the following will be found a more detailed explanation of student representation in the administration of the University by describing the section that the authors are best acquainted with, namely the Faculty of Law.

It can first be said that the student administration has its own office with definite office hours. The Faculty has also granted money so that the office may have secretarial help.

The most important duty of the Student Committee in the Faculty of Law has to do with the management of the educational curriculum itself. It is the students who arrange seminars and discussions, and they usually have the authority to decide both the topic and the leader for these discussions. Besides this, the Committee is responsible for the administration of tests that are given in the Faculty and for the hiring of those who are to correct the tests.

Also, the Committee has supervision over the assigning of reading rooms and classrooms, and they try to bring about the enlargement and expansion of reading room space where it is most necessary. Reading room space is a constant and difficult problem at the University. Virtually every faculty has too little space for its students and research, and there is therefore a standing competition for more space. It is practical then that the students themselves, who know best "where the shoe pinches" should help decide where expansion is most necessary. This is done together with the Faculty Board who will usually support the decisions of the student administration.

Another important task of the Committee concerns the availability of textbooks. They must first make sure that the textbooks that are requested are in circulation. If the supply of a book is diminished or sold out, they must find somewhere that it can be bought, or else try to have more printed. Another task in this same line, perhaps even more important, is to encourage a responsible professor to write a book about his subject. Often, if he either does not have the time or the desire to write such a book, he may ask a couple of capable students to write a resumé of the lectures. The professor may then go over this report and make his own corrections and additions, and then write it in book form.

The Committee also publishes a judicial journal with approx. lo issues a year, each of 3o-5o pages, bringing articles that are supposed to be of particular interest for the students.

III. Student Welfare.

Here we shall see how the student welfare is handled in Oslo. First, how it is handled and by whom, and then, the part that the students themselves play in its operation.

A. How the student welfare is handled.

Student welfare in Oslo is channeled through one agency, the Student Union (Studentsamskipnaden) in Oslo. The organization of the Union will be described in the next paragraph (B). In the present paragraph an account will be given of the Union's activities. Before this is done, one thing must be pointed out. Since its beginning 25 years ago, the Student Union has continually expanded its activities and taken on new duties. This description then, is a description of the Union today, and may be completely out-of-date in a few years. It can be taken for granted that the activities will continue to grow, not to stagnate.

1. Student Housing.

At the University of Oslo there are presently approx. 10.000 students. Although many of these live with their parents in Oslo, there are always several thousand for whom housing must be found. Only about 500 can be quartered at private student homes. The majority of students seeking housing are helped by the Student Union, and this is done in several ways.

a. Private homes.

The Student Union's office receives offers of rooms from private homes, and tells students of places that are available. In 1963 approx. 500 students were housed in this way.

b. Student town at Sogn.

Started in 1952, the Union's student town at Sogn will accomodate approx. 1700 when finished. In its buildings can be found both bed-sitting rooms and larger family-type apartments. Included on its grounds are enterprizes such as laundry, restaurant, and recreational facilities.

c. Apartment buildings.

Several apartment buildings in Oslo are owned or rented by the Union which in turn rents the apartments out to the students.

d. Planning and building of housing.

The above mentioned facilities are not enough to accomodate all the students. The Union has recently begun the planning for new housing for students. Negotiations with state and municipal authorities have gone on for a long time, and the Union's architects have been busy making plans. It now seems possible that in the near future, additions will be made to the student town at Sogn which will accomodate 27oo more students.

2. The Oslo University Press.

The Student Union also operates a publishing house, Oslo University Press, and several bookstores and other undertakings connected with the publishing house.

The Oslo University Press is a large business by Norwegian standards. It publishes scientific literature in Norwegian and foreign languages, textbooks, student reports, lectures etc. It has its own press and printing house, several bookstores, two warehouses, newspaper stands etc.

3. Student Travel Bureau.

The Student Union operates a travel bureau for the students. It works together with international student travel agencies in arranging tours and transportation at inexpensive rates.

4. Eating facilities.

The University of Oslo is spread out over many different places. The Student Union operates eating places at most of these locations, presently at 11. The food is usually prepared at the University center and is then distributed to the various places.

5. Student Health Station.

The Student Union is also responsible for the Student Health Station. Here each student is examined when he first comes to the University. The station's main job is yearly examination for tuberculosis, and it also operates a student counselling service.

6. Kindergartens.

At this time the Student Union operates two kindergartens and more are planned.

7. Gymnasium.

The Student Union is responsible for the maintenance of the gymnasium, although the organization of athletic activities is up to the Sports Club.

8. University Center.

The Student Union is responsible for the maintenance of the Center. This is the place where the main facilities are found, for example, the travel bureau, largest cafeteria, largest bookstore, etc. Here is also a barber shop, bank, post office, coffee shop, and restaurant.

9. Student Job Bureau.

The Student Union operates an office where job offers are received. Students may come to this office to find out about jobs that are available.

lo. Universitas.

The Student Union gives financial assistance to the student newspaper, Universitas. The editor's office is in the University Center. Through this paper the students are informed of the Student Union's activities, one issue contains its yearly budget, and another contains information from the travel bureau about tour programs for the season.

11. Other duties.

The Student Union contributes money to student organizations and clubs, to educational field trips, to student parties and other recreational activities. In many cases it also takes the responsibility for scheduling activities and rooms so that each club or party will have a meeting place.

B.Who handles the student welfare in Oslo.

The Student Union is responsible for the daily run of affairs. It was established by an Act of June 16, 1939. A revision of the Act was passed april 23, 1948. By this Act a Student Union was established at each of Norway's academic centers, Trondheim, Bergen, Ås, and Oslo. The law provides for the student representation in the administration of Unions, but the way in which this principle is carried through differs for the different unions.

The Student Union in Oslo recieves most of its capital as a grant from the Norwegian Parliament (Stortinget). Its house building is financed partly by state appropriations, partly from bank loans, and partly through contributions from municipalities which in this way secure housing facilities for their own students. The Unions also get income from an annual fee of 40 kroner (about $ 6) which every student is obligated to pay, and also from the profit made on some of its undertakings such as the travel bureau and the bookstores. Another source of income is the student dormitories which are available as hotel space in the summer. The Union spends its money in the building of new student housing, more kindergartens, in subsidizing housing or food costs, and in expanding its activities.

The Student Union in Oslo is, after Norwegian standards, a relatively large enterprize. In 1964 it had a turnover of about 40 million kroner (nearly 6 million dollars).

The daily administrative leader of the Student Union is the Director. As his assistants he has an economic advisor, a personnel director, and an advisor on student affairs. The rest of the administration is divided into sections, each with its own director. There is a housing section, a bookstore and publishing section, a planning and expansion section, a health station section, and a financial end economic section. The directors of these sections are relatively free to do as they wish, and this is necessary in an organization this complicated. Presently the Student Union has approx. 500 full-time employees, and in the summer when the dormitories are turned into hotels, this number becomes nearly 3 times as great.

As decided by the Act in 1948, the Unions shall have students included among their leaders. As far as the Student Union in Oslo is concerned, a regulation April 5, 1957 states that the Board, to which the Director is responsible, shall have 5 members, 3 elected by the students, 1 by the state, and 1 by the University administration. That the students have a majority membership in the highest governing body of the Union reflects the strength of the student democracy. Because the state supplies the majority of the funds, and the University is affected by any activity of the Union, it is natural that the state and the University also are represented. Furthermore in this way the Union becomes an organ for cooperation between the students, the University administration and the state.

The student representatives are elected by the Student Parliament (Studenttinget) for a term of two years. Although they are not formally bound to present the opinions expressed by the Parliament, this is where most of the opinions originate. The representatives cannot be removed from office, but, although this has never happened, it is understood that they would resign should the Parliament indicate a lack of confidence in them.

The Union is authorized by law to set up subcommittees. So far 3 such committees are established: for the housing department, the travel bureau, and the Oslo University Press. The students are represented in these committees.

With regard to the selection of students who may occupy student housing, the student government has complete authority. This is an especially difficult problem since there are so many more students than facilities, but the students are considered best suited to handle the difficult problems of priority arising in this field.

C. Student influence.

The Student Union in Oslo has as its members all of the students at the University, the school of veterinary medicine, and the seminary (Menighetsfakultetet). Membership in the Union is compulsory and a student who does not pay the fee is not allowed into the classrooms and laboratories and may not take examinations.

It has already been described how the University is divided into faculties, and how the student government representatives are chosen at the open meetings.

Also chosen at these meetings are the representatives to the Student Parliament. The number of representatives elected from each faculty depends on the total number of students in the faculty, but each faculty has at least two representatives.

Presently the Parliament has about 7o members and meets about lo times a year. It elects a chairman and a committee to take care of its daily activities, and appoints other committees to take care of special functions, one of those being the control of the activities of the Student Union. It is usually members of the Parliament who are elected to the Student Union's board and to its sub-committees.

The Student Parliament has many functions. Actual student problems are often discussed, but the main task is that of student welfare. The Parliament lays down the general lines for the Union's activities. Often it is the Parliament who must discuss and decide on such matters as: Is it most necessary right now to build a kindergarten or to subsidize book prices? Or would it be advisable to establish the position of a student psychiatrist? These decisions are then taken to the Student Union for action. At the Parliament meetings, reports are always given of committee work done since the last meeting. These reports are often thoroughly discussed and criticized.

The Student Parliament is the place where student requests and opinions usually come first. From there they are brought to the Student Union.

Finally it must be mentioned that the activities of the Student Parliament create a certain amount of public interest. Its meetings are often reported in Oslo newspapers, and its actions are often featured in articles. Many of its decisions and resolutions have even led to discussions in the Norwegian Parliament.

D. Evaluation.

As understood by the foregoing, the students are given the power to excert influence in the University affairs. But to which extent have they really made use of this power?

The faculty public meetings have already been described. Only 5-1o% of the students usually take part, and this reflects a certain remoteness between the student government and the ordinary student. This may have several causes. One of them is that the welfare of the student is undoubtedly very good. Students are, for the most part, quite satisfied with it. It is only when an especially controversial subject, such as study restriction, comes up, that more students become interested in student government. This show of indifference of the part of the average student also shows the necessity for a special interest on the part of the student representatives.

Since the Student Union has become a large and complicated business, the task of being a representative has become more difficult, in fact the top jobs must be handled by experts. Not every student is capable of it, and this may in one way account for the remoteness between the representative and the average student. It must be made clear, however, that the contact between the students and the government is good. Students often go to the representatives with ideas and opinions.

The need for expert representation is also seen in the Student Parliament. Although there are 7o members, the organization of activities and actual daily affairs are run by only 1o-15 of the top leaders.

The student democracy at the University of Oslo is largely dependent on a few capable leaders who manage most of the activities. One must say that the students at Oslo have been relatively lucky to have representatives who have been able to control the welfare activities in a way which by and large have been satisfactory.

The situation also has its bad side. 4. The Student Union's activities have expanded continually until now, they are very ~~different~~ difficult to control. The main problem, however, concerns the scarsity of expert representatives and the need for continuity in the representation. Too often, just when a representative has worked long enough to become expert, he is also through with his education. When his education is over, his time as a representative is also over.

This problem has bothered the representatives for a long time. It is evident that a new method of recruiting and training students in representative activities must be found. Even if the arrangement to day is relatively satisfactory, it is a standing question of how the balance between the students and the administration can be maintained in the future.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

#224-5-65
October 15, 1965

STATEMENT ON THE ACADEMIC FREEDOM OF STUDENTS

Preamble

Free inquiry and free expression are essential attributes of the community of scholars. As members of that community, students should be encouraged to develop the capacity for critical judgment and to engage in a sustained and independent search for truth. The freedom to learn depends upon the maintenance of appropriate opportunities and conditions in the classroom, on the campus, and in the larger community. The responsibility to respect and to secure general conditions conducive to the freedom to learn is shared by all components of the academic community. Students should endeavor to exercise their freedom with maturity and responsibility.

I. IN THE CLASSROOM.

The professor in the classroom and in conference should encourage free discussion, inquiry, and expression. Students should be evaluated solely on the basis of their academic performance, not on their opinions or conduct in matters unrelated to academic standards.

A. Protection of Freedom of Expression. Students are responsible for learning thoroughly the content of any course of study, but they should be free to take reasoned exception to the data or views offered, and to reserve judgment about matters of opinion.

B. Protection Against Unjust Academic Evaluation. Students are responsible for maintaining standards of academic performance established by their professors, but they should have protection through orderly procedures against unjust academic evaluation.

C. Protection Against Improper Disclosure. Information about student views, beliefs, and political associations which professors acquire in the course of their work as instructors, advisers, and counselors should be considered confidential. Protection against improper disclosure is a serious professional obligation. Judgments of ability and character may be provided under appropriate circumstances.

II. STUDENT RECORDS.

Institutions should have a carefully considered policy as to the information which should be part of a student's permanent educational record and as to the conditions of its disclosure. To minimize the risk of improper disclosure, academic and disciplinary records should be separate and the conditions of access to each should be set forth in an explicit policy statement. Transcripts of academic records should contain only information about academic status. Data from disciplinary and counseling files should not be available to unauthorized persons on campus or to any person off campus except for the most compelling reasons. No records should be kept which reflect the political activities or beliefs of students. Provision should also be made for periodic routine destruction of noncurrent disciplinary records. Administrative staff and student personnel officers should respect confidential information about students which they acquire in the course of their work.

III. STUDENT AFFAIRS.

In student affairs, certain standards must be maintained if the academic freedom of students is to be preserved.

A. Freedom from Arbitrary Discrimination. Colleges and Universities should be open to all students who are academically qualified. While sectarian institutions may give admission preference to students of their own persuasion, such a preference should be clearly and publicly stated. College facilities and services should be open to all students, and institutions should use their influence to secure equal access for all students to public facilities in the local community.

B. Freedom of Association. Students bring to the campus a variety of interests previously acquired, and develop many new interests as members of the academic community. They should be free to organize and join association to promote their common interests.

1. Affiliation with an extra-mural organization should not of itself affect recognition of a student organization.

2. Each organization should be free to choose its own campus adviser, and institutional recognition should not be withheld or withdrawn solely because of the inability of a student organization to secure an adviser. Members of the faculty serve the college community when they accept the responsibility to advise and consult with student organizations; they should not have the authority to control the policy of such organizations.

3. Student organizations may be required to submit a current list of officers, but they should not be required to submit a membership list as a condition of institutional recognition.

4. Campus organizations should be open to all students without respect to race, religion, creed, or national origin, except for religious qualifications which may be required by sectarian organizations.

5. Students and student organizations should be free to examine and to discuss all questions of interest to them, and to express opinions publicly or privately. They should also be free to support causes by any orderly means which do not disrupt the regular and essential operation of the institution.

6. Students should be allowed to invite and to hear any person of their own choosing. While the orderly scheduling of facilities may require the observance of routine procedures before a guest speaker is invited to appear on campus, institutional control of campus facilities should never be used as a device of censorship. It should be made clear to the academic and larger community that sponsorship of guest speakers does not necessarily imply approval or endorsement of the views expressed, either by the sponsoring group or the institution.

C. Student Participation in Institutional Government. As constituents of the academic community, students should be free, individually and collectively, to express their views on issues of institutional policy and on matters of general interest to the student body. The student body should have clearly defined means to participate in the formulation and application of regulations affecting student affairs. Student governments should be protected from arbitrary intervention.

D. Student Publications. Student publications and the student press are a valuable aid in establishing and maintaining an atmosphere of free and responsible discussion and of intellectual exploration on the campus. They are a means of bringing student concerns to the attention of the faculty and the institutional authorities and of formulating student opinion on various issues on the campus and in the world at large.

1. The student press should be free of censorship and advance approval of copy, and its editors and managers should be free to develop their own editorial policies and news coverage.

2. The integrity and responsibility of student publications should be encouraged by arrangements which permit financial autonomy or, ideally, complete financial independence.

3. Editors and managers should subscribe to canons of responsible journalism. At the same time, they should be protected from arbitrary suspension and removal because of student, faculty, administrative, or public disapproval of editorial policy or content. Only for proper and stated causes should editors and managers be subject to removal and then by orderly and prescribed procedures.

IV. OFF-CAMPUS FREEDOM OF STUDENTS.

A. Exercise of Rights of Citizenship. As citizens, students should enjoy the same freedom of speech, peaceful assembly, and right of petition that other citizens enjoy. Faculty members and administrative officials should insure that institutional powers are not employed to inhibit such intellectual and personal development of students as is often promoted by their off-campus activities and their exercise of the rights of citizenship.

B. Institutional Authority and Civil Penalties. Activities of students may upon occasion result in violation of law. In such cases, institutional officials should apprise students of their legal rights and may offer other assistance. Students who violate the law may incur penalties prescribed by civil authorities, but institutional authority should never be used merely to duplicate the function of general laws. Only where the institution's interests as an academic community are distinct from those of the general community should the special authority of the institution be asserted. The student who incidentally violates institutional regulations in the course of his off-campus activity, such as those relating to class attendance, should be subject to no greater penalty than would normally be imposed. Institutional action should be independent of community pressure.

V. PROCEDURAL STANDARDS IN DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS.

The disciplinary powers of educational institutions are inherent in their responsibility to protect their educational purpose through the regulation of the use of their facilities and through the setting of standards of conduct and scholarship for the students who attend them. In developing responsible student conduct, disciplinary proceedings play a role substantially secondary to counseling, guidance, admonition, and example. In the exceptional circumstances when these preferred means fail to resolve problems of student conduct, proper procedural safeguards should be observed to protect the student from the unfair imposition of serious penalties. The following are recommended as proper safeguards in such proceedings.*

---

* Honor codes offering comparable guarantees may be an acceptable substitute for the procedural standards set forth in this section.

A. Notice of Standards of Conduct Expected of Students. Disciplinary proceedings should be instituted only for violation of standards of conduct defined in advance and published through such means as a student handbook or a generally available body of university regulations. Offenses should be as clearly defined as possible, and such vague phrases as "undesirable conduct" or "conduct injurious to the best interests of the institution" should be avoided. Comceptions of misconduct particular to the institution need clear and explicit definition.

B. Investigation of Student Conduct.

1. Except under emergency circumstances, premises occupied by students and the personal possessions of students should not be searched unless appropriate authorization has been obtained. For premises such as dormitories controlled by the institution, an appropriate and responsible authority should be designated to whom application should be made before a search is conducted. The application should specify the reasons for the search and the objects or information sought. The student should be present, if possible, during the search. For premises not controlled by the institution, the ordinary requirements for lawful search should be followed.

2. Students detected or arrested in the course of serious violations of institutional regulations, or infractions of ordinary law, should be informed of their rights. No form of harassment should be used by institutional representatives to coerce admissions of guilt or information about conduct of other suspected persons.

C. Status of Student Pending Final Action. Pending action on the charges, the status of a student should not be altered, or his right to be present on the campus and to attend classes suspended, except for reasons relating to his physical or emotional safety and well-being, or for reasons relating to the safety of students, faculty, or university property.

D. Hearing Committee Procedures. The formality of the procedure to which a student is entitled in disciplinary cases should be proportionate to the gravity of the offense and the sanctions which may be imposed. Minor penalties may be assessed informally under prescribed procedures. When misconduct may result in serious penalties, the student should have the right to a hearing before a regularly constituted Hearing Committee.

1. The Hearing Committee should include faculty members or, if regularly included or requested by the accused, both faculty and student members. No member of the Hearing Committee who is otherwise interested in the particular case should sit in judgment during the proceeding.

2. The student should be informed, in writing, of the reasons for the proposed disciplinary action with sufficient particularity, and in sufficient time, to ensure opportunity to prepare for the hearing.

3. The student appearing before the Hearing Committee should have the right to be assisted in his defense by an adviser of his choice.

4. The burden of proof should rest upon the officials bringing the charge.

5. The student should be given an opportunity to testify and to present evidence and witnesses. He should have an opportunity to hear and question adverse witnesses. In no case should the committee consider statements against him unless he has been advised of their content and of the name of those who made them, and unless he has been given an opportunity to rebut unfavorable inferences which might otherwise be drawn.

6. All matters upon which the decision may be based must be introduced into evidence at the proceeding before the Hearing Committee. The decision should be based solely upon such matter. Improperly acquired evidence should not be admitted.

7. In the absence of a transcript, there should be both a digest and a verbatim record, such as a tape recording, of the hearing.

8. The decision of the Hearing Committee should be final, subject to the student's right of appeal to the governing board of the institution.

Phillip M. Monypenny, Political Science, University of Illinois, Chairman
Philip Appleman, English, Indiana University
Frederick H. Hartmann, Political Science, University of Florida
Beatrice G. Konheim, Physiology, Hunter College
John J. Reed, History, Muhlenberg College
Tom J. Truss, Jr., English, University of Mississippi
William Van Alstyne, Law, Duke University
Robert Van Waes, History, Washington Office

Georgia Council *ON HUMAN RELATIONS*
41 Exchange Place, S.E. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Box 326
Agnes Scott College
Decatur, Georgia 30030
October 18 1964

Dear Friend:

We wish to acknowledge our receipt of your registration for the GSHR Conference. We are so happy that you will be able to represent your college ; however, we are enclosing more registration forms for you to distribute on your campus as we feel that it is important for every interested student to attend.

We are sending you a conference agenda, a map to Old Gammon, and scholarship applications. We would to stress that our funds are limited. However, we do not want lack of funds to discourage any interested persons from attending the conference.

If we can be of further assistance to you, please let us know. Thank you for your cooperation. We are looking forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Deirdre La Pin

Deirdre La Pin
Chairman GSHR

Sallyann Tully

Sallyann Tully
Conference Chairman GSHR

DR. LIONEL NEWSOM, CHAIRMAN
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. A. J. McCLUNG, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, S.E. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Box 326
Agnes Scott College
Decatur, Georgia 30030
October 18, 1963

Dear Friend:

As you may know, the Georgia Students for Human Rights is holding its first conference on October 30-November 1, at the Old Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia. We have received no registration forms from your campus. Many students throughout Georgia are attending the conference, and we would like for you or a representative from your campus to have the opportunity to become acquainted and participate in our organization.

The conference will last from Friday afternoon through Sunday noon, and the entire cost for room and board is $10.00. H owever, so that no one is discouraged from attending the conference, we are enclosing scholarship applications. We would also like to point out that our funds are limited.

In addition we are enclosing an agend and a map to Old Gammon.

We wish very much to have representatives from your college attend our conference and are looking forward to hearing from you soon. If we can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Deirdre La Pin

Deirdre La Pin
Chairman GSHR

Sallyann Tully

Sallyann Tully
Conference Chairman GSHR

Dr. Lionel Newsom, Chairman
The Reverend Austin Ford, First Vice-President
Mr. A. J. McClung, Second Vice-President
Mrs. Harry V. Richardson, Secretary
Mr. Johnny Glustrom, Treasurer
Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director
The Reverend Oliver W. Holmes, Associate Director

Florida Student Conference on Human Relations
Methodist Youth Camp
Leesburg, Florida

November 12, 13, 14, 1965

sponsored by

Southern Student Human Relations Project, USNSA
Florida Council on Human Relations
Southern Student Organizing Committee

Friday, November 12

3:00 - 6:30 p.m.	Registration and assignment of rooms.
6:30 - 7:30 p.m.	Supper
8:00 p.m.	First Session
	Introduction: Rick Stevens, Assistant Director Southern Project, U. S. N. S. A.
8:15 - 10:30 p.m.	Presentations: John Cranor, New College "The Responsibility of a Student Towards Social and Political Issues." Dan Harmeling, Graduate Student in Anthropology, Univ. of Florida "The Need For A Well Informed Student Body" Gwendolyn Patton, Student Government President, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama "Student Government: A Voice of Aware, Informed Active Students" Jean Hoefer, former Student Government President, Agnes Scott College, Atlanta; Freshman, Univ. of South Carolina Law School
10:30 - 11:30	Discussion

Saturday, November 13

7:30 - 8:30 a.m.	Breakfast
9:00 - 12:00	Concurrent Workshops

Concurrent Workshops

(1) "Student Government as a Union of Students"

Developing significant issues on campus relating to student concern, problems, and needs; a union of students and their concern for educational reform and academic freedom; developing significant student, faculty, administration relationships.

Discussion Leader: Al Levin, Univ. of Florida

Resource people: Gwen Patton, Tuskegee Institute
Jerry Buzelli, Florida Southern Col.
Lucin Cross, Univ. of Florida
Jean Hoefer, Univ. of South Carolina Law School

(2) "On Campus Human Relations Programming"

Previous experience in programs combating discrimination in campus housing, fraternities, athletics, and university acceptance; developing a campus atmosphere free of prejudice

Workship leaders: Marilyn Sokolof, Univ. of Florida
Melinda Freedman, AntiDefamation League

(3) "Developing Community Issues on Campus"

Getting students interested in community issues; using students in tutorials, community organizing, and voter registration; previous experiences in student social action; how to set up a community action project

Discussion leader: Scott Daughtery, Univ. of Miami

Resource people: Ed Lewis, Executive Director, Florida Council on Human Relations
John Rietz, Univ. of Miami
Jim Gahagan, Psychology Dept. University of Miami
Nathan Popkin, Professor Marymount College
Al Ulmer, Program Specialist Southern Regional Council

Florida Student Human Relations Conference
Methodist Youth Camp
Leesburg, Florida

November 12, 13, 14, 1965

sponsored by

Southern Student Human Relations Project, USNSA
Florida Council on Human Relations
Southern Student Organizing Committee

This conference has grown out of conversations between students throughout the state and their desire to meet with other students to discuss problems and questions related to the active and concerned citizen. The workshops and discussions are the result of numerous interviews within the past six months on over seventeen campuses throughout Florida. The topics to be discussed are also the result of discussions which took place at the end of the two "Symposiums on Concern" held last year.

The need for active participation in and informed criticism about social and political problems is very prevelant. Students are voicing a need to couple their academic curicullum with concern and alleviation of the numerous social injustices which exist in our society.

We hope to fill some of the gaps of information as well as encourage interested students to develop their concern into an active campus program.

Southern Student Human Relations
Project, U. S. N. S. A.
Florida Council on Human Relations
Southern Student Organizing Committee

PLEASE RETURN REGISTRATION FORM TO:

Florida Student Human Relations Conference
P.O. Box 13636, University Station
Gainesville, Florida

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION FORM**

Name ____

School ________________________________ Year __________

Mailing Address ____________________________________

____

Will arrive (time and date) __________________________

I will remain overnight on: November 12 ____ November 13 ______
(check ones appropriate)
I will eat meals on: November 12 ____ November 13 ____ November 14 ____
(check ones appropriate)

I can arrange to pick up some other students on the way from ________.

I have room in my car for ____ additional people.

Others from my school who would be interested:

____

____

Registration fee enclosed ($4.50)* ____ for ___ people.

Registration: Fee for the entire conference, including room and all meals, is $4.50. Meals will be served from Friday supper, through Sunday dinner. Each participant must provide his own sheets and blankets. Mattress and pillow are furnished by the camp. (A foundation grant for the sponsorship of this conference is subsidizing the major portion of the cost, thus enabling us to ask such small registration fee.)

NOTE: Scholarships are available for registration and transportation. For additional inquiry write to:

Rick Stevens
Assistant Director, Southern Project, USNSA
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

**Note: If you have already completed the first registration form mailed to you, it is not necessary to complete this one also.

(4) "State-wide Coordination on Political and Social Issues"

Outlines of existing state programs; values derived through concentration on a few specific issues; the development of a newsletter; the structure and purpose of the Southern Student Organizing Committee

Discussion leader: Judy Benninger, Univ. of Fla.

Resource people: Hayes Mizell, Director, Southern Project U. S. N. S. A.
Sue Thrasher, Executive Secretary, Southern Student Organizing Com.

12:00 - 1:00 p.m. Lunch

1:30 - 3:30 p.m. Concurrent Workshops

(1) "Extremism: Its Character and Influence"

An outline of extremism on the Right and Left with an emphasis on activities in Florida; areas of their concentration and influence

Workshop leader: Melinda Freedman, Director of Youth Work, Southern Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League

(2) "Issues in Educational Reform"

Discussion of need for educational reform; methods previously used by students in making courses more relevant to practical society; course evaluation and student determination of course structure; theory of the free community of scholars

Discussion leader: Dan Harmeling; Univ. of Fla.

(3) "Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties"

Fundamental questions of academic freedom; how the American Civil Liberties Union can work with students; discussion of the American Association of University Professor's statement on academic freedom.

Workshop leader and resource people not determined

(4) "Students and the Poverty Program"

Ways in which students may work with OEO; shortcomings of the poverty program; setting up a social change project; student limitations in working in depressed areas

Workshop leader: Al Ulmer, Program Specialist,
Southern Regional Council

Resource people: Nathan Popkin, Marymount
(Director of a summer migratory worker program)
John Rietz, University of Miami
(Director of a summer Headstart Program)

6:30 - 7:30 p.m. Supper

8:00 p.m. Keynote Speaker:

"Civil Rights Is An Individual Issue"
Reverend Frank Pinkston
Headmaster, Mathews-Scippio Academy, Ocala, Fla

"No More Social Service Projects"
Mr. Al Ulmer, Program Specialist, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

Opportunity for discussion from audience

10:30 p.m. Films:

"Walk in My Shoes"

An ABC-TV film documentary in the "Close-Up" series exploring the innermost feelings of the Negro as he reacts to prejudice and discrimination in America.

"No Hiding Place"

Winner of the 1964 Blue Ribbon Award of the Education Film Library Association. One of the CBS-TV "East Side/West Side" series which exposes the evils of "Block busting" perpetrated by unscrupulous real estate dealers upon surburban home owners.

Southern Student Organizing Committee

The Southern Student Organizing Committee was formed in April 1964, in Nashville, Tennessee. It grew out of movement on predominantly white, southern campuses. Forty students from fifteen colleges participated in the organizing meeting.

Since its founding, the S.S. O. C. has expanded its emphasis to include white and Negro campuses. It has held two south-wide conferences, sponsored a tour by a leader of the Free Speech Movement, held a statewide seminar in Mississippi, published a monthly newsletter, and initiated a campus traveler program.

At its spring conference in Atlanta, the participants adopted the following statement: "The decaying system of segregation has helped to clarify other social and economic problems of the South, so that today we are living in a region where there is an obvious need for broad secular changes if the "New South" is to be a well balanced and just society where all of its citizens have the opportunity to grow and live in freedom."

This year's plans include sponsorship of three regional conferences (University Reform, Race and Religion, Applachian Problems), publication of a monthly newsletter, and continuation of the field traveler program. Other programs include a speakers bureau, literature distribution, educational seminars, and research.

Southern Student Human Relations Project, United States National Student Association

The Southern Project was created by USNSA with a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation in 1959 to work on Southern campuses in the area of race relations programming. Conferences, seminars, workshops, and community projects have been held in almost every state in the South since that time. Each year twenty students are selected and given scholarships to participate in a Southern Student Human Relations Seminar. This past year the seminar was held at the University of Louisville and had such speakers as Dr. Vivian Henderson, President, Clark College; Mr. Charles Morgan, Southern Director, American Civil Liberties Union; and Dr. Warren C. Haggstrom, Director, Community Action Training Center, Syracuse University. The Project has two full time staff workers who travel extensively throughout the South to serve as consultants in human relations and assist in coordination of community action projects and national and international issue study programs.

Florida Council on Human Relations

The Florida Council is an interracial membership organization, chartered by the State, whose goal is to insure the well-being of Florida by assuring the rights and opportunities of each of its citizens.

It is a voluntary association which depends upon the participation and financial support of concerned individuals to promote its programs. Many local Councils on Human Relations sponsor Wider Horizons programs to give cultural enrichment and special tutoring to Negro children from deprived neighborhoods. So far, 400 volunteers have conducted tutorial sessions, arranged museum trips and started kindergarten classes for more than 1,000 children. Local Councils are working on equal employment opportunities by starting skills bank surveys to be coupled with employment placement services. Local Councils have initiated a unique program for teenagers. Volunteer experts give them a crash lecture series on the employment market, with practical advice on how to dress, how to be interviewed and how to qualify for better jobs. Through monthly meetings and special programs, local Councils provide a meeting ground for diverse community elements - bringing together Negroes and whites, businessmen and professional people, housewives and educators to work on local problems in an atmosphere of mutual trust.

THE TAMPA TRIBUNE

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Managing Editor

TAMPA, FLORIDA, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1965

Students Call for Hand in Running of Colleges

By JOHN FRASCA
Tribune Staff Writer

LEESBURG — There were not many of them at the weekend student meeting at the Methodist Youth Camp, but those who came were deadly serious and they drove in from all parts of the South. One girl got a ticket for speeding near Atlanta.

"From one of those damn Georgia cops," is the way she put it.

It was the Florida Student Human Relations Conference to discuss social, political and economic change. About 70 students attended the three-day meeting sponsored by the Southern Student Human Relations Project, the Florida Council on Human Relations and Southern Student Organizing Committee.

Some of the participants were veterans of the civil rights wars. They had marched in Selma and Birmingham. In introducing one speaker, the moderator ticked off the number of times he had been in jail.

"If they give you a 30-day sentence," said the speaker, "you really only serve about five days. You'd be surprised about how much you learn in jail."

Generally, the students did not like the way the colleges in the South were being run. They scorned what some of them termed the "student government types" and blasted professors who spend much of their time off-campus delivering lectures.

The only joke told during the first two days had to do with a college instructor who was going off on one of his trips and left word that he would teach by tape-recorder during his absence.

"He was going to have his lectures run off on a big tape recorder," said Gwen Patton, president of student government at Tuskegee Institute. "But he didn't have to leave on the day he was scheduled to begin his trip. So he went to class that day, as usual.

"When he got there, he found a big tape-recorder talking to 31 little tape-recorders."

The essence of Miss Patton's remarks was that students are not being properly taught, that the professors with big reputations spend most of their time lecturing elsewhere and preparing research papers.

She said that student government could do more than worry about football and homecoming queens — and that a strong student government could have something to say about the operation of the school.

This view was echoed by Jean Hoefer, of the University of South Carolina Law School. A former student government president at Agnes Scott College, Miss Hoefer pointed to the strength of students in Latin-American countries.

"They run the government," she said.

She suggested a nationwide union of college students that would have a voice in the running of the municipal, state and national governments.

Dan Harmeling, a graduate student at the University of Florida, said that today's Joe and Jane College know nothing of the community outside the university walls.

"This is the opportunity they have to do something," he said. "When they get out of college they join the status quo. They can't do the things they want and should do. They get a job and then can't do anything significant because they must be careful lest they offend their employer or their colleagues. The time to do something about social and political problems is while you are in school, before you belong to the status quo."

Harmeling also advised against joining sororities or fraternities. He said these were also forms of status quo.

Most of the students took huge bites out of student government and student government types in Florida. They said that, in most instances, student governments were only extensions of the administration and were told what to do.

"The student government is the wedge," said Miss Hoefer. "You can do something with it. You can make it count for something. You don't have to let the administration run you."

She said that student government types were the people who were runnning the government and pointed out that the time to influence these types" was while they are students.

"If you can talk to them and reason with them while they are in school," she said, "you'll be able to reason with them later when they're running things."

Rick Stevens, of Atlanta, assistant director of the Southern Student Human Relations Project, said he was so impressed with the response from Florida students that plans are under way to hold meetings on many campuses in the state. The discussions will be on social, political and economic change.

While most students in the state were attending or listening to football games yesterday, this dead-serious 70 were conducting workshops on such subjects as "Extremist Elements," "Educational Reform," and "Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties."

However, there were three pretty little things from a Catholic school who wondered how the Gators would do against Tulane. They spoke in whispers, though, lest they disturb the world-changers.

"Well, what do you want us to do?" asked one of the moderators. "When students were swallowing goldfish a few years ago, everybody said that college kids ought to do something worthwhile.

"Now they're trying to do something worthwhile and people are sniggering at us.

"Honestly, I think they'd rather we go back to eating goldfish."

November 8, 1965

Dear _____________:

You have been recommended by school officials as a representative from your school to the COLUMBIA COLLEGE SOUTHERN AFFAIRS SEMINAR on November 20, 1965. This will be a new experience for most of us, and we hope that the Seminar will prove to be both informative and provocative in our thinking about the locale in which we live.

SCHEDULE

9:00-9:30a.m.	Registration
9:30-10:15a.m.	KEYNOTE: "THE SOUTH: A NEW PERSPECTIVE" Dr. James McBride Dabbs
10:15-10:45a.m.	Coffee and Conversation
10:45-12:45p.m.	SOUTHERN HISTORY AND POLITICS: THE CHANGING SOUTH "Main Themes of Change in Southern History" Prof. William A. Foran, University of S.C. "Commentary on Contemporary Politics" Mr. William F. Able (conservative) "Commentary on Contemporary Politics" Mr. Walker Solomon (liberal)
1:00-2:00p.m.	Lunch
2:00-3:00p.m.	THE SOUTHERN ECONOMY "The Condition of the Southern Economy" Dr. A.C. Flora, Jr. "Federal Programs and the Southern Economy" Mr. L.S. James
3:15-4:15p.m.	THE SOUTHERN CHURCH "The Church in Southern History" Dr. George Anderson "The Church's Responsibility in the Contemporary South" Dr. Walter Storrs
4:15-4:30p.m.	Evaluation

We ask that you fill out and return the enclosed card to Catherine Tyler by November 13th (a self-addressed envelop has been included). The $2.00 registration fee will include lunch on Saturday and will help cover seminar expenses. If there are any questions or problems, you may call Catherine Tyler at PO 5-2491, extension 691.

We are looking forward to having you on our campus.

Catherine Tyler
Student Coordinator

southern student organizing committee

1703 Portland Avenue Nashville, Tennessee P. O. Box 6403 Phone: 291-3537

MEMO November 27, 1965

To: Southern Mailing List

From: Sue Thrasher

Re: Freedom Christmas

Enclosed you will find some materials on Freedom Christmas, a short term voter registration project planned for counties in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and North Carolina. Volunteers will enter establihsed programs such as those run by NAACP, MFDP, SCLC, CORE, and SNCC. Their duties will include canvassing door to door to encourage people to go to the courthouse, publicizing meetings and helping in voter registration projects. Orientation sessions will be held on or about December 19 and 28. Volunteers will then proceed to specific projects. Housing will be provided in local homes.

There is a possibility that some financial assistance may be available for southern students, especially for bail bond or travel funds. If you are interested in working for a short time in a civil rights project, I would encourage you to contact the National Student Association which is serving as a recruiting agency for the project. Write Freedom Christmas, 2115 S Street, NW, Washington, D. C., or call collect (202) DU-7-5100 and ask for Steve Arcms or Tim Correll.

VOTER REGISTRATION VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

A major voter registration drive, Freedom Christmas, is underway in the states covered by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Five national civil rights groups -- SNCC, MFDP, CORE, SCLC, and NAACP -- have requested the aid of hundreds of student volunteers during Christmas vacations and semester breaks; and USNSA has responded with a recruiting campaign designed to get 300 to 600 volunteers in the field by December 20th.

The volunteers will canvass door to door to get people to register, drive these people to the registrar's office, publicize meetings, and help in voter education projects.

Each volunteer will attend an orientation session given by the civil rights group with which he will be working. If a volunteer has been a civil rights worker previously, he may be assigned to his area of experience. The program is flexible enough to deal with special requests.

The following are brief descriptions of the projects during Freedom Christmas:

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY will have extensive projects in 26 counties in Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi, and possibly North Carolina. Volunteers working with CORE will do voter registration both in rural areas and in urban centers. During the Freedom Christmas Project, CORE will require a minimum of 107 volunteers and 21 cars. Workers will be given orientation sessions at the site of the projects.

THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY will be working on projects in each of the fifteen Mississippi counties which have federal registrars. Each project will need ten volunteer workers and two cars. Orientation sessions will be on or about the 19th of December. Cars will be important to the project's success.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE will be running projects in at least seventeen South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida counties. Similar projects will be in effect in the western states of the Deep South; however, specific projects which will require workers have not been determined yet. There will be a need for twenty to thirty workers in each of the urban projects and eight workers on each rural project. There will be an emphasis placed on working after Christmas Day. Volunteers should be prepared to pay a small amount for their lodgings.

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE will be working mainly in the urban centers. Projects in Atlanta, Birmingham, and Montgomery are planned; and (if enough volunteers are available) Bessemer, Chatanooga, and Charleston will also require workers. Orientation will take place at Morris Brown College in Atlanta on December 21, although workers who cannot come South until later are welcome.

THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE needs volunteers to work on its Virginia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Georgia, and Arkansas projects. Volunteers will work in both rural and urban areas. Cars will be essential. Orientations will be scheduled to suit the majority of volunteers.

The earliest vacations begin the second week in December; the latest end in the second week in January. In order to accomodate your needs, most of the civil rights groups are dividing their Freedom Christmas Projects into two sessions which will begin with orientations on or about December 19th and December 28th. Thus volunteers can work for one or both periods according to their individual situations. The longer you can stay, the more we can get done. Persons who can spend a part of their vacation in the South should fill out one of the enclosed applications immediately.

Volunteers must provide the following: (Some special arrangements may be made. fill out an application even if you cannot meet all requirements and indicate those you cannot meet.)

* Subsistence. $10-15 a week. It is possible to live very cheaply in most project areas. Housing will generally be provided in local homes.

* Cars. The effectiveness of Freedom Christmas depends very much on the availability of cars. We must have one car for every four volunteers. If you have access to a car, indicate this on the application.

* Transportation to the South. You will be responsible for getting to the orientation points. We will try to arrange car-pools to defray costs for riders and drivers.

* $500 Bond is required by all of the civil rights groups except for SCLC, which does not require bond, but advises that $200 be available. This does not mean that you must have the cash on hand but that someone must be prepared to raise that amount of cash should you be arrested. If you cannot raise bond, you should fill out an application anyway. NSA and Freedom Christmas are trying to establish a central bail fund which will cover all Freedom Christmas workers.

VOLUNTEER NOW -- Fillout an application and send it to:

Freedom Christmas
USNSA
2115 S Street, NW
Washington, DC 20008

IF YOU ARE NOT SURE YOU CAN MEET ALL THE QUALIFICATIONS, APPLY ANYWAY -- WE WILL CALL YOU AND TRY TO HELP. IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS, PLEASE CALL COLLECT TO TIM CORRELL OR STEVE ARONS (202) 387-6133, WASHINGTON, DC.

Since time is short, pass the information about Freedom Christmas on to your friends and other people who might be interested.

THE NEED IS GREAT AND URGENT, SO ACT IMMEDIATELY.

Freedom,

Steve Arons and Tim Correll
Freedom Christmas

FREEDOM

CHRISTMAS

2115 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
202 DU7-5100

VOTER REGISTRATION VOLUNTEERS

The provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are law, but they are not reality. To make real the equality which is promised by this Act, many national civil rights organizations are now working on major voter registration efforts. They have requested that students, black and white, northern and southern, aid in registering some of the thousands of Negroes who have been denied their Constitutional rights for over 100 years.

You can help as a recruiter or as one of the hundreds of volunteers who will be spending their Christmas vacations or semester breaks working in voter registration projects in the South.

The Need

After over three hundred years since the first slave was brought to America, after a civil war which ended slavery in the United States, after a one hundred year civil rights struggle, after five years of marches and demonstrations, the Congress of the United States passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Yet, in these three hundred years, these hundred years, these five years, what has been accomplished? Many people across the nation feel that the civil rights struggle has ended, that the Voting Rights "guarantee" of 1965 is the culmination and conclusion of the civil rights movement. But the Voting Rights Act does not end the war; it is only a battle.

> The Voting Rights Act permits potential voters to turn to a federal examiner when they cannot register through the local authority. Yet in the South today local registrars still refuse to enter the names of Negro voters even when these have been registered by their federal counterparts. The local registrars must accept these names before these citizens can vote. The Justice Department has asked that the

Supreme Court rule on the Voting Rights Act immediately so that injunctions can be brought to force acceptance of these names.

In other areas, areas which do not have federal registrars, registration is very slow. Local registrars give token compliance to the Voting Rights Act by taking one, maybe two, candidates at a time, though lines outside the office may number fifty to one hundred persons who have taken time they can ill-afford to come to register.

And what will happen on election day? We cannot be sure, but the most recent southern election was a referendum ballot on August 17, 1965, in Mississippi. At some precincts Negroes were flatly turned away, some told Negroes that their precincts had been changed, some had to use separate ballot boxes (and the humility of separation is hardly the issue!), and others noted that the poll-watchers marked "colored" on their ballots.

The war does not end until every American Negro can vote--not register, but vote--and have his vote counted on the same terms as that of his white brothers.

IF large numbers of Negroes are registered with federal examiners, and IF the Justice Department gets the Supreme Court order it is seeking, it is possible that a black voice will be heard from the South in the 1966 elections. But the time for action is NOW, because:

FACT: In every one of the deep South states, a Senatorial seat, Congressional seats, and large portions of state, county, and municipal elections will be decided in 1966.

FACT: The primary elections which will affect so many of these seats will be held as early as May 3, 1966, too soon to be affected by a summer drive.

FACT: According to the latest available figures, over 1,700,000 eligible Negro voters have not yet been registered to vote in the states covered by the Voting Rights Act.

FACT: Much hard work and much national attention must be produced if the illegal blocks to registration are to be eliminated.

The Response - Freedom Christmas

In recognition of the extreme need and as a response to invitations extended by national civil rights groups, United States National Student Association will be recruiting students who are willing to sacrifice their Christmas vacations in the fight for equality. These students will work in established programs doing voter registration in the South. These programs, run by national civil rights organizations, are in need of assistance. If every school can provide only five volunteers, Freedom Christmas recruiting drive will be an overwhelming success.

We are asking that each student understand the importance of this project and the imperatives of immediate action. The principle is simple--student volunteers are needed by civil rights groups to help register voters in the area covered by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The sacrifice is a large one, but it will be made for a high purpose. You should act now.

VOLUNTEERS: See the attached sheet which describes what the opportunities are and what is required. Send in one of the enclosed response forms to:

Freedom Christmas
2115 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

RECRUITERS: If you are willing to help in the recruiting drive, return one of the enclosed forms immediately indicating what materials you need, etc. See the attached sheet on recruiting instructions for suggestions as to how you might begin working.

During the next few days, NSA coordinators, regional chairmen, campus Friends of SNCC groups, past summer volunteers, campus ministers and chaplains, and other interested groups and persons will be receiving information on Freedom Christmas Project. We will be sending posters, applications, information on the Voting Rights Act, recruiting suggestions and press releases soon. Watch for this material, but don't wait for it. Begin organizing now.

If you have any questions about this project, plase call collect to Freedom Christmas headquarters (202 DU7-5100) in Washington, D.C.

You are the first to receive information forms. Please see that they get to interested persons. The southern Negro will not have a similar election opportunity for 12 years.

Freedom,

Steve Arons

Tim Correll
USNSA Freedom Christmas

YES NEWSLETTER

Volume 1; Number 1 November, 1965

LARGEST TUTORING PROJECTS NOW IN DURHAM, GREENSBORO

Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Chapel Hill, Others, Also Have Strong Projects

GREENSBORO

Greensboro United Tutorial Service (GUTS) is the effort of five Greensboro area colleges -A & T, Bennett, Greensboro, Guilford, and Univ. of North Carolina at Greensboro. The largest and most developed campus-based project affiliated with YES, GUTS involves 150 tutors and 300 children in four tutoring areas - two housing projects and two school buildings. Children in the project range from 2nd to 12th grades. Charlie Bugg, Project Director of YES, is Director of GUTS.

DURHAM

Operation Breakthrough, the community action project in Durham, has set three "Target Areas" -A, B, and C, in which tutorial programs operate as significant phases of the activities of the program.

see PROJECTS, p. 3

This NEWSLETTER is the first in a series concerned with tutoring in North Carolina.

If you would like to receive the NEWSLETTER on a regular basis, please send your name and address to YES, Box 3067, West Durham Station, Durham, N. C. 27705.

WHY TUTORING?

A Rationale for Student Tutoring

A new type of tutoring---volunteer student tutoring---has produced significant results with the performance of students not achieving their potential.

The heart of this new type of tutoring is a one-to-one relationship

see WHY?, p. 4

SEVERAL FOUNDATION GRANTS SUPPORT YES

Last summer, Youth Educational Services received from four sources grants and services in excess of $32,000 to finance its statewide tutoring.

see GRANTS, p. 4

YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

A Thumbnail Sketch

Youth Educational Services (YES) is a confederation of North Carolina college students who are united by their concern for educational and social progress in the state.

YES is the new name for the former N. C. Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights. The group adopted its new title last May to reflect its increasing emphasis on tutoring.

This September, YES opened an office at the Quail Roost Conference Center, north of Durham, to coordinate and service tutoring projects in North Carolina.

Three fulltime staff members carry on the work of YES. Coordinator of Field Activities is Mike Lawler. His activities include assisting projects in initial stages of development,

see THUMBNAIL, p. 5

FRANK RIESSMAN, author of "The Culturally Deprived Child," will be keynote speaker for YES's statewide tutoring conference, Feb. 13-15, 1966. WATCH THIS SPACE FOR DETAILS.

Youth
Educational Services
NEWSLETTER

Volume 1; Number 1

November, 1965

Published periodically by Youth Educational Services, Incorporated.

Mailing Address: Box 3067, West Durham Station, Durham, North Carolina 27705.
Office Address: Quail Roost Conference Center, Rougemont, N.C. 27572. (13 miles north of Durham on Rt. 501, south of Roxboro.)

The NEWSLETTER will gladly accept for publication letters, comments, and articles submitted by its readers. YES reserves the right to select portions of items submitted for publication.

The NEWSLETTER is distributed free of charge to students and to tutoring organizations. Other persons and organizations may subscribe at the annual rate (approximately 5 issues for the school year) of $1 per subscription.

Students, tutors, and tutorial administrators should indicate their college and/or tutoring project affiliation when requesting a free subscription to the NEWSLETTER.

Subscription blank: Clip and mail to YES, Box 3067, West Durham Sta., Durham, N. C. 27705.

Name ____________________
Mailing Address __________
____________________ zip ________
Organization ______________
College ____________________
(if not included in mailing address)

THE PERISCOPE

Each issue of the NEWSLETTER will carry a column on an educational topic unrelated to tutoring but hopefully of interest and relevance to its readers. The selection for this NEWSLETTER is from *The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition*, by Earl J. McGrath, Institute of Higher Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. It discusses the state of material resources of facilities and collections of Negro college libraries.

THE LIBRARY: MATERIAL RESOURCES

"The resources and services of Negro college libraries run the gamut from excellent to poor, but unfortunately the curve of quality is heavily skewed toward the lower end....

"Although the buildings which house libraries are less important than their holdings, the age and structure of the physical facilities influence their accessibility and hence their efficient use. Of the sixty-nine predominantly Negro institutions which supplied information about their library buildings, 39 per cent of these structures were erected before 1945, 26 per cent between 1945 and 1954, and 35 per cent since 1955. Thus a number of these buildings are relatively new and might be expected to exemplify recent developments in efficient library facilities and usage. Few of them, however, embody such accepted ideas as facilities for group study, typing, and the use of audio-visual materials, and inadequate design of some of the newest buildings has resulted in observable inefficiences in service as well as extravagance in operating cost....As increases in enrollments require renovating or rebuilding of library facilities, the Negro colleges, and particularly state architects responsible for the design of public college libraries, could profitably examine the methods of library planning and the resulting innovations in construction found in other colleges which have recently erected new library buildings.

"The three most important measures of the adequacy of library resources are the total number of volumes in the collection, the annual additions of volumes, and the number of journals and periodicals currently acquired. It is generally agreed that to be adequate, a small to medium-sized four-year liberal arts college should have a minimum basic collection of fifty thousand volumes and a junior college should have twenty thousand volumes. Several of these institutions have excellent library holdings, but data supplied by the cooperating institutions indicate that the average Negro college library does not have the necessary basic collection. In fact, it is likely to have only between 30 and 60 per cent of the titles on any given subject list of basic books....

see McGRATH, p. 7

RESOURCE MATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM YES LIBRARY..

Youth Educational Services has developed an extensive library of resource materials for tutoring projects. The library includes a wide range of tutoring manuals, a selective list of short background readings for tutors, materials to assist in project organization and funding, guides on tutoring reading, tutoring materials in the basic skills, and bibliographies of tutoring materials from projects across the country.

A listing of all available materials is enclosed with this NEWSLETTER.

Most of the materials listed are free of charge. YES will fill all requests for materials insofar as possible See the "Bibliography" for directions on requesting materials.

PROJECTS, ctd. from p.1

Durham (ctd.)

Tutors include volunteers from MOVE, a group which recruits on the North Carolina College campus and is headed by Ray Arrington, and from the Duke University Tutorial Project, headed by Mary Lou Warren and Patty Woolley. Area A has 134 tutors working with 200 children; Area B has 50 tutors and 100 children, and Area C involves 60 tutors and 100 children. The children range from grades four through twelve.

VISTA Volunteers run the tutoring in "B" and "C", while Mrs. Bessie McLaurin is in charge of area "A". Mrs. Jewel John allocates volunteers to the various target areas from the central Breakthrough office.

CHAPEL HILL

The Chapel Hill Tutorial Project, UNC at Chapel Hill, combines various forms of tutoring services - a reading program, study halls, and tutor-tutee ratios varying from 1:1 to 1:12 - in a project utilizing services of the campus and community. Included in the project are elementary schools, junior and senior high schools. Communities served include Carrboro, Efland, Hillsborough and Cedar Grove. Coordinators of various aspects of the program meet weekly to communicate news. There are presently 78 tutors in the Chapel Hill Project.

Chapel Hill (ctd.)

Although students compose the major portion of the tutors, many are faculty wives and members of the community.

WINSTON-SALEM

The Wake Forest Tutorial Project, directed by Miss Luana Green, on the Board of Directors of YES, involves thirteen tutors working 1:1 with students in grades seven through ten at two schools. This project is administered apart from the one at the Advancement School, also in Winston-Salem.

CHARLOTTE

Queens College Tutorial Project uses the facilities of the South Davidson Y.W.C.A. and involves 45 tutors working with 45 2nd to 6th grade girls. Miss Pat Bagg is chairman.

RALEIGH

The Meredith College Tutorial Project is directed by Miss Ann Freeman. Thirty tutors work on a one-to-one basis with children from two schools. The children

Raleigh, (ctd.)

are in grades two to six. Discussions have taken place between the project at Meredith College and the Tutorial Commission at N. C. State to discuss possible city-wide coordination and sharing of information.

The Tutorial Commission at N. C. State of UNC is headed by Reinhard Goetherd. One of the tutors, Bob Holmes, is Vice President of YES. The program involves 13 tutors and an equal number of high school students. The project has initiated a cultural enrichment program through a campus service club. This activity involves attending concerts, athletic events, and other university and community functions.

A complete listing of projects in North Carolina serviced by YES is available upon request.

GRANTS, ctd. from p. 1

The Fund for the Advancement of Education, established by the Ford Foundation, made the largest single grant, $15,000. This grant is one of the Fund's first to a project involving primarily college students.

The next largest portion of YES support came from the North Carolina Fund, which contributed $10,000.

The Learning Institute of North Carolina (LINC) contributed an additional $5,000. LINC also provides YES with office space and auditing services.

Finally, North Carolina Advancement School has underwritten a portion of the salary of the Coordinator of Tutoring Services, Lowell Dodge. Lowell continues to provide overall policy guidance to the tutoring project at the Advancement School, in addition to his functions with YES. The tutoring project at the School serves as a testing ground for tutoring materials and tutor training techniques which YES is considering for recommendation to tutoring projects across the State.

YES welcomes grants and contributions from all sources, both individual and institutional. Persons interested in supporting YES should contact Michael Lawler.

A brochure on YES listing goals, program, officers, Board of Directors, etc., will soon be available. Please send requests for quantities directly to YES.

WHY? ctd. from p. 1

between an older college or junior-senior high school student and a younger one.

Together, tutor and student work to improve basic academic skills of the student: reading, study habits, dictionary use, outlining, spelling, vocabulary, and in some cases, standard school subjects.

Although the primary focus of tutoring is academic, other results of the relationship only in part academic, are often more significant for the student than the academic progress he makes.

1. Tutoring affords the student a degree of individual attention which classroom teachers and parents often do not have the chance to provide. Learning becomes more relevant and interesting to a student when he can decide with the tutor what pace suits him best and which materials are most stimulating.

2. Properly trained tutors learn to program their sessions into a series of success-experiences. The feeling of success, often new to a student behind in school, together with continuing encouragement from the tutor, helps lead the student to form a new and more positive picture of himself.

3. Impressionable elementary and secondary students tend to emulate their tutors. To them, the tutor is an older student who attaches enough importance to education to help another attain it.

4. Students and tutors are often friends as well as teacher and pupil. Tutoring puts learning on a personal rather than institutional basis.

5. The tutoring experience generally has a constructive effect on tutors as well as on students. There are few better ways to strengthen one's grasp on a subject or skill than by teaching it to others. Programs using 6th and 8th graders to tutor younger elementary students builds on this principle. Such projects are new but promising, judging from the response of those involved.

PUBLISHED TUTORING MATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM YES ON LOAN BASIS

YES has purchased moderate quantities of "professional", or published tutoring materials. These materials are listed in Part 2 of the "Bibliography of Available Tutoring Materials" distributed with this NEWSLETTER.

Included are graded sets of reading exercise books (mostly new and imaginative); programmed materials, including SRA kits, and books.

YES wishes to test the effectiveness of these materials in various tutorial settings. Therefore, YES can make available to tutoring projects in North Carolina many of the materials on hand in return for a small amount of reporting to YES from the tutors using the materials.

YES has established the following policies for loaning published materials:

see PUBLISHED, p. 5

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

The Board of Directors of Youth Educational Services will meet this Sunday, November 21, in Chapel Hill at the Institute of Government. At this meeting the staff will report on its activities for the period September 15 - November 15, and present to the Board for consideration alternative courses of action for the future.

THUMBNAIL, ctd. from p.1

serving as a liaison between school officials and project administrators, and encouraging formation of coordinating councils in cities with more than one college tutoring project.

Lowell Dodge, Coordinator of Tutoring Services, develops YES's library of resource materials, distributes items in the library to projects requesting them, develops tutor training techniques and assists projects in carrying them out, studies the effectiveness of various forms of published tutoring materials in different settings, and assists projects in evaluation. Lowell also keeps in touch with tutoring projects in other states in order to learn of advances they are making.

Both the Field Activities and Tutoring Service Coordinators work on developing new approaches to project organization and in building a supply of resource materials relating to project organization and funding.

The office manager of YES is Mrs. Ginger Stillman, who assists both coordinators in their work and handles the bulk of requests for materials from the YES library.

At the present time, YES is working directly with eight fully established tutoring projects in North Carolina. In addition, YES has a direct hand in assisting seven other projects currently in the initial stages of growth. Finally, YES has established contact with individuals and groups in a dozen other communities interested in launching tutorial projects. Although YES has funding which will carry its activities only through August, 1966, it intends to seek support to enable continuing its efforts indefinitely.

Thumbnail, ctd.

YES TAPE TRANSCRIBING SERVICE

Tutorial projects wishing to create their own tutoring materials may receive assistance from YES. The service works in this way: (1) Tutoring projects will record experiences and stories of tutees which might make good practice reading passages. (2) Each project should perform any editing of the tape which it feels necessary and then mail the tape to YES. (3) YES will type the story onto mimeograph stencils and reproduce as many copies as requested by the project. (4) YES will mail the tape and copies back to the project. (5) YES may distribute such materials to other projects.

PUBLISHED, ctd. from p.4

(1) Tutoring projects should include in their requests for published materials the following information: subject being tutored for which materials are needed, grade level of tutee, period of time during which materials will be used, and number of tutors to be using the materials.

(2) Tutoring projects should arrange, if possible, for a meeting in which YES staff will introduce the materials to those tutors using them.

(3) YES will supply with the materials forms for tutors to use in reporting their reactions to the materials. Projects should take appropriate measures to ensure that tutors do this.

(4) A project will mail to YES periodically completed tutor responce forms

(5) The project will return all materials stil in good shape to YES at the end of the experiment. Projects should exercise care in maintaining the materials on loan from YES. In particular, YES requests that students not write in consumable workbooks.

Projects wishing to borrow materials other than those in the YES library should inquire about the possibility of having YES purchase these materials. YES welcomes suggestions from tutoring projects on materials which YES might buy for its library. In the future YES plans to include in its budget money for larger quantities of such materials.

DEVELOPING PROJECTS AIDED BY YES

BUIES CREEK

The Buies Creek Tutorial Project, headed by Linn Campbell, a student at Campbell College, has recently activated a pilot program which involves eight tutors and sixteen tutees. The Baptist Student Union sponsors this project which involves elementary school children.

BOONE

Appalachian State Teachers College has recently requested aid from YES in organizing a tutorial project which will hold training sessions for tutors after Thanksgiving. The project will work in the schools and in the community.

FAYETTEVILLE

The Fayetteville State College project involves 15 tutors and 15 junior high school students. The tutoring will take place on the college campus. Lowell Dodge, Mike Lawler, and Bob Holmes, from N.C. State, recently visited the Fayetteville project for tutor training sessions. Project director is Miss Judith Wilkins. George Langford, one of the tutors and student body president, is a member of the Board of Directors of YES.

NEW BERN

Educational Growth Opportunities (EGO), is an experiment in using high school students and additional interested persons from the community as tutors. A VISTA volunteer, Mike Russell, coordinates the project. The program will involve twelve tutors and twelve children from grades three and four in a Catholic elementary school.

New Bern, ctd.

CHARLOTTE

Johnson C. Smith University Tutorial Project has recruited 75 tutors who will work in three schools. Miss Jeanette Johnson, secretary of YES, serves as coordinator of the project. Students from J. C. Smith, Queens College, Davidson College, and UNC - Charlotte, have met to pool their ideas on tutoring, their experiences in initiating tutoring projects, and knowledge about the needs for tutoring in Charlotte. Lowell Dodge will meet with tutors from J. C. Smith on Saturday, November 20, for an orientation and training session.

THE HORNETS' NEST

The NEWSLETTER will publish from time to time its responses to questions which often arise in the early stages of development of a tutoring project.

Q. Do the smartest students make the best tutors?

A. Not necessarily. Ability to get along with others and to relate to children of the age being tutored in the project often counts as much if not more than the grade point average. Therefore, new projects, particularly those using high school students as tutors, should not necessarily restrict themselves to the honor society as the best source of tutors.

Hornets' Nest, ctd.

Q. What can tutoring project directors say to school administrators who are reluctant to allow female tutors off-campus in the evening hours?

A. Project directors should emphasize the care with which transportation has been arranged. Project directors may emphasize also that one component of tutor training focuses on norms of tutor conduct in the community where the project is located. (In tutor training project directors should emphasize to tutors the necessity for conservative dress and unprovocative behavior in the host community.) Project directors may report to school administrators that female tutors working in many other communities have encountered no problems. This includes communities such as Los Angeles, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, and Durham.

Q. Should each tutor have just one student?

A. There are strong arguments both for one-to-one tutoring and for group tutoring. The simplest way to resolve this problem is to leave the choice up to each individual tutor and to include on tutor application forms a chance for tutors to express their preference in this regard. More on this topic later.

McGrath, ctd. from p. 2

"Despite extensive improvements and additions to their libraries, of the sixty senior colleges and universities which supplied information on their collections, only twenty-two, or 36.6 per cent, had over fifty thousand volumes, five had even fewer than the twenty thousand expected of junior colleges, and the smallest had 10,096 volumes. The collections of most of the junior college libraries are markedly inferior. Only one out of nineteen public and private junior colleges comes up to the accepted twenty-thousand -volume standard, only one other has over ten thousand, and nine contain fewer than five thousand volumes. What is worse, minimum standards and requirements for accreditation have had a tendency to induce additions sheerly for the sake of increasing the size of the collections. Several of the institutions have added worthless material to their collections in large quantities, diluting both the quality of the collection and the effectiveness of staff work.

"Data on the number of volumes added each year and on subscriptions to periodicals are not much more encouraging. Forty-six of the colleges increased their collections in 1962-63 by at least 5 per cent, but this generally accepted rate of increase is inadequate for many of them if they are to remedy the deficiencies that have resulted from years of substandard support.

"This appraisal of Negro college libraries is confirmed by the assessments of over seven hundred faculty members from predominantly Negro institutions who responded to a questionnaire from the Institute of Higher Education. The majority of respondents from fifty-one of the sixty-three four-year colleges judged their libraries to be adequate to support the teaching of beginning students. In only nineteen of the sixty-three four-year colleges did a majority of the faculty consider the library resources adequate for the needs of advanced classes. Moreover, faculties in the junior colleges reported significant deficiences in books published before 1945, back files of journals, government documents, and audio-visual materials. Many faculty members also pointed to a specific lack of key titles and landmark books for students in major subject fields, as well as a deficiency of journals, reference materials, and source documents which they needed to keep abreast of scholarly developments in their own disciplines.

"Finally, many faculty members in various disciplines expressed the need for films and records and for the equipment to use them. Every college library should have collections of recorded music, poetry, and drama, as well as guides to available films and funds for renting them. The whole range of audio-visual materials offers an especially effective means to help broaden the knowledge and stimulate the intellectual interests of students of limited backgrounds, and the evidence from this survey indicates that professors and their students in the predominantly Negro colleges would make much use of these materials if they were available....

see McGrath, ctd. on p. 8

TUTOR TRAINING ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY YES

The YES staff is interested in helping projects throughout the State to train their volunteer tutors.

YES can assist in this training on three levels: 1. Consultation and advice in mapping out plans for tutor training; 2. Supplying tutoring manuals and background readings for prospective tutors; 3. Assistance in carrying out actual tutor training.

Projects intending to have Lowell Dodge or Mike Lawler participate in tutor training sessions should arrange these sessions with the YES office as far in advance as possible. In general, it is suggested that pre-service training or orientation be limited to one or two sessions lasting at the most two hours each, and that in-service tutor training seminars be scheduled at least once a month lasting perhaps one hour after a normal tutoring session.

A story on tutoring at The North Carolina Advancement School will appear in the next issue of the NEWSLETTER.

"*The colleges need to increase their own rate of support for library collections. They could attract useful contributions to their collections while warding off useless gifts which only impose wasteful burdens on already limited resources by distributing to their alumni and patrons a carefully worded statement outlining in general terms the kinds of books most needed in their libraries. But drastic outside action should also be launched to strengthen the collections of Negro college libraries.* A start on this task has been made in selected institutions by several of the foundations. For example, seventeen of the Negro colleges have received W.K. Kellogg Foundation funds for books in teacher education; the Rockefeller Foundation is helping develop the joint Atlanta University Center library; and the Stern Foundation is aiding the Dillard University library. Books in print can now be supplied, fully processed and with prepared catalogue cards, at a cost per volume about equal to list price. *Most Negro colleges deserve grants averaging at least five dollars a volume to bring their basic collections up to date and to provide strong foundations for the major elements of their programs....*

"To *produce the maximum benefit from this additional financial support, however, a pool of consultants should be available to aid librarians of the institutions which receive substantial supplementary funds. Four or five consultants competent in the major areas of building planning, collection development, collection weeding, and staff utilization could bolster the efforts of these institutions and enhance the effect of the grants.* Indeed, foundations and other prospective donors might well make their grants contingent on the use of such advisory services."

YES AIDS TO TUTORIAL PROJECTS

YES is able to aid prospective or established tutoring projects in the following ways:

1. Help establish the administration of the project;
2. Help in formulating goals of the project;
3. Assist in recruiting tutors;
4. Assist in tutor orientation sessions;
5. Assist in training volunteer tutors;
6. Devise appropriate tutoring materials;
7. Distribute to tutoring projects materials from the YES resource library, as requested;
8. Evaluation of the project.

SEE DETAILS INSIDE

YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
P. O. BOX 3067
WEST DURHAM STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27705
TELEPHONE: 919 - 477-7397

YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Bibliography

of

Available Tutoring Materials

November, 1965

More copies available from:

YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
Box 3067 West Durham Station
Durham, North Carolina 27705

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HOW TO OBTAIN COPIES OF ITEMS IN THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. For Materials Produced by Y.E.S.:

   Y.E.S. will provide single copies of individual items free of charge. Y.E.S. can supply reasonable quantities of all items listed (except those marked with an asterisk) to tutoring projects within North Carolina. Persons and groups outside North Carolina and non-tutoring groups within the state will be charged a small amount (usually 5¢ per copy) on quantity orders of some items.

2. For Published Tutoring Materials:

   Tutoring projects in North Carolina can make special arrangements with Y.E.S. for borrowing the published tutoring materials from the Y.E.S. library as listed in this bibliography. The nature of these arrangements is outlined in the Y.E.S. NEWSLETTER, Vol. I, No. 1, page 1 (November, 1965).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TUTORING MATERIALS

1. Materials Produced or Reproduced by Y.E.S.

A. TUTORING MANUALS

For Projects Closely Related to Schools:

1. Tutoring Tips, 8-page mimeo, includes general tips, tips for tutoring arithmetic and reading; Los Angeles City Schools. Office of Urban Affairs, Box 3307 Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, California 90054.

2. Manual for Tutors, 7-page mimeo, including tutoring tips, pitfalls in the "helping relationship." North Carolina Advancement School, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101.

For Community Projects Outside of the Schools:

1. An Introduction to Tutoring, 11-page mimeo. Excellent general manual on tutoring. Philadelphia Tutoring Project, Thurman Harrison, Director, 31 Wiatt Hall, 1830 North Park Ave., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122.

2. SWAP Tutor Manual, 13-page mimeo, excellent. How should I teach? How should I interact with the tutee? etc. Student Woodlawn Area Project, 1212 East 59th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

For Tutoring in the Home:

1. Tutoring Manual, 16-page mimeo, excellent rationale for tutoring in the home. Friendship House, 619 "D" Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003. Also available from the Office of Tutoring Services, Health and Welfare Council, 1101 "M" Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

For Junior High and Elementary Tutors:

1. Junior Tutoring Manual, 4-page mimeo, guide for younger tutors. North Carolina Advancement School, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101.

2. *A Neglected Resource - Cross-Age Relationships, 17-page mimeo, Peggy Lippitt and John E. Lohman, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, University of Michigan, P. O. Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Article submitted for publication in Children, about a successful project in which 6th graders tutor 1st-4th graders.

For Tutoring Reading: (See also "D" below)

1. *Tutoring Reading at After-School Study Centers, 43-page offset pamphlet, excellent. Write: The Governor's Committee on Literacy and Learning, Room 1417, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. Contains bibliography of periodicals and published materials useful to tutors.

B. BACKGROUND READING FOR TUTORS

1. James Baldwin, A Talk to Teachers: The Negro Child, His Self-Image, 7-page talk delivered at an in-service training course for teachers in New York City, used in tutor training, Philadelphia Tutoring Project.
2. Benjamin S. Bloom, Allison Davis, and Robert Hess, Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation, Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc. (paper); based on working papers contributed by participants in Research Conference on Education and Cultural Deprivation (June 8-12, 1964 at University of Chicago). 40 pages of text, which among other things points up the value and significance of tutoring; 103-page annotated bibliography. Excellent. ($1.75)
3. Kenneth B. Clark, Clash of Cultures in the Classroom, 11-page paper, including sections on "The IQ Trap," and "Children Can Learn." Used in tutor training, Philadelphia Tutorial Project. Reprinted from the August 1963 issue of Integrated Education.
4. Dr. Allison Davis, The Education of Culturally Deprived Children, 7-page talk delivered May 11, 1962 before the Southern California Conference on Human Relations.
5. Martin Deutsch, The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process: Some Social, Psychological and Developmental Considerations, 15-page mimeo. Paper prepared for Ford Foundation "Work Conference on Curriculum and Teaching in Depressed Urban Areas" July 10, 1962.

*Not yet available in quantity.

6. R. N. Lowe, Role-Playing with Low-Income People, 9 pages with references. School of Education, University of Oregon. Frank Riessman, Albert Einstein School of Medicine, Yeshiva University, New York City, New York.

7. Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child; A New View, 7 pages. Some remarks on overlooked positives of disadvantaged groups. Reprinted from School Life, April 1963. Opening address, Conference on Education of Disadvantaged Children, held by the U. S. Office of Education, May 21-23, 1962, Washington, D. C.

8. Frank Riessman, Tutoring the Disadvantaged Child, 17-page address presented at the Tutor Orientation Symposium, October 17, 1964 at Georgetown University. Sponsored by the Office of Tutoring Services, Health and Welfare Council, 1101 "M" Street, Washington, D. C., John H. Brown, Director.

9. Charles E. Silberman, The Negro and the School, 11 pages. An abridgement of the chapter by the same name in Crisis in Black and White, by Charles E. Silberman, as used in tutor training by the Philadelphia Tutorial Project.

C. MATERIALS TO ASSIST WITH PROJECT ORGANIZATION AND FUNDING

General:

1. How to Start a Tutorial Project, 14-page mimeo. Primarily for college tutorial projects, but useful as a checklist for all new projects. Contains sections on how to: finance the project, recruit tutors, locate materials, train tutors, keep the project going smoothly, evaluate the project. UCLA Tutorial Project, Dec. 1964.

2. How to Train Tutors. A brief summary of the components of minimum tutor training, primarily for projects with little or no budget. 8-page mimeo. Prepared by Y.E.S. October, 1965.

3. Why Tutoring? A rationale for student tutoring. 1-page mimeo. For distribution to community and school personnel. Explains what tutoring can do for children. Prepared by Y.E.S. Contained in Y.E.S. Newsletter, Vol. I, No. 1, November, 1965.

4. Considerations on Starting a Tutorial, 1-page mimeo. The case for a close relationship with the community by Sam Leiken and Andrea Cousins, Northern Student Movement.

5. Evaluating Your Tutoring Project. A brief compendium of diverse forms used for evaluation in several different tutoring projects, compiled by Y.E.S., November, 1965. See "E" below for listing of contents.

Prospectuses of Established Tutoring Projects:
Useful for two purposes:
a. to see how these projects have organized themselves.
b. to see how they have prepared a budget.

1. SWAP Prospectus, 12 pages condensed. The Student Woodlawn Area Project, Chicago, Illinois. A community-based tutorial with extensive supplementary programs. Includes budget.

2. *Northern Student Movement, Prospectus for Educational Projects, 1963 to 1964. A 4-page summary of NSM's plans for tutoring projects in 6 northern cities, beginning in June, 1963, including budget.

3. *Prospectus, Philadelphia Tutorial Project, Inc., 1964-1967. 14 pages with detailed budgetary breakdowns, including diverse supplementary programs.

4. A Prospectus, The Western Student Movement, November, 1964. A Project in which High School Students are Trained to Administer their own Tutoring Program. 12 pages with budget.

5. *A Prospectus, The Western Student Movement, April 10, 1964. Proposal for a large community-based summer tutorial in Los Angeles.

D. GUIDES ON TUTORING READING

1. You Too May Become a Reading Expert. Short guide for reading tutors from the Student Woodlawn Area Project (SWAP) in Chicago. Contains: general tips, an outline on tutoring the phonetic elements of words, and a few brief techniques. 4-page mimeo.

2. *Tutoring Reading at After School Study Centers, 43-page offset pamphlet. More copies available from the Governor's Committee on Literacy and Learning, Room 1417, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois 60603.

3. The Ability to Remember and Use What Has Been Read, by Ida Kravitz, Language Arts Consultant, Philadelphia City Schools. How to use the "SQ3R" system for reading retention. 3 pages.

4. *Reading Reference Handbook, Charlotte Mergentime, 28 pages. A complete guide for tutoring elementary reading. Used for School Volunteer Program, New York City Schools.

*Not yet available in quantity.

5. How Can I Help Children Learn to Read? For beginning, second, and third year readers of any age. Primarily for elementary students. By the Division of Instructional Services and the Office of Urban Affairs, Los Angeles City Schools. Abridged by the staff of the North Carolina Advancement School. Intended for use by volunteers.

6. How Can I Help My Tutee to Read Better? A 2-page summary of #4 above, intended for junior and senior high tutors. By the tutoring staff, North Carolina Advancement School, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101.

E. SAMPLE EVALUATION FORMS (See item "C5" above.)

1. Weekly Tutor Report Form (a single card) used at the North Carolina Advancement School.

2. Questionnaire for Tutors, used by the Avalon Community Tutorial (ACT), a project of Western Student Movement, Los Angeles, Summer, 1964.

3. Questionnaire for Tutors (more extensive than #2) for use when a tutor leaves the project or when the project ends a year of tutoring. Used at the North Carolina Advancement School. 3 pages.

4. Tutee Questionnaire used by the Avalon Community Tutorial (ACT), a project of the Western Student Movement, Summer, 1964, in Los Angeles.

5. SWAP Evaluation Form for Tutors. Student Woodlawn Area Project, Chicago. 1 page.

F. PRACTICE READING PASSAGES OF HIGH INTEREST

Note: Most of these items have been developed by the Student Woodlawn Area Project (SWAP) in Chicago. SWAP produced some of them by means of taping, transcribing, and mimeographing stories told by the tutees themselves. The Harlem Education Project (HEP) has compiled a large number of such stories and organized them into a library. As a result, many HEP tutees have won recognition from other tutees as authors of the materials used for tutoring reading. (Your project can do it too.)

1. The Audy Home (SWAP) A tutee's story of her experiences in a Chicago juvenile detention home.

2. Three West African Kingdoms (SWAP) A brief (2-page) historical sketch of three powerful African empires from which many Negro Americans are descended. The three powers are Ghana, Mali, and Songai.

3. Legal Procedure (SWAP) The story of an auto accident and the stages through which the resulting suit passes in the courts.

4. Booneville (SWAP) An interview with a boy who spent time at a etention farm in Missouri for serious offenders. 5 pages.

5. Nine African Dreams (SWAP) A collection of dreams from modern day African students.

6. A Story from African Bushmen (SWAP) Story-type reading in Negro history. 3 pages.

7. The Story of Skin Color (SWAP) A scientific explanation of the variations in human skin color, told in plain language. 2 pages.

8. The Chicago Police (SWAP) An interview with a boy who has never been in trouble, about his day-to-day encounters with policemen in his neighborhood.

9. *The North Star (HEP) Writings of the tutees in the Harlem Education Project. 14 pages.

10. *Description of Schools, Written by Harlem Students (HEP) Direct quotes from statements volunteered by young students in Harlem. 6 pages.

G. EXERCISES IN READING

1. A sample crossword puzzle illustrating how you can construct your own simple crossword puzzles to improve the word recognition of younger readers.

2. A set of brief reading puzzles from the Junior Tutoring Program at the North Carolina Advancement School to illustrate the possibilities for creating your own reading practice exercises: "Space Ranger," "Alphabetical Order," and "How the Animals Stole Springtime."

3. *Assorted reading placement tests from several tutoring projects to assist in determining the starting level of students being tutored.

4. The Dolch List. 220 basic words which all children should know by sight. These words make up a high percentage of all written material and are generally difficult to sound out phonetically.

*Not yet available in quantity.

H. TUTORING MATERIALS IN BASIC SKILLS

1. Dictionary Use

Development of Dictionary Skills and Dictionary Vocabulary by Ida Kravitz. 2 pages.

2. *Handwriting

Improve Your Handwriting. Schaefer Pen Company, pamphlet.

3. Listening

Tutoring Children to Listen Better by Ida Kravitz. For elementary students. 2 pages.

4. *Locating, Evaluating, and Organizing Information: The Study Skills by Ida Kravitz. Excellent. 20 pages.

5. Outlining

Steps in the Development of Outlining Skills by Ida Kravitz, Language Arts Consultant, Philadelphia City Schools. 3 pages.

6. Spelling

a. A Set of Spelling Rules and Lists of Spelling Words structured to correspond to the rules from Ida Kravitz, Language Arts Consultant, Philadelphia City Schools. Remedial junior high level. 16 pages.

b. Spelling Can Be Fun. North Carolina Advancement School Junior Tutoring Program. Interesting approaches to spelling. 2 pages.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF TUTORING MATERIALS

1. *Chicago Commission on Human Relations, Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, 211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606. A Bibliography for Volunteer Tutoring compiled by Mrs. Elizabeth Davey, revised August 1965 by Albert N. Logan. The bibliography is divided into four sections: (1) "Workbooks and Study Materials," which indicates the grade level and usage of various reading aids; (2) "Supplementary Reading Books," helpful and diversified graded list of books; (3) "Adult Basic Literacy" materials, a brief list of available materials; and (4) a "Directory of Publishers" of reading materials. 24-page mimeo.

*Not available in quantity.

2. *Chicago Public Library, The. Education for the Disadvantaged. A collection of books and other materials including background reading on the problems of the disadvantaged and materials for work in teaching particular subject areas--reading and writing, English, tutoring the young, arithmetic, etc. 15-page pamphlet.

3. *Chicago Schools Journal Supplement, October 1964. Free and Inexpensive Teaching Aids. Distributed by The Governor's Committee on Literacy and Learning, 19 S. LaSalle St., Room 1600, Chicago, Ill. 60602. A guide to free and inexpensive materials available from publishers, foundations, etc., divided according to a variety of subjects. Several articles on reading are included. 38-page pamphlet.

4. *Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Grand Chapter. Selected References for the Education of Culturally Disadvantaged Groups. A listing of books, articles, and excerpts which includes background materials and tutoring materials. A list of reference books is also included. 10-page mimeo.

5. *Ellis Book Store, 831 E. 61st St., Chicago, Ill. Negro History and Culture. "A Selected Bibliography for Use With Children." The list includes books on African culture, Negroes and their role in American history, poems, and elementary grade readers with interracial characters. 2-page mimeo.

6. *National Education Association, 1201 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. (Research Division). References on the Culturally Deprived, October 1964. A bibliography of varied types of reading materials on the disadvantaged and teaching the disadvantaged. A single copy is available free on request from the NEA. 5-page mimeo.

7. *North Carolina Advancement School, Tutoring Center, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101. Available Tutoring Materials. A list of readers and other tutoring materials available at NCAS. 3-page ditto.

8. *North Carolina Advancement School, Tutoring Center, Winston-Salem, N. C. 27101. Tutoring Materials in Use at the North Carolina Advancement School - May 3, 1965. An annotated list of eight exercises and/or programmed materials. Publishers' addresses included. 1-page ditto

9. *Northern Student Movement, The. 514 W. 126th St., New York, N. Y. 10027. Civil Rights Bibliography. A bibliography divided into several categories: general,

*Not available in quantity.

nonviolence, fiction, housing, economics, justice, education, psychology, history, community organization, and others. Listed also are magazines on the Civil Rights Movement, magazines with related articles, and organizations with related pamphlets available. 7-page mimeo.

10. *Office of Tutoring Services, Health and Welfare Council, 1101 M St., N.W., Washington, D. C. Graded Bibliography for Children Who Are Reluctant Readers. Lengthy bibliography of readers. Noted for each book is the "Grade Reading Level Estimated" and "Grade Interest Level Estimated." High interest readers for children reading below their grade level. Addresses of publishers included. 12-page mimeo.

11. *Student Woodlawn Area Project (SWAP), 1212 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill. 60637. Suggested Reading for Negro History Primarily for junior high and high school. 4-page mimeo.

12. *SWAP. Children's Book List - SWAP Preschool Nursery. A bibliography of stories and books for the young child--pictures and illustrations in most. 3-page mimeo.

13. *SWAP. Reading Materials Available at SWAP. A listing of workbooks, skill builder books and supplementary reading books used by tutors in SWAP. A good basic library of tutoring materials. 2-page mimeo.

14. *SWAP. Some Materials Which SWAP Has Available for Use by Tutors. Part I is a bibliography on the language arts; Part II deals with mathematics and science. 4-page mimeo.

15. *University of Chicago, Graduate Library School. (Available through SWAP.) Books of Interest to High School Readers. A list of suggestions for high school tutors. Grade level noted is approximate level of reading difficulty. (Most are 5th-9th grade level.) 3-page mimeo.

2. Published Materials (See note on published tutoring materials: Table of Contents.)

A. GRADED SETS OF READING EXERCISE BOOKS

1. Building Reading Skills (Phonics). McCormick-Mathers Publishing Company, Inc., Wi hita, Kansas 67201. Five workbooks and accompanying teachers manuals available. Titles are: Speedboat Book, Streamliner Book, Jet Plane Book, Rocket Book, Atomic Submarine Book, Space Ship Book. The six text-practice books are progressive in difficulty and should be used in the above order. High interest workbook materials; enrichment activities and games are suggested and explained. Available also are "Phonics Skill Builders" on cardboard, bound into the first three books which can be used for drilling and word-building games. (1965)

2. McCall-Crabbs. Standard Test Lessons in Reading, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 West 120th St., New York, N.Y. 10027. A series of pamphlets (Book A through Book E) graded from 2nd grade level through 12th grade level, containing short reading passages followed by questions testing understanding, ability to retain, etc., complete with score sheets and rating scales. (1961)

3. New Practice Readers (A-F). Webster Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1154 Reco Ave., St. Louis, Mo. High interest readers followed by exercises. Very popular series. (1962)

4. Reading for Meaning. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, Pa. A series of workbooks ranging in content and difficulty from grades four to twelve. Systematic practice in basic reading skills is given through short stories and questions based on the stories. Should be used with Teacher's Guide. (1962)

5. Smith, Nila Banton. Be a Better Reader, Books I-VI. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Skill development in reading literature, history, science and mathematics. An interesting and varied set of workbooks on a remedial junior and senior high level. Most of the passages are of the "high motivation" variety. (2nd ed. 1964-65)

6. Specific Skill Series. Barnell Loft, Ltd., 111 S. Centre Ave., Rockville Ctr., L.I., N.Y., N.Y. Titles are: Using the Context (silent reading comprehension); Working with Sounds (word attack); Following Directions; and Locating the Answer. Each of these four skills has a

set of pamphlets graded from pamphlet A through pamphlet F. Interesting sets of exercises in each of the four sets. (1964)

7. Study Exercises for Developing Reading Skills (A-D). Laidlaw Brothers, Thatcher and Madison Streets, River Forest, Ill. (paper). A and B are for elementary level, C and D are for junior high level. The exercises are varied, including Understanding, Vocabulary Development, Dictionary Use, Interpreting What You Read, Using What You Read. (1965)

B. PROGRAMMED MATERIALS

1. McEvoy, Paul. Learning How to Use the Dictionary. The Macmillan Company, 60 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10011. A programmed text in paper, complete with text booklet and teacher's manual. Keyed to Webster Elementary Dictionary. Good for elementary and remedial junior high. (100 pages, 1963.)

2. Science Research Associates, 259 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill. 60611. Reading for Understanding. General edition and Junior edition available. Each exercise consists of a card bearing ten short provocative statements or paragraphs. The student reads the selection and chooses the best of four suggested conclusions to the statement or paragraph.

3. S.R.A. Reading in High Gear. One complete set available. Developed specifically to provide instruction for culturally disadvantaged learners. Normal instruction time required for completing the program is from 150 to 300 hours.

4. S.R.A. Reading Laboratory IIIa (1964 ed). Reading levels are for grades 7 and 8. Teachers' manuals and student record books available.

5. S.R.A. Spelling-Word Power Laboratory IIc. Available in grade 6 only.

C. MISCELLANEOUS PUBLISHED MATERIALS

1. Gainsburg, Joseph C. Building Reading Confidence, C. S. Hammond and Co., Maplewood, N. J. (hard cover, 1962). A book in five parts; each part works on a wide range of reading skills (pronunciation, reading between the lines, etc.) on a level just a bit more difficult than in the preceding part.

2. Etta E. Karp and David H. Russell. Reading Aids through the Grades, (Three Hundred Development Reading Activities). Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th St., N. Y., N. Y. 10027

3. Keats, Ezra Jack. Whistle for Willie, Viking Press, 625 Madison Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10022. Story book with illustrations showing Negro and white children playing together. Elementary school level. Whistle for Willie is the first in a wide collection of interracial books and stories featuring Negro children to be available from Y.E.S.

4. Myers, R. E. and Torrance, E. Paul. Invitations to Speaking and Writing Creatively. Ginn and Company, New York. An "ideabook" which stimulates creativity in writing and speech. In consumable workbook format. Most useful with junior high and high school, but some ideas can be adapted to elementary grades. (1965)

Y.E.S. plans to make additions to this bibliography periodically.

THE POOPed SHEET

THE POOPed SHEET Vol. 1, No. 2
November, 1965

An exclusive newsletter for the members of the 8th Southern Student Human relations Seminar and friends of the USNSA Southern Project

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS*--CONFERENCE ON MEANINGFUL DEMOCRACY:

Ann Valliant, one of the 8th SSHRS participants, is among those who are initiating a Conference on Meaningful Democracy at the University of Arkansas, Nov. 25-27. The conference idea originated with communications between Arkansas and Louisiana students about university reform. It was enlarged to include more topics and students from other states.

The conference is being planned by the Unitarian Channing Club and Students for a University at the University of Arkansas. Representatives of the sponsoring organizations say that the purpose of the conference is to "stimulate a free exchange of ideas between people of different backgrounds and experience."

Although specific topics will be chosen by the groups after they arrive, it is expected that among the topics which will be discussed will be education, civil rights, community relations, university reform, and Vietnam. Ann is very anxious for as many of you as possible to attend the conference. See the enclosed brochure for additional information and details. We hope to see you there!

COLUMBIA COLLEGE SOUTHERN AFFAIRS SEMINAR:

Cathy Tyler, a senior at Columbia College (Columbia, S.C.) and a participant in the 8th SSHRS, has organized the Columbia College Southern Affairs Seminar which will be held at the college on Nov. 20. In many respects the Seminar is a microcosm of the 8th SSHRS since the format is similar, and the subjects of Southern history, politics, economy, and religion will be discussed.

The Seminar, which is being sponsored by the college and is strongly supported by Columbia College president Dr. R. Wright Spears, will involve ten students from Columbia College, four from Allen College, four from the University of South Carolina, four from Benedict College and four from Mather Academy. All of the participating schools are located in the Columbia area, with the exception of Mather Academy. Allen, Benedict, and Mather are predominantly Negro.

The Seminar is the first time such a program has been held on the Columbia College campus, and Cathy and Dr. Spears hope that it will be possible to sponsor an expanded version next spring or fall. See the enclosure for details of the program.

KLOEPFER SPEAKS AT U.S.L.:

Ruth Kloepfer, an 8th SSHRS participant from Sophie Newcomb College of Tulane University, will speak to the University of Southwestern Louisiana Newman Club on December 9. Ruth's SSHRS paper, "The Psychological Effects of Poverty" has been published by the Southern Project and widely distributed, and she will speak on poverty at U.S.L Fred Wright, also a SSHRS participant and a student at U.S.L., was instrumental in arranging for Ruth to speak.

MONEY AVAILABLE FOR STUDENT PROJECTS:

The Southern Regional Council (5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia) has recently received a grant which enables them to financially aid projects initiated by Southern students. Actually, the grants are made by SRC to the individual state councils on human relations which in turn aid the student project. Your project prospectus should be submitted simultaneously to your state human relations council and to Mr. Al Ulmer at SRC. The prospectus should include information pertaining to why the project is needed, who will participate, the exact purpose and program of the project, a budget estimate, how it will be administered, etc. Such a project might involve the publication of

MONEY AVAILABLE...

a state student newsletter, a community organization project, a tutorial program, or any one of a number of programs which are needed in your state and which students can successfully begin. Why not submit your proposal to your state human relations council? Get to work now! By the way, the maximum for most grants is about $500 or less, but we hear that if you have a really great program you might be able to get $1000. Obviously, the money will go fast!

FLORIDA STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE:

On the weekend of November 12-13, the Southern Project sponsored the Florida Student Human Relations Conference at the Methodist Youth Camp at Leesburg, Florida. Chiefly initiated and organized by Rick Stevens, assistant director of the Southern Project, the conference was attended by approximately seventy-five students. The conference was blessed by the presence of a number of excellent resource persons who were able to consult individually and collectively with the students. There was general agreement that the conference was extremely worthwhile and valuable. See the enclosed schedule and newspaper reprint for the conference program.

As a result of the conference, the students decided to: (1)Form a continuations committee which will travel to the Florida college campuses, and will offer program suggestions to the students. (2)Publish a state newsletter concerned with significant developments of civil liberties, academic freedom, civil rights, peace, etc, on Florida college campuses. (3)Work on the possibility of holding a spring conference. (4)Develop a community organization project for next summer.

SUMMER PROJECTS:

Now is the time for you to encourage the administration of your college to consider initiating a summer project which will utilize "work-study" students in tutorial projects in the community. Such students are able to work up to 40 hours a week in the summer under the Economic Opportunity Act work-study program which is administered by the U.S. Office of Education.

We will soon send you the souvenir edition of "The TISEP Reporter," the official weekly paper of the Tuskegee Institute Summer Education Program. This will give you some idea of the massive scale on which a program as described above can be conducted in your state. The tutors were funded through the work-study program while the materials, administrative salaries, and rental of buildings was financed by a community action demonstration program grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, 1200 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506. If you want to know more about such a project, contact Mr. David Walls at the OEO office. Mr. Walls will be happy to discuss this program with you, and if you are seriously interested you should call him collect at (202) 382-6462.

The advantage of this program is that work-study proposals cannot be vetoed by your governor. If you feel that your college would not be interested in such a program, why not contact a neighboring college you feel will be more interested? You can start a program which will benefit your state and community. Why not try it!? You can do it!

RECOMMENDED READING:

Southern Education Report (monthly magazine, $2.00 per year, P.O. Box 6156, Nashville, Tennessee 37212)
Provides accurate, unbiased information on developments in education, with emphasis on programs for the education of culturally disadvantaged children in the 17 Southern and border states.

The Autobiography of Malcom X. Grove Press, 455 pp. 1965, $7.50.

"The Vietnam Protest," The New York Review of Books, Volume 5, Number 8, pages 12-13. A statement by Irving Howe, Bayard Rustin, Lewis Coser, Michael Harrington, and others on the Vietnam protest movement, marches, civil disobedience, et.

SSHRS CORRESPONDENCE:

CELLESTINE HILL writes that she is planning to push for the formation of a human relations committee of the YWCA at the Women's College of Georgia. She hopes that she can also open the doors for more discussion on the campus in regard to human relations.

RAY McCLAIN hasn't written to tell us how he likes it up North, but you can write to him in care of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

CATHY TYLER has written a long article on the SSHRS for the Columbia College Post Script and has also written an extensive article comparing NSA and the Southern Universities Student Government Association. She is having a visitor from Purdue during the Thanksgiving holidays. Cathy is giving some thought to going to the University of North Carolina next year to do graduate work in history.

ANN VALLIANT has been involved in studying the family structure of the Negro community in Fayetteville, Arkansas, along with another student. A paper has been prepared based on their findings and will be presented at the American Anthropological Association annual conference in Denver. Ann is being sent as a delegate to the conference, all expenses paid.

BETTIE HILL has written to NSA for some materials which she hopes will stimulate some thought and action on the Mississippi Valley State College campus.

STAN FRICK attended a recent steering committee meeting of the South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations and we saw him there. Though we didn't get much of an opportunity to talk with him, it seems that all is well with him at Newberry College.

LULA MORTON led a discussion group at the Fourth Annual Kentucky College Conference on Intergroup Relations, and later wrote a report on the conference for the Transylvania College newspaper. Lula has been using her SSHRS materials as the basis for an informal discussion group in her dormitory.

SHERRY ALLEN has started her pre-teaching/intership training by acting as an assistant teacher. She is enjoying her tutorial experience also, and is still looking for some way to get to Europe for several months next summer. Sherry attended the Florida Student Human Relations Conference. By the way, she recently turned 21 and is happy that now she can go to the "a-go-go" clubs--but she still hasn't been.

DALE CALDWELL wrote lamenting over the lack of meaningful content in the Memphis State University newspaper, Tiger Rag. Dale has also begun a one-man protest against the Vietnam war by pinning an "END VIETNAM WAR NOW" sticker across the back of his tweed jacket and then going about his business on campus. Obviously, this has stimulated considerable dialogue at Memphis State.

CAROLYN BREWSTER has been quite busy at Miles College where she was in charge of planning the homecoming activities and is involved in numerous other campus affairs. She was helpful in enabling us to talk with the Dean and the student body president who are now interested in Miles becoming affiliated with NSA--thanks to Carolyn's encouragement and harassment. She hopes to start participating in an intercollegiate discussion group (involving Birmingham Southern College, Miles College, and Howard College) just as soon as football season is over and she is not so busy with band practice.

FRED WRIGHT hopes that he will be able to get Joe Hendricks to speak on the University of Southwestern Louisiana campus this spring. In the meantime, Fred is planning a program on Vietnam for the Newman Club. Fred reports that U.S.L. played an integrated football team for the first time recently, and that the campus human relations council is beginning to become more active.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING? WE STILL HAVEN'T HEARD FROM SOME OF YOU!

ADDRESSES YOU SHOULD KNOW:

Youth Educational Services (YES)
P.O. Box 3067
West Durham Station
Durham, North Carolina 27705

YES is available to give you detailed information on tutorials and related problems. When making an inquiry, please give the specifics of your tutorial situation or problem.

Mr. Richard Reiss
Americans for the Reappraisal of
Far Eastern Policy
404-A Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

A new "responsible" organization which feels that the best approach toward solving our present dilemma in Vietnam is to encourage the re-evaluation of our whole Asian policy.

Students for a Democratic Society
1103 East 63rd Street
Chicago 37, Illinois
Telephone (312) 667-6050

HUMOR

At the recent annual dinner of the Southern Regional Council, Dr. James McBride Dabbs, former president of SRC and one of speakers at the 8th SSHRS, introduced the main speaker for the evening, Dr. C. Vann Woodward. Following his introduction Dr. Dabbs sat down, ready to light his pipe and listen to Dr. Woodward's remarks. Dr. Woodward, meanwhile, made a few introductory remarks, saying how pleasant it was to be back in Atlanta. Then he hesitated, fidgeted, and said, "Now if Dr. Dabbs will hand me my manuscript we will get on with the proceedings." Dr. Dabbs, who is well-known for his easy Southern manner, returned the manuscript to Woodward--and proceeded to turn a brilliant shade of red.

END

Southern Advisory Board to the U.S. National Student Association

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

The Rev. Will D. Campbell
Executive Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 South 19th Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Miss Constance Curry
Southern Field Office
American Friends Service Committee
Room 502, 41 Exchange Pl., S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Mr. Norman C. Francis
Assistant to the President
Xavier University of Louisiana
Palmetto and Pine Streets
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Mr. Curtis Gans
Americans for Democratic Action
1341 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dr. C.G. Gomillion, Dean
School of Arts and Sciences
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dean Joseph Hendricks
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

The Rev. Charles Jones
Community Church
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. James Laue
Community Relations Service
U.S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D.C.

Dr. C.H. Parrish, Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Richard Ramsay
Southeastern Office, AFSC
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

The Rev. A. Knighton Stanley
Director of Religious Life
Bennett College
Greensboro, North Carolina

GEORGIA STUDENTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

TENTATIVE BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I: Name

The name of this organization shall be the Georgia Students for Human Rights.

ARTICLE II: Purpose

The purpose of the organization shall be to encourage and provide channels for student participation in bringing about a New Georgia, which will provide equal opportunities for all its citizens. Students may participate in local and state-wide efforts designed to:

1. Bring about an end to racial prejudice and discrimination.
2. Encourage meaningful student dialogue on all pertinant aspects of the issues which affect men's lives.
3. Stimulate students and the local community to initiate concrete programs in the areas of poverty, education, and civic responsibility.

Further, the organization shall co-operate with other state, regional, and local agencies, particularly the Georgia Council on Human Relations, in the attainment of these goals.

ARTICLE III: Membership

SECTION 1: GSHR shall be a membership organization composed of Chapters and Members-At-Large.

SECTION 2: Membership in the organization is open to any student who is enrolled in a college or university in the state of Georgia, and to any faculty members or other interested persons who are in accord with the purposes stated above.

Section 3: Annual dues shall be set by the Steering Committee. The dues shall be initially two dollars ($2.00).

ARTICLE IV: Chapters

SECTION 1: Chapters may be recognized by the Steering Committee.

SECTION 2: A chapter may be (a) an autonomous campus organization composed of at least five members of GSHR; (b) a group of five or more members of GSHR who carry on their activities through an officially recognized campus organization, such as Christian Organization; (c) an officially recognized campus organization composed of at least five members of GSHR.

ARTICLE V: Officers

The officers of the organization shall be the Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The officers shall be elected by the membership of the organization at the annual meeting, and for a term of one year.

ARTICLE VI: Steering Committee

The Steering Committee shall be composed of one member elected from each Chapter, and of members-at-large appointed by the Executive Committee. The Steering Committee shall formulate policy and direct the organization's activities, all of which are subject to the Committee's approval.

ARTICLE VII: Executive Committee

The Executive Committee shall be composed of the officers of the organization, the editor of the newsletter, and four members selected at large from the Steering Committee. The Executive Committee shall exercise the powers of the Steering Committee, with the general powers to discharge those duties as directed by the Steering Committee. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE VIII: Board of Advisors

The Steering Committee shall select persons who are prominant in their respective fields or community to constitute a Board of Advisors. The Board will advise the students when called upon so that the students may benefit from its members' experience. The number of persons that will constitute the Board shall be determined by the Steering Committee.

ARTICLE IX: Amendments

These by-laws may be amended at any meeting of the membership, provided that a copy of the proposed changes is submitted to the membership at least fifteen days prior to the meeting. Also, at any meeting of the membership, any amendment may be considered upon a two-third majority of all members present and in good standing.

SUGGESTED BY-LAWS FOR LOCAL AFFILIATES OF STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

ARTICLE I   NAME

This organization is ______________________________________
(an affiliate of the __________________ Council on Human Relations).

ARTICLE II   PURPOSE AND POLICY

Section I.
The purpose of the ____________________ is to carry on in the ____________ area, an educational program for the improvement of economic, civic and cultural conditions in the area; to promote understanding among people of different racial, religious, and national origins; to cooperate with appropriate state, regional and national agencies in the attainment of these desired objectives.

ARTICLE III   MEMBERSHIP

Section I.
Any person who is in accord with the purposes of _______________ may be a member. Membership includes individual membership in the ______________________ (state council).

ARTICLE IV   BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section I.
The BOARD OF DIRECTORS shall be composed of the officers and not more than twenty (20) members. They shall be chosen from the membership for a term of two (2) years. They shall be eligible to succeed themselves. Whatever the number of Directors, one-half of the total shall be elected each year.

Section II.
The BOARD OF DIRECTORS shall have the power to fill vacancies in its membership which occur between Annual Meetings of the Council.

Section III.
The BOARD OF DIRECTORS shall meet at least six (6) (4) times per year.

Section IV.
One-half of the members of the BOARD OF DIRECTORS shall constitute a quorum for the conduct of its affairs.

ARTICLE V   OFFICERS

Section I.
The officers of the organization shall be the Chairman, two vice-chairmen, secretary and treasurer.

(ARTICLE V - OFFICERS, continued)

Section II.
The officers shall be chosen by the full membership at Annual Meeting. Their terms of office shall be for one year and they shall be eligible to succeed themselves.

Section III.
Officers shall be nominated by a Nominating Committee appointed by the Chairman with the approval of the board and composed of five (5) persons, three (3) chosen from the Board of Directors, and two (2) chosen from members-at-large.

Section IV.
The functions of the officers shall be those customary with those duties outlined by Roberts Rules of Order, and such duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. (and/or the membership)

ARTICLE VI MEETINGS

Section I.
Meetings are to be arranged to fit local conditions, with the recommendation that meetings be held at least monthly.

Section II.
At meetings where notice of not less than two weeks has been given the full membership, those present shall represent a quorum.

Section III.
Special meetings may be called of the membership, at the direction of the chairman, and must be called on the written request of twenty.

ARTICLE VII COMMITTEES

Section I.
The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors shall be composed of officers and shall be in charge of the affairs of the organization between meetings of the Board of Directors.

Section II.
There shall be the following Standing Committees:
A. A membership committee to organize and carry out membership campaigns.
B. A finance committee which shall plan and execute fund raising when necessary.

Section III.
Other permanent or temporary committees shall be appointed by the chairman upon authorization of the Executive Committee. ~~with the concurrence of the Board of Directors.~~ At the discretion of the chairman, non-members may be asked to serve.

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ARTICLE VIII FINANCES

Section I.
The Fiscal year shall be the calendar year.

Section II.
Annual dues are to be established by the state council on human relations. A portion of collected dues shall be reserved for state council operations. This amount shall be specified by the state council. However, local council dues may exceed the minimum set by the state organization.

Section III.
A budget shall be submitted by the Board of Directors to the membership at the Annual Meeting for their approval.

Section IV.
In the event this organization should be dissolved or otherwise terminate its activities, then all of the assets of the organization shall be distributed to a charitable, religious, or educational organization exempt under Section 501 (C) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1964, to be selected at that time by the Board of Directors.

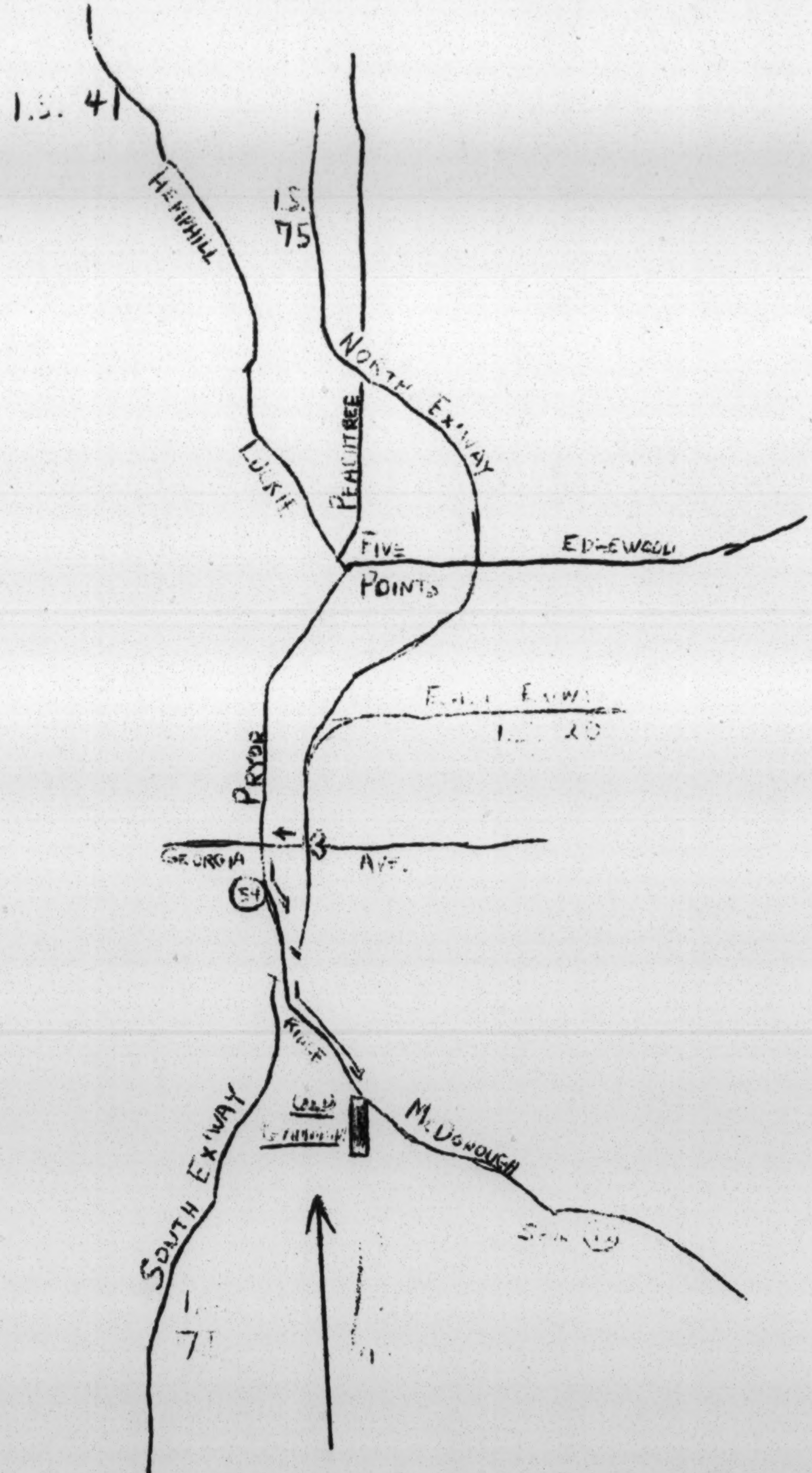
ARTICLE IX AFFILIATIONS

The organization may become an affiliate of the ____________________ (state council) upon conditions prescribed by the ____________________ (state council) and with the mutual consent of both Boards of Directors. A two-thirds majority vote of either Boards of Directors will nullify the affiliation.

ARTICLE X AMENDMENTS

These by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting of the members or in any special meeting called for that purpose, by a majority of members present, provided a notice, containing the proposed changes, has been sent to members ten (10) days in advance of the meeting.

Old Gammon
9 McDonough Blvd


I.S. 41
HEMPHILL
I.S. 75
NORTH EXWAY
LUCKIE
PEACHTREE
FIVE POINTS
EDGEWOOD
EAST EXWAY
I.S. 20
PRYOR
GEORGIA AVE.
54
RICE
OLD GAMMON
McDONOUGH
SOUTH EXWAY
I. 75

STATEMENT OF COOPERATION

GEORGIA STUDENTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Georgia Students for Human Rights and the Georgia Council on Human Relations, both founded with the purpose of creating a better and equal community for all, shall co-operate in the following capacities:

1. The exchange of materials and information.
2. Mutual support and assistance in programs of one organization as the other may deem advisable; specifically;
    a. The Georgia Council members may act as advisors to GSHR on request.
    b. The Georgia Council may also give financial assistance to GSHR for specific purposes.
    c. Local chapters of GSHR may work with members of Georgia Council chapters in projects of mutual interest.
    d. GSHR may aid the Council, if so requested, in seeking out persons interested in human relations and in helping to establish further chapters of the Council.
    e. Members of GSHR may also be members of the Georgia Council if they so wish; however, their membership will not change the relationship heretofore established.

Approved - October 10, 1964, by the Atlanta Chapter of GSHR.

GEORGIA STUDENTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

SCHOLARSHIP INFORMATION

We have some scholarship aid available for room and board to students who are interested in attending the GSHR conference. Due to limited funds, we can cover only part of the $10.00 fee. In the spaces below, please fill in your name address, and the amount you will need.

Name____

Address____

Amount $______

- -

TRAVEL INFORMATION

Since funds are limited at this time, if you are driving to the conference and could pick up another participant(s) on the way to Atlanta, please fill in the following:

Name____

Mailing Address____________________________________

Number of People you can pick up_______

Would you like to have expenses shared? ____(yes) ____(nO)

If you would like to share travel expenses with a student from another college or would like to be picked up en route by someone driving to Atlanta, please fill in the spaces provided below, and we will try to make arrangements.

Name____

Mailing Address____________________________________

Where would you be picked up?____________________________

Can you afford partial expenses? ____(yes) ____(no)

Mail either or both of these forms to:

Room 701
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MICHAEL GABRE EGZIABHER
LIBRARIAN
AMERICAN LIBRARY
ADDIS ABABA
ETHIOPIA

P. O. BOX 1014
TEL. 13375

Mr. Antoine Josias
B. P. 8622
U. S. I. S. Library
Léopoldville / CONGO

Gilbert EKOUEVI
American Embassy
U. S. I. S.
LOME TOGO - West Africa

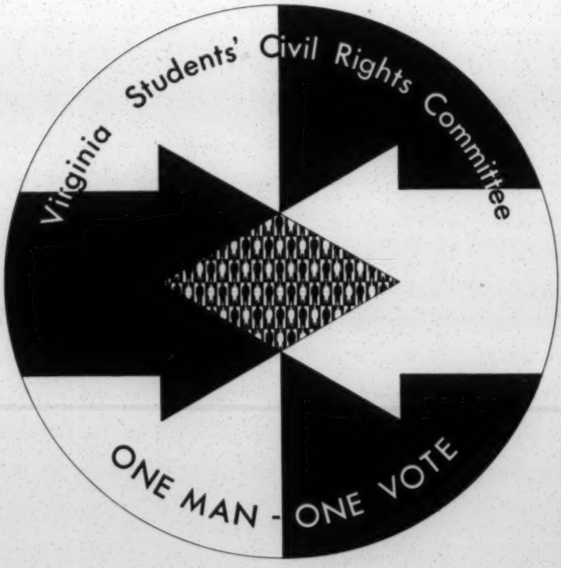
Eustace J. Taylor
American Cultural Center
B. P. 711 - Conakry
Republic of Guinea
West Africa

—

E. Ade James
USIS (American Embassy)
26, Catholic Mission Street
Lagos, Nigeria
West Africa

Ato Michael
USIA - IPT/TF - Room 1140
1776 Washington, D.C. 20547

THE VIRGINIA STUDENTS' CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE


Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee
ONE MAN - ONE VOTE

SOUTHSIDE PROJECT

HISTORY of VSCRC

The Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee is a new kind of organization for Virginia and for the South. For the first time in the South a group of Negro and White students organized, planned, and financed a project. We are a group committed to attack the roots of the social evils of poverty, deprivation, and segregation. The committee was set up in December 1964, at a SNCC Conference held at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia. It met monthly during the winter and early spring at various colleges in Virginia and planned a statewide spring conference and a summer project. This work culminated in 13 students moving into the Blackbelt of Virginia at the beginning of the summer of 1965. From this start, the staff grew to 20 members who worked in six Southside counties.

VIRGINIA STUDENTS
CIVIL RIGH

THE AREA

POVERTY. In most of the Southside counties from 1/4 to 1/3 of all the Negro families earn less than $1,000 per year and 48% earn less than $2,000.

EDUCATION. Years of segregated and inferior facilities have taken their toll in wasted human talents and lives. 40% of the Negro population has completed less than 5 years of school. Nearly 70% of the Negro students drop out before graduating from high school.

HEALTH. Throughout Southside there is a lack of doctors, hospitals, and public health facilities. 40% of the Negro children are delivered by midwives.

THE METHOD

We are a group of community organizers. We believe that by living in the local community and becoming a part of the people we can discover the issues around which people will rally. From small and often slow starts -- a baseball team, school desegregation, a road paved, sewage disposal -- we hope to build community interest and confidence to attack the larger problems -- housing, voting, jobs, and poor educational and recreational facilities.

We conceive our role as self-eliminating. The development of local leadership and local organizational autonomy, suited to local needs, is of primary importance. Ideally, the organizer should work himself out of a job.

THE GOALS

The VSCRC is committed to the belief that democracy can be made to work in Virginia, even in the most repressive and backward areas of the state, where the white and the wealthy perpetuate a system of government which benefits the few and denies participation in decision-making by the many. We hope to provide the encouragement and inspiration needed to stir people who have labored under the vestiges of slavery for 100 years to work together to change their lives. We believe that very basic economic and political changes must be made before equality can ever become a reality in Virginia.

THE FUTURE

Six staff members of the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee have decided to stay in Southside Virginia for another year to continue the work which was started this summer.

The main office has been moved from Blackstone to Victoria. Full-time workers will be in Nottoway, Lunenburg, and Brunswick counties. They will be trying to carry on limited activities in Amelia, Dinwiddie and Powhatan counties where there were full-time workers this summer.

Different programs during the winter will be coordinated with students on various college campuses. Two conferences have tentatively been planned for educational and recruiting purposes. From time to time there will be projects, such as a get-out-the-vote project in November. College students will be recruited to work on this type of program.

We hope that by exposing students to the Southside Project some will decide to work in the area full-time next summer. Effort will be made to work with existing civil rights groups on the campuses and to stimulate the establishment of groups on campuses where there are none. Civil rights and academic freedom are closely related. Hopefully this will become clear to students.

Also, VSCRC plans to begin pilot projects in urban areas and among poor whites in western Virginia in order to begin to develop a coalition of Negroes and poor whites.

The Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee is an organization, independent, and composed of staff and representatives from the colleges and universities of Virginia. VSCRC is advised in organizing and fund-raising by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Student Organizing Committee.

Contributions are needed to keep this work alive during the coming months and for future expansion. Our summer project was financed solely by private contributions solicited by the students, most of them in the $5 to $25 range.

Make checks payable to:
VIRGINIA STUDENTS'
CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE
Box 79
Kenbridge, Virginia
Phone:
Victoria, Virginia
(703) 696-2742

(You can make a tax exempt donation through the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) P.O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tenn. Make checks to SSOC, and mark them for VSCRC.

Southern Student Organizing Committee

> "We as young Southerners, herby pledge to take our stand now to work for a new order, a New South, a place which embodies our ideals for all the world to emulate, not ridicule. We find our destiny as individuals in the South in our hopes and our work together as brothers."
> (Nashville, Tennessee, April, 1964)

On the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, forty five students from approximately fifteen predominantly white southern campuses in ten states gethered in Nashville, Tennessee at the invitation of students from Vanderbilt University and Peabody and Scarritt Colleges. The goals of the conference were several: to assess the extent of involvement in civil rights by students at southern campuses; to ascertain the amount of interest in action along other political, social, and economic lines; and to assess their student needs and set up a structure through which these needs could be met.

Briefly these goals were achieved. It was determined that there is a great deal of activity on southern campuses, ranging from moderate to radical. It was also confirmed that students are interested in not only civil rights but in other areas beyond civil rights such as peace, academic freedom, university reform, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. A structure was set up called the SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC). A Continuations Committee was directed to formulate specific proposals and programs. Following a series of organizational meetings, SSOC evolved into an intercollegiate, interracial organization of college students working on a number of issues in an attempt to build a "new South." Since its first organizational meeting, the SSOC has instituted the following programs:

1. Campus travelers: Three field secretaries have traveled campuses in 12 southern states encouraging students to initiate local education-action programs. recruit for conferences. Another important task of the traveler is to help students communicate with other active groups in their area or region.
2. Newsletter: The Newsletter is our central channel of communication which publishes reports on the various types of activities of local social action groups as well as try to encourage discussion on issues relevant to the building of a new and just order in the South.
3. Southwide conferences: 144 students from 43 colleges and universities, representing 11 southern states were present at the fall conference. The conference dealt with four major topics: Students in Politics, Civil Liberties, Civil Rights, Southern History and Economy. The spring conference was attended by approximatly 100 students from 50 colleges, and representing 12 southern states. In addition to discussion of local campus programming and special speakers, students attended workshops on civil rights, poverty, peace, university reform, labor unions, and tutorials.
4. University reform: The SSOC has sponsored a tour by Steve Weissman of the Free Speech Movement (FSM) at Berkeley. Steve spoke to 2500 students at twenty six colleges in ten southern states.
5. A statewide conference, sponsored by SSOC, was held in Mississippi at Tougaloo College, March 6, 1965. The purpose of the conference was to bring Negro and white students together to discuss the problems that confront this deep southern state.

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, cont.

At its spring conference in Atlanta, a statement of programming and goals was adopted by the conference body which read in part:

> The last five years of southern history has stripped the "southern way of life" of its magnolia blossoms and southern belles. Mythical racial harmony has been replaced by fire hoses, cattle prods, and police dogs, and the illusion of comfortable plantation living is slowly fading in view of sharecropper shacks and the poverty stricken homes of coal miners in Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. The decaying system of segregation has helped to clarify other social and economic problems of the South, so that today we are living in a region where there is an obvious need for broad secular changes if the "New South" is to be a well balanced and just society where all of its citizens have the opportunity to live and grow in freedom.
>
> The technological revolution followed closely by the Negro revolt has projected the South into 20th century America. We have a choice of meeting and dealing with the problems of a new era, or retreating into traditionalism and struggling vainly for a way of life that was always more myth than reality.
>
> As students living in this generation, and believing in the dignity of all mankind, we affirm our belief in a new South that will bring democracy and justice to all of its people. The freedom movement for an end to segregation inspires us to make our voices heard for a beginning of a true democracy in the South. The South that we would work for must be free of racial prejudice, of poverty and deprivation, manipulation by vested elites, and the tensions that come from the threat of nuclear war.

Program plans for the fall include four regional conferences: University Reform, Mississippi, Appalachian Poverty, and Race and Religion. We hope to expand the traveler program to a staff of six and add another office staff person in the position of Information Director.

The SSOC is based on the idea that people can change, that it is essential to reach a large number of southern students, that education and action programs are needed throughout the South, and that channels of communication must be opened and remain open among those students who are concerned with the creation of a new South.

If you desire additional information on the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), please fill in the following form:

NAME ______________________________

MAILING ADDRESS ______________________________

COLLEGE ______________________________ CLASSIFICATION ______________

Do you wish to receive monthly copies of the SSOC Newsletter? ____________

I wish to contribute $__________ for a subscription to the Newsletter.

Return to: Sue Thrasher, SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212.

A CONFERENCE ON MEANINGFUL DEMOCRACY

In the course of their discussions together, Students for a University members began to raise broader questions of issues that affect them as students, but which are not just related to the university.

1. What sort of democracy do we have in the university and in the country when the administrations make all the important decisions?
2. Why are we drafted, but not allowed to vote?
3. Should students on our campus be involved in politics like students in Latin America and at Berkeley?
4. How is our role as students like that of intellectuals, workers, artists, and poor people?

Early in the fall the group began to consider their relationship to other groups of students and to individuals in their region who believe these questions to be valid.

To promote discussion on the above and other questions, it was decided that a meeting of persons interested in the role of the student in our society would be helpful. You are invited to attend at Thanksgiving a

CONFERENCE ON MEANINGFUL DEMOCRACY

From Thursday, noon, November 25
to Saturday, November 27, 1965
in Fayetteville, Arkansas.

The conference is sponsored by Students for a University and the Southern Student Organizing Committee. (Now PLEASE SEE REVERSE.)

CONFERENCE INFORMATION

If you are interested in attending all or part of the conference in Fayetteville, please return the form below to Dana Duke, Box 80, Futrall Hall, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas, 72703
Phone-501-HI3-5542

Housing will be provided. You are asked to bring sleeping bags or blankets. Also, we ask that you expect to pay for your own meals. Some travel and food scholarships are available from the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). Please write to SSOC at P.O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212

PLEASE RETURN THIS TO THE ABOVE ARKANSAS ADDRESS.

Name__________________________

Address_________________________

Phone__________School________

Check nights you will need housing in Fayetteville__Wed. Thurs___Fri.___Sat.___Sun.___

If workshops were to be held on the questions listed by number on the opposite side, which would you be interested in?__________ What are some topics of interest to you?

WHAT NEXT, PUSSYCAT?

Early in the summer a group of University of Arkansas students, recognizing the lack of student interest in university reform, made an attempt to reach incoming freshman before they developed the typical rejection of controversy. Letters concerning the role of a university were distributed to freshman at orientation sessions. The group adopted the name Students for a University. It took the stand that a large part of the responsibility for making the University of Arkansas true to its declared principles must rest with the inquiring minds of its students.

The letter stated, "A true university, one which embodies a valid educational process, will be a controversial place because 'ideas and facts' are themselves controversial. It is only in an atmosphere of complete freedom of expression where no idea, no concept, no point of view is free from open and serious scrutiny that the educational process can occur."

Students must be prepared to consider what a university should be and then demand that those principles be actively practiced by the University of Arkansas. The exercise of the privilege and responsibility of questioning the values, attitudes, policies, and rules which shape our educational environment must be done from an intelligent position and after careful consideration and reflection of varying points of view.

(excerpts from an article by Ann Valiant published in SCUSE ME, University of Arkansas, off-campus newspaper)

SUGGESTED RECRUITING PROCEDURE

The success of the Freedom Christmas Project depends on volunteer time spent by a number of persons to publicize the need, aims, and procedures of the program. Without this effort, it will be impossible to recruit the necessary number of volunteers.

If you can assist in recruiting, you should begin immediately by contacting as many people as possible. Talk to them about the program, see what their responses and questions are, and give them one of the enclosed information forms. IMMEDIATELY FILL OUT ONE OF THESE FORMS YOURSELF AND RETURN IT TO FREEDOM CHRISTMAS HEADQUARTERS. A second mailing will be sent to you in a few days. It will include posters, application forms, a discussion of the Freedom Christmas Project and its relationship to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, a discussion of the southern political forum and the 1966 elections, and full voter registration figures for the South. In order to properly fill your needs on the second mailing, we must have your returned forms immediately.

OTHER THINGS WHICH CAN BE DONE

* In the interim between the first and second mailings, present the idea of Christmas volunteer work in voter registration to student groups, student leaders, personal contacts, and past civil rights workers. Make up an information sheet (or duplicate the enclosed sheets) and put them in the mail boxes of those people whom you cannot contact. Try to mobilize other persons and groups (Friends of SNCC, SDS, CORE chapters, etc.) to begin recruiting volunteers. If it is necessary, tell persons with questions you cannot answer to call us collect at 202 DU7-5100 (ask for Steve Arons or Tim Correll). It is essential that as many people as possible know about the possibility of volunteer work in the South in time to make arrangements.

* After you have received the second mailing, you will be ready to begin a full-fledged campaign.

PUBLICITY The publicity for the recruiting should peak in the week immediately following Thanksgiving. Put notices or ads in campus or local newspapers, and take press releases (provided in the second mailing) to papers and radio stations. Mimeograph flyers or information sheets with your name and phone number and distribute them on campus (dorms, frats, etc.) so that interested persons will know about the project and whom to contact for application forms. Make use of campus bulletin boards and newsletters.

CAMPUS CONTACTS Personal contact is the most important method of recruiting. You should already have contacted persons you think might volunteer and campus organizations which might have potential volunteers. These contacts should be sent to us in Washington. Booths should be set up in the student union. Questions should be answered, applications distributed (they must be returned by December 5). You should report your progress to us from time to time.

FORMER CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS Students who have been in the South previously on civil rights projects are the most desirable people to recruit. Although volunteering is by no means limited to these people, emphasis should be placed on recruiting them.

BAIL FUNDS You will note that one of the things required of volunteers is that they be able to provide bond IF it is necessary. One of the most important tasks of recruiters will be to contact local possibilities for bail-bond funds. In the past many local labor groups, civil rights chapters, church groups, and political groups have sponsored civil rights volunteers. You should contact these groups in your area and see if they are willing to establish bail funds for students from your area. THINK BIG! Talk to all of these groups, explain the need, explain the program. Be sure to emphasize the fact that they probably will never need to put up the money, but that the money must be available. Emphasize that these funds are returned when the bailee appears in court. Finally, if a particular group likes the idea of Freedom Christmas but is opposed to the ideas of sit-ins, et cetera, explain that Freedom Christmas is a voter registration project only. Again, it is unlikely that bail funds will ever be used, but it is absolutely necessary that a minimum bond of $500 be available for each student going South.

Once bail funds are assured, assign students who are unable to provide their own bond to these bail-bond contacts at the rate of one volunteer per $500 bond. IF A STUDENT IS ABLE TO PROVIDE HIS OWN BOND, DO NOT ASSIGN HIM TO A BAIL FUND. REMAINING BAIL FUNDS MAY BE USABLE BY OTHER VOLUNTEERS. Notify Freedom Christmas of left-over funds, and we will contact the sponsor to ask if these funds can be assigned to a volunteer from another area. Finally, notify Freedom Christmas of the provisions made for each volunteer. For every volunteer who goes South, we should have the name, address, and phone number of a bail contact.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION Try to have a good grasp on the material which is sent to you. Familiarize yourself with the facts of voter registration and on this project in order to answer the questions which people will undoubtedly have. In case you or any other person has questions not answered by the printed material, CALL COLLECT TO 202 DU7-5100 and ask for Tim Correll or Steve Arons. If we are busy we will call you back shortly. Be sure to leave a number at which you can be reached.

(202) DU7-5100...CALL COLLECT (202) DU7-5100...CALL COLLECT (202) DU7-5100...CALL COLLECT

THE FREEDOM CHRISTMAS VOLUNTEER---

The work of the Freedom Christmas volunteer will be voter registration. This will take place in the counties which have federal registrars in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and North Carolina. Volunteers will enter established programs. In this manner we can make the most headway in a short period of time. This is the area where the greatest possible influence can be put on the 1966 elections. The volunteer's duties will include canvassing door to door to get people to the courthouse to register, driving these people to the courthouse, publicizing meetings, and helping in voter education porjects. The job is basically to do all those things to mobilize the community for the 1966 elections.

In order to ease some of the difficulties, each volunteer will attend an orientation session. Orientations will vary from one to two days in length. These will be given by the various civil rights groups. In most cases there will be two sessions on or about December 19 and 28. Volunteers can choose the most convenient. After orientation sessions, volunteers will proceed to their specific projects where they will be provided with housing in local homes. In the event that a volunteer has been a civil rights worker perviously, he may be assigned to his previous locale if that is in a county where there is now a federal registrar. Fimally, most of the civil rights groups have promised an advantageous ratio of local people to work with volunteers, lessening the problems of unfamiliarity with geography, local law enforcement, etc.

Unfortunately, no funds are available to subsidize the Freedom Christmas volunteers. Consequently, volunteers must provide the following:

* Subsistance. $10-15 per week. It is possibly to live very cheaply in most of the areas where Freedom Christmas will be taking place. You will be living much more lavishly than most of the local people you are working with if you spend this amount.

* Cars. In many of the rural areas where work will be done, the effectiveness of Freedom Christmas depends very much on the availability of cars. For this reason we are asking that students who do have cars bring them to the South. We must have one car for every four volunteers. If you do have a car, or if your parents have a car that you can use, please check to see that all the papers are in order before bringing it to the South.

* Transportation to the South. You will be responsible for getting to the orientation points. All accepted volunteers should notify Freedom Christmas of the date they are leaving. We will try to arrange car-pools to defray costs for riders and drivers.

* Bond. The final duty of the volunteer in preparation for his trip South is to be certain that $500 bail funds are available. One must merely

provide bail _if_ necessary. He need not have the cash on hand. It is unlikely that these funds will ever be used. Volunteers are not being asked to go South to demonstrate; they are being asked to do voter registration. However, southern justice does not always recognize the distinction between civil disobedience and civic responsibility. Even if there is no civil disobedience, it is still possible that some people will go to jail. Bail funds must be available for each person. These funds will be returned to the person who posted them provided the bailee appears in court. The most easily handled bail procedure is from one's own or one's parents' resources. Other possibilities are described in the section on recruiting. If a volunteer cannot raise his own bail, and if his campus or group cannot establish a bail-fund, please advise the Freedom Christmas headquarters. Please fill out an application and note that you do not have the necessary contacts. We are attempting to organize a bail fund for volunteers, but the number that we can provide for will necessarily be small.

* Finally, any questions that remain unanswered should be addressed to:

Freedom Christmas
2115 S Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

or if the mails are to slow to give an answer in sufficient time, call collect to Freedom Christmas at (20) DU7-5100 and ask for Tim Correll or Steve Arons.

FREEDOM CHRISTMAS
United States National Student Assn.
2115 S Street NW
Washington, DC 20008
(202) 387-6133

The National Student Association Freedom Christmas Project is recruiting volunteers to work in voter registration projects throughout the South for CORE, SNCC, SCLC, MFDP, and NAACP. These volunteers will work on establish projects; they will be housed in the homes of local residents or in Freedom Houses. Volunteers are expected to provide their own subsistence and their own transportation to the South. Freedom Christmas headquarters will organize car-pools wherever possible to decrease the costs of individual transportation. If you are willing to donate part of your Christmas vacation to voter registration projects, please fill out the following form and return it to the address given above.

Name ______________________ Home address ______________________

College address ______________________ ______________________

______________________ Race ________ Sex ___ Marital status ___

Next of kin (Name, address, phone) ______________________

______________________ Your date of birth ______________________

Employment (other than student) ______________________

Special skills (medical or first aid training, legal training -- include, even if you have no degree--, electronics, mechanics, writing skills, etc.)

____

____

Past civil rights activities, if any.

Have you ever been arrested? If so, convicted? What for? (This is not to exclude persons, but rather to protect them from difficulties in the South.)

Civil rights group you prefer to work with:
( ) NAACP, ( ) SNCC, ( ) CORE, ( ) SCLC, ( ) MFDP.

State in which you prefer to work: ( ) Mississippi, ( ) Alabama, ( ) Louisiana, ( ) Georgia, ( ) Florida, ( ) South Carolina, ( ) Tennessee, ( ) North Carolina, ( ) Virginia.

Can you raise bond in case of arrest?________ How much?______ (Most of the civil rights groups would like volunteers to have $500 worth of bond coverage. This does not mean that you must have that much on hand. Some of the groups do not feel that this much is necessary. Freedom Christmas is trying to establish a national bail fund. If this comes through, we will cover your bond. In any case, do not let a lack of bail deter you from filling out an application form.)

List bail contacts or bail funds by which you are covered.

Hometown newspapers:____________________ Your Senators and their party:

____ ____

____ ____

Your Congressman and his party:____

Do you have a car you can use on the project?______ Is it in your name?________
(If you have access to a car that is not yours, we will send you a form which will help you avoid unnecessary difficulties with local law officers. If it is your own car, be sure that all papers are in order.)
Do you have a drivers license?_____ Chauffers license?________

Do you have any physical disabilities that will impair your ability to work on this sort of project? If so, give details:

All volunteers are asked to stay in the South for a minimum of one week. Sessions will begin with orientations on or about the 19th and 28th of December. Which do you prefer?_______ Will you be available for both?________

This page may be submitted separately if parental consent is necessary. Please submit pages 1 and 2 as promptly as possible.

I understand that I might be subject to arrest or injury and that by signing this application I waive all rights to damages against Freedom Christmas, the United States National Student Association, or any of the participating organizations (SNCC, CORE, MFDP, SCLC, or NAACP). Also, by signing this application, I give permission to the above organizations to retain an attorney in my behalf in case of my arrest while I am in their volunteer service.

Signed: __________________________

Date: __________________________

Witness: __________________________

Witness: __________________________

Parent or legal guardian must sign here if applicant is under 21 years of age.

I understand that my son or daughter ____________________ might be subject to arrest or injury and that by signing this application I waive all rights to damages against Freedom Christmas, the United States National Student Association, or any of the participating organizations (SNCC, CORE, MFDP, SCLC or NAACP). Also, by signing this application, I give permission to the above organizations to retain an attorney in his or her behalf in case of his or her arrest while he is in their volunteer service.

Signed: __________________________

Address: __________________________

____

Phone: __________________________

Date: __________________________

Witness: __________________________

Witness: __________________________

AV

Dear Friend:

These posters are being mailed to you because you requested the information or because we thought you might be able to post them on a bulletin board. If you could use more sheets, please write, we'll be happy to mail them.

As more of our camps become definite, you will probably receive additional announcements. Any help you can give us in advertising for volunteers will be appreciated!

Amities,

Joyce Klein - American Secretary

International Voluntary Service
American Group of Service Civil Interna
1116 E. 54th Place
Chicago 15, Illinois

The following camps are definite:

Chicago - June 13-September 1 - Work with deprived children in a neighborhood children's center. Volunteers will tutor in reading, lead games, teach crafts and take the children on trips. Some of these trips may be two weeks long to such places as Montana and Wisconsin. The main task of the volunteers will be to give affection and encouragement to the children. There will be a work break for the volunteers (July 21-25).

Maryville, Tennessee - Date unknown - Probably one month long - Men or married couples only. The age limit is 21. Mature volunteers are sought for this construction project on the site of a camp burned by segregationists.

Tivoli, New York.- Date unknown - probably one month or less in length. Work on a communal farm run by the Catholic Worker. The volunteers will be doing maintenance and construction work on buildings primarily used by city people on vacation. They will also be involved in working on the vegetable gardens which supply food for the CW house on the Bowery.

The following camps are relatively certain, but there is no specific information on them as yet:

South Chicago Community Center - construction work
Camp Reinberg, Palatine, Illinois - construction work
Wisconsin and/or Montana - construction and social work on an Indian reservation.
Largo, Florida - construction work in a small town.

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE

American Group of Service Civil International
c/o Klein, 1116 E. 54th Place
Chicago, Illinois 60615

WORKING TO ELIMINATE POVERTY, RACIAL TENSION AND VIOLENCE THROUGH AN "INTERNATIONAL PEACE CORPS" SINCE 1920

IVS, the American Branch of SCI, holds workcamps in the U.S. lasting from a day to several months. These projects bring volunteers together from all over the U.S. as well as other countries. The work may be physical labor or it may be social and educational work with groups in under-privileged communities.

IVS also sends volunteers abroad for short-term service in European camps or long-term service in Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

This summer camps will probably be held in Chicago, New York, Tennessee, Florida, Wisconsin, Montana, California and Massachusetts. The work will include rebuilding a burned camp, tutoring slum children, agricultural and construction jobs on a communal farm, construction work on a community project, etc.

The dates of the camps will be: June 13-30, July 5-21, July 25-Aug. 11, Aug. 15-Sept. 1, Sept. 5-22. Some camps will run for 2 or more of these periods.

PLEASE APPLY IMMEDIATELY IF YOU WISH TO JOIN A CAMP IN THE U.S. OR EUROPE.

We, the college students of Virginia who are concerned with dynamic growth of human understandings, feel an urgent need for a state-wide college organization to act as an encouragement to individual students across the state who are similarly inclined, but who need some support in the founding of their own college chapters. We see the need for such a college council for the following reasons:

1. We believe that the college student of today is the hope of a better tomorrow.
2. We believe that the college student must become involved in a united, progressively oriented effort in order to prepare today for his future responsibilities, and to make this hope nothing less than a reality.
3. Because we believe in the brotherhood of man and the need for understanding among all people regardless of race, creed, color, ethnic origin, age, sex or socio-economic level.
4. We believe that any deviation from the Constitution of the United States which permits discrimination against the innate dignity of man is a matter of human concern.
5. We are acutely aware of the governmental and educational power structure in Virginia, which impedes improved human relations among people of difference environmental origins.
6. We discern an urgent need for an alteration to the long-neglected socio-economic conditions that exist in our state and the need for better human relations among all college students.
7. We realize that misunderstandings, which have resulted from conflicting interests of students, faculty and administrations, need to be reconciled.

It is, then, with the consideration of the above reasons that we present this proposal.

PROPOSALS OF THE VIRGINIA COLLEGE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

I. The purpose of the organization:

A. To provide an opportunity for understanding among all people who believe in adherence to the Constitution of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, ethnic origin, age, sex, or socio-economic level.

B. To promote a greater spirit of brotherhood among the Virginia college students through social, intellectual, economic and cultural dynamics.

C. To attain through fact-finding, negotiation, communication, education and action projects equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.

II. The structure:

A. The Virginia College Council on Human Relations (VCCHR) will be sponsored by and work in conjunction with the Virginia Council on Human Relations (VCHR).

B. Undergraduate and graduate students wishing to affiliate with their local chapters will be charged a fee of $1.00 annually to be used in support of the local chapter; voting membership in the local chapter being contingent upon payment of dues.

C. The assembly shall be comprised of the entire membership.

D. A representative shall be elected by the assembly to represent the State Organization on each committee of the Senior State Council, particularly on the Finance, Program and Personnel Committees.

E. A State Coordinator shall be chosen by the Personnel Committee of VCHR, upon recommendation by the VCCHR representative, which the assembly shall elect. He should be experienced as a leader in the Human Relations field and should be adequately qualified and capable of working with college students.

F. Executive Board:

1. The President and other officers of the Executive Board shall be chosen by the assembly.

2. The Board shall have one representative from each college in the state and each representative shall have one vote.

G. District Board:

1. Districts or regions of chapter coordination shall be arranged by the Executive Board with the assistance of the coordinator.

2. The officers of the District Board shall be chosen by the membership of that area of the state.

3. The District Board shall be responsible for promoting more frequent inter-collegiate communication.

H. Local Chapter Board:

1. Each college that requests affiliation with the State Organization may have its own chapter.

2. Officers shall be elected by the membership of the local chapter.

III. Duties of the VCCHR:

A. Members of the local and state organizations will vote on and participate in activities discussed by VCCHR.

B. The State Coordinator shall give advice to the VCCHR with the cooperation of the VCHR. He will disseminate information to individual chapters and unite the students across the state into the realization of their common goals.

C. The Executive Board of VCCHR shall serve as a nucleus coordinating the activities of the several college chapters in Virginia, under the guidance of the State Coordinator.

D. The District Board of the VCCHR shall coordinate the activities of the local chapters in the district.

E. The local chapter shall carry out the purpose of the council according to local needs, cooperating with the local adult council, presenting proposals to the VCCHR assembly, and adhering to the Constitution of the organization.

F. The Advisory Board shall receive reports from the State Coordinator, advise the State Coordinator, and evaluate the program of VCCHR.

IV. The program of the VCCHR:

A. Meetings:

1. A minimum of two state-wide meetings each year shall be held.

2. Meetings of the district and local chapters shall be held at the discretion of the district and local chapters. It is urged that a minimum of two meetings per month be held by the local chapters.

B. Suggested Action Projects:

1. Establishment of VCCHR chapters on all 44 campuses in Virginia.

2. Tutorial programs including school assistance,

3. Socialization and cultural programs to modify social attitudes and to create an attitude of action participation.

4. Investigation of human relations conditions and documentation of research projects in the following areas:

   (a) Housing
   (b) Transportation
   (c) Health
   (d) Employment
   (e) Education
   (f) Attitude of Commercial Agents, Business, Industry and Government Officials.
   (g) Attitudes of Other Community Organizations and Other Institutions.

5. Stimulation of the community based on the above research.

6. Citizenship education of ghettos and poverty pockets.

7. Expansion of voter registration.

8. Cooperative programs with local senior chapters and other community organizations.

9. Establishment of guidance of local high school chapters.

10. Improvement in student-college-administrator relations on campus.

11. Establishment of rapport between college and community.

12. Publication of a state newsletter reporting action in the field of human relations.

13. All other actions fostering better human relations which do not include demonstrations, boycotts and/or picketing.

V. Source of Funds:

   A. S licited contributions from retail merchants, community service organizations and individual contributions.

VI. Disbursement of Funds:

   A. Publicity of activities and progress of VCCHR.

   B. Projects included in program of VCCHR.

In consideration of the above proposals, we wish to acknowledge the progressive work of the VCHR for the improvement of conditions in our state during the past ten years and its help in fostering the growth of this college CHR during its incipient stages.

With all of these thoughts, we implore your assistance in the support of the Virginia College Council on Human Relations in a state where the political power structure offers no encouragement.

Furthermore, by maintaining customs and enacting laws hindering the socio-economic and educational progress of our citizens, the power structure has strongly discouraged and thwarted the attempts of the concerned citizens of our state who are working for the improvement of human relations.

BECAUSE OF THE STATE OF CURRENT SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA, WE THE UNDERSIGNED STUDENTS OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN VIRGINIA HEARTILY ENDORSE AND PLEDGE OUR ENTHUSUASTIC SUPPORT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STATE-WIDE COLLEGE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, WHICH IS TO BE AFFILIATED WITH THE NOW TEN YEAR OLD VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS.

NAME	COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY

Student Activities Cont.

Program :

Student efforts during the past few years have influenced and created much of the social change that has taken place. The sit-ins, freedom rides and other direct action techniques were done largely by student groups. These efforts have brought change. The situation is a different one today than four,three, or even two years ago. People working in civil rights have had to change tactics and develop new techniques to adjust to the new climate.

Studnet groups, of all the civil rights organizations, have adapted the most readily. The following list of student sponsored projects shows the breadth of program students have attempted, and even more important, the newness of ideas behind the programs:

1. Tuttorials
2. Adult night classes
3. Playground clearance and supervision
4. Cooking classes for young mothers
5. Student recruitment for local high schools and state colleges.
6. Distribution of films on civil rights, poverty, minority groups.
7. Study hall supervision
8. Field trips
9. Involvement in urging for a state compulsory education law.
10. Rent surveys
11. Liberal forums ranging from academic freedom to civil rights.
12. Essay contests for college and high school studnets
13. Panel discussion groups to visit churches and civic groups.
14. Bus tours of their city's slum areas.
15. Newsletters, pamphlets, posters.
16. Fact finding surveys in connection with the poverty program.
17. Organization of campus political parties on the Freedom Party platform.
18. Urging for the repeal of state capital punishment laws.

Program cont.

19. Week-end exchange groups at college campuses.
20. Pre-integration summer school programs.
21. Voter registration and education programs.
22. Drama involving bi-racial student groups.
23. Demands for campus government by law.
24. Use of radio, television to inform campus students on pertinent issues.
25. Surveys of social and fraternal clubs on campus ~~for~~ to locate discriminatory practices.
26. Work with foreign students.

This is but a partial list, students are on the move, and new ideas are not wanting. But the financing of larger programs to include more studnets is wanting. Student projects must be exciting, challenging, and maybe somewhat idealistic. This demands planning, the expanding of present program,and creativeness. And it demands money to fund the programs.

Other Program ideas:

1. Area-wide seminars - to be held annually or semi-annually and to be used mainly to discuss methods of improving projects and trading ideas.
2. Vacation Projects - ranging from Thanksgiving and Christmas two week projects to those of summer length. These projects would receive advance planning and coordination from the regional office.
3. A scholarship fund - This could be separate from the general program funding operation and would provide scholarships to high school and college students. A special emphasis perhaps on the civil rights worker wishing to return to school could perhaps be given on a work-study basis where he or she would serve as the local campus coordinator of activities.
4. Service fellowships - could be made available for recent college graduates enabling them to take jobs ordinarially paying such low salaries as to discourage the job seeker; rural school teaching, urban slum working. Or a direct grant of,say$5000/yr. ~~allowing~~ freeing an individual to explore new methods in community development.

Program cont.

5. Half-way houses - with students running them. Such houses could offer housing scholarships& be used for tutorials ect. [illegible]

Report
of
Florida Student Human Relations Conference

Sunday, November 14, 1965

by Joan Goldman, University of Miami

WORKSHOPS

(1) "Student Government as a Union of Students"

Two ways of approaching the solving of student problems were approached: (1) through the media of an effective student government organization, and (2) through an independent organization. One of the points of view was that the present tradition of student government was so steeped in conservatism and so separated from the realities of life and student problems, that an outside force was necessary to realistically approach the problem. The initial premise was somewhat agreed upon but another view expressed was that it was vitally necessary to approach student government types and either try to change their minds or the tradition of their office. It was also outlined that it was necessary to approach student government because these people were the ones who eventually entered regional and state politics.

Questions of the lack of academic freedom in Florida schools were brought up consistently throughout the discussion when the practicality of implementing programs was approached. The workshop also discussed the role of the student within the university and the right of the student to govern himself without administration influence and domination.

(2) "On-Campus Human Relations Programming"

The two major areas discussed here were: (1) relations between students and administration, and (2) relations between student and community. In the first area, student grievances such as academic repression (especially in small Negro colleges) and censorship of school newspapers were looked into. Channels are still considered the most valid means to an end, i.e. appeal first to authority; then, if refused, win group support. Students should also try alumni associations, community groups, parents, and school benefactors, and in correspondence, always send a carbon to the University President.

In the second area, student-community relations are valuable for revenue and support. Organizations such as the ACLU can help students to become aware of their legal rights. A school like the University of Miami, for instance, is not really private because of government support, thus, the University is still more involved with the community.

(3) "Developing Community Issues on Campus"

In this workshop, the whole scope of activity, from radicalism to fence-sitting was presented. With the Peace Movement pushing Civil Rights people into new areas, all groups seem to be broadening their scopes and moving toward Human Rights.

The value of on-campus groups, knowledge of student rights, and the use of the ACLU in forcing the administration's hand were discussed. Although no conclusions were defined, the importance of inter-university pooling of knowledge and activity was stressed.

(4) "Statewide Coordination on Political and Social Issues"

The question here was, "What is the nature of our group?" The group should concern itself with the institution of an issue and rallying state groups around it. (i.e. the eighteen year-old vote) Retreats were found helpful for involvement. Working through student government is useful for marshalling support. Other points were the use of field workers to speak on other campuses; developing a list of lawyers and printing it in the newsletter; writing schools who were not present at this conference and asking why not; and founding a newsletter whose financial support would be guaranteed.

(5) "Students and the Poverty Program"

Basic OEO information is available free from Washington. There is an increasing emphasis on indigenious community organization and students talking and helping organize self-help projects. Existing adult groups support and control these projects, so why can't university administration involve themselves in this area. Credits or reduced work loads could be given to workers. There is a valid need also for some paid workers because of the training problem.

The important goal here is to move beyond the tutoring programs. These programs are tools toward self-help, but more drastic action is needed. "No more social service projects"--self-help, not our help, is the end goal.

SUNDAY MORNING DISCUSSION

The question asked was, "Do we want a state organization?" The answer-- an overwhelming, "Yes." SSOC has offered to apy a state coordinator, and a state newsletter has been established. The newsletter will not be an ideology statement, but a channel of communication, particularly valuable for schools not yet involved. The newsletter has been funded, will be published in Gainesville, and the first issue will come out on December 10.

Southern Project is giving us $100 to start a Campus Travelers unit toward the same purpose. Following is the list of travellers who have said they would be willing to go to other campuses for programs to facilitate the continuous flow of communication.

LOCAL COUNCIL PROJECTS

EDUCATION
EMPLOYMENT
VOTER PROJECTS
STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS
LAW ENFORCEMENT
HOUSING
HEALTH AND RECREATION
TRANSPORTATION
FEDERAL PROGRAMS
MISCELLANEOUS

EDUCATION

1. Tutorials

A. Purpose - to help a student overcome educational disadvantages

B. Goals - to improve the academic performance of the students

- to help the student and teacher become more aware of his community, his history, his culture, and opportunities available to him.

- to give college students and interested citizens an opportunity to confront some of the problems of their community.

C. Planning needed - plan for a long term carry through; to include:
Publicity and recruitment
Selection and matching of tutor and student
Orientation - both of tutors and students
Follow through and Seminars for tutors
Perhaps a steering committee of the local educators

D. Additional materials available:

Southern Student Human Relations Project
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

2. PRE-SCHOOL NURSERY -

A. Usually a half day program
B. Requires fewer than five volunteers: a professional director hopefully
C. Facilities can be found in churches, homes, Civic clubs
D. Outside funds are available, but begin program first, then apply.

3. Extra - ACADEMIC CLASSES -

   A. Differ from tutorials - one tutor - to 15 to 20 students; requires a qualified teacher in a subject specialty.

4. SUPERVISED STUDY HALLS -

   A. Easiest of all academic aids to operate
   B. Facilities; any well-lighted comfortable building
   C. Guidance: One or two supervisors hopefully acquainted with study habit do's and don'ts

5. FIELD TRIPS - -

   A. Rented school buses or member's cars for transportation
   B. Trips to local sights of interest in the area usually with explanation

6. LOCAL EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES:

   A. Surveys of textbooks, library materials, school buildings, class number
   B. Plans for a report to be distributed to the PTA and school administrators
   C. Comparisons between the white and Negro high schools might be interesting
   D. Investigation into plans for future sites of local educational facilities

7. RECRUITING:

   A. Local council effort to encourage transfer to desegregate schools of Negro high school and elementary students
   B. Ensuring that information of deadlines, scholarships, college brochures are available to all students in your community

8. SUMMER SCHOOL PROGRAMS -

   A. Pre-integration classes for students entering previously tokenly desegregated classes
   B. To include academic with stress placed on communicative skills as well as just plain old encouragement and confidence gaining
   C. Follow-up procedure is important to show continued interest. This is necessary to check on possible discriminatory actions and in tough situations to provide some friendly support.

EMPLOYMENT

1. JOB READINESS PROGRAM

A. A "crash" program concerned with the preparation of individuals for job application and interview.

B. The Program consists of 6 or 7 sessions built about a basic structure including:

1. Innumeration of opportunities available in the community, featuring local men.
   Opportunities of both employment and academic nature
2. Personal appearance
3. Testing - experience in testing situations, following instructions
4. Interview experience
5. Group counseling with local employment personnel
6. Revision sessions and final testing

2. SURVEYS

A. Preparing a list of all the jobs and types of jobs available in your community
B. Preparing a list of all qualified people who are unemployed or underemployed
C. A survey such as this will readily show whether types of jobs and types of training available in your community or analagous
D. Results of such a survey might point out needs to local employers and schools
E. A survey of the technical training and vocational education facilities in relation to the type of jobs in the area can be helpful in establishing new programs.

VOTER PROJECTS

VOTER REGISTRATION

A. Most councils have participated in the past, but have stopped. There is need to continue an effort to register every qualified voter in your community. Committees responsible for specific geographical sections can report monthly progress. Follow up phone calls and house calls before local elections are needed.

VOTER EDUCATION

A. How to use a voting machine - and other basic mechanical techniques.

B. Perhaps a course on citizenship, two hours a night, one night a week, taught by a local political scientist to include:

1. Short history of the development of the Constitution

Employment cont'd

. in our American Democracy.

2. The Bill of Rights and rights of each citizen.

3. Federal government executive branch.

4. Federal government legislative branch.

6. & 7. State government, possibly a legislator could lead these sessions.

8. County government, probate judge as guest lecturer.

9. City government, mayor or councilman as guest speaker.

HOUSING

SURVEYS

A. Collection of material concerning general standards of an area:

1. Streets paved or unpaved
2. Lighted streets or not
3. Garbage collection
4. Plumbing available

URBAN RENEWAL AND RE-LOCATION SURVEYS

A. Finding out what your community is doing with Urban Renewal funds.

B. Map of city should be maintained to show trends of population movement and re-segregation attempts by city planners via building new schools and apartments.

C. Information Seminars - giving an opportunity for officials government, and city, to meet with realtors, and human relation people to exchange information.

D. Fair Housing Education programs and panels for the entire community.

E. Sponsorship of guided bus tours through your community available for asking from local ministerial, educational or civic groups.

F. Obtain a list of re-possessed FHA housing in your city. Such housing is available to all for purchase.

G. Plan an integrated neighborhood in your section of town. Buy with friends and create a model for others to see and learn from.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

A. Surveys - again the importance of factual knowledge of [illegible] what is going on in your community just can't be overemphasized. A complete record of court justice, punishments meted out, arrests, hiring of police, etc., could expand into real justice.

B. Court watching

1. One or two members sitting in on court procedures recording events.
2. Research into Judges' past performance so as to be prepared for elections and appointments.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS: (appended to this paper is a brief summary of what various student groups are doing in the South.)

MISCELLANEOUS

A. Library for Local Council-

1. Set money aside to buy books relevant to human relations
2. Lend such books out at monthly meetings; perhaps a 5 cent/day fee to buy new ones
3. Displays of books at monthly meetings would be attractive.
4. Book awards to outstanding contributors to local human relations made at monthly meetings would be gracious and enable you to invite people and expect them to come

B. RESEARCH - mentioned many times in this report - surveys play an important part in a local council's effectiveness

1. Clip the local paper - requires at most two or three members
2. Take photographs of discriminatory signs
3. Photograph your slum areas; then do something about them; and picture-take again.
4. Establish a coordination of this material with your state director. This would enable him to be the most informed man or woman in the state on human relations

C. Speakers Bureau

1. Panel groups to explain the role of the council in the town
2. Speakers to fill engagements with civic groups and social gatherings.

D. Visit newcomers to town and make sure they know of the councils existence and goals.

E. Sponsorship of a fine arts event - done with community publicity and an open door.

F. "Swap Shop" meetings with other local community councils near you.

G. Seminars to explain Rural programs to local councils: ARA, OEO

H. Surveys of local recreational facilities.

I. Hospital Survey

J. Bi-racial home-buyers groups to follow up on realtor practices.

K. State-wide meetings of Lawyers, Doctors, Teachers, to have someone explain Civil Right's legislation and suggest their responsibility.

L. Sponsoring of Essay contests in local high schools or statewide-give prizes.

M. Individual councils serving as adjunct to International hospitality groups and Entertaining foreign groups of visitors.

N. Sponsoring of Bus tours for ministerial groups, children etc.

O. Citizenship course to include a short history of American democracy, Bill of Rights, Human Rights, Federal government, and its branches, State and local government, Judicial systems. Give a diploma upon completion.

Mr. Philip Sherburne
National Affairs Vice President
U. S. National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Phil:

The purpose of this letter is to introduce briefly the origins and development of the enclosed proposal.

This idea originated from a conversation I had with the Reverend Charles Jones here in Chapel Hill, After mulling on it for a while, I met with Curt Gans on two occasions, and we began to formulate it in more specific terms. Curt provided a very valuable historical perspective in thinking out the specific purposes of this seminar. With a clearer idea of the scope and format for the meeting, I discussed it with Hayes in Atlanta. Hayes had himself been thinking along the same lines but in terms of an early Fall meeting. Hayes then spoke with people in and around Atlanta, Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Mr. Joe Hendricks and Mr. Paul Anthony. I spoke with Miss Connie Curry in Washington after the Inter-Agency meeting and again during the recent meeting of staffs of state human relations councils in Atlanta. While in Virginia, I contacted Miss Pat Knight to get the benefit of her campus traveling on behalf of the Southern Project and more recently for the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

The above is a brief history, so to speak, of the enclosed proposal. Everyone contacted is enthusiastic about the idea. Generally, the feeling is that we are at a critical juncture in the history of student action in the South. There is a great need to reassess our goals and methodology in the context of larger social forces at play in the South and in regard to particular changes occurring within the Southern student community.

I should add that a seminar co-ordinator has been contacted and has expressed interest in administering the program. Mr. James Scott received his undergraduate degree and his M. A. from the University of North Carolina. Jim was very active in student affairs while attending the University, including student government, the Y, human relations programing, civil rights activities and work with foreign students. Jim spent a year in Panama and is presently working in Arlington, Virginia. He is planning on enrolling as a doctoral candidate in Latin American Studies at the University of Texas next September.

I would like to suggest the following general agenda:

A. Contact the Southern Project advisers for suggested revisions and comments on the draft-prospectus.

B. Contact other adults who you and Hayes feel would provide a valuable critique of the proposed program.

C. Begin to initiate the usual informal contacts from adults to the foundations on behalf of the program.

D. Make appointments with certain foundations for Hayes, yourself and me to present the prospectus.

Further, I would like to suggest a somewhat unusual idea regarding presentation of the prospectus to foundations. Personally, I feel that it would be very valuable to compile a brief document containing the testimonial letters from a few outstanding student leaders from Southern campuses. For example, I have discussed this program with Miss Mollie Volk, student body president at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia. Bob Spearman, student body president at the University of North Carolina, is doing a short critique of the program for me. Five or six letters from students such as Mollie and Bob would certainly be a striking evidence of the interest in such a program. If you feel this idea has merit, please contact me; I would be happy to compile a document containing the comments of such outstanding undergraduate leaders on Southern campuses.

I look forward to hearing from you in the very near future.

Sincerely,

Michael H. Lawler

Michael H. Lawler
Student Government
Vice President
U. S. N. S. A.

MHL:gtl

ENCLOSURES

TO: Mr. James A. Johnson, chairman, National Supervisory Board, U.S.N.S.A.
Mr. Hayes Mizell, director, Southern Project, U.S.N.S.A.
Mr. Stephen J. M. Robbins, president, U.S.N.S.A.
Mr. Phil Sherburne, national affairs vice president, U.S.N.S.A.
Mr. Richard L. Stevens, assistant director, Southern Project, U.S.N.S.A.
Members, Southern Project Advisory Board.

FROM: Mr. Curtis Gans, member, Southern Project Advisory Board.
Mr. Michael H. Lawler, student government vice president, U.S.N.S.A.

RE: Seminar on "The New Day in the South."

DATE: March 13, 1965

Enclosed is the working draft for a prospectus requesting funds to "call a meeting of the minds." W. J. Cash stressed the paradoxes of the Southern character, the qualities which bred statescraft in one instance and vicious acts of individual violence in the next. One such paradox is that of the Southern rhetoric. The rhetoric of the Gene Talmadges, the Watsons and Wallaces is heard and remembered. While the words of one of the South's finest rhetoricians went unheeded for so long: "To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining opportunity--to every man the right to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him..." That was the "promise of America." But as Mr. Leroy Collins said in a recent speech in Alabama, in the South "we never deeded over the property."

However, there is a "New Day" in the South. We are slowly deeding over that "promise," the promise of dignity, of full citizenship, of equal opportunity. Speaking of his native state, Governor Terry Sanford put it this way: "North Carolina is facing a New Day...the people of North Carolina are ready to go--ready to make this New Day of opportunity a New Day of achievement."

Southern students have been one of the primary instruments in this new day of social progress. In the past it has been the cause and achievement of a courageous and committed few. However, many have seen certain significant changes in large numbers of Southern students, white and Negro.

"Where there is no vision, the people perish." (Proverbs 29, 18) This old proverb summarizes the extreme need for a "meeting of the minds." We must have a vision of what is taking place in the Southern student community and a vision of how the Southern Student Human Relations Project and the National Student Association will relate to this "New Day" in the student and larger Southern community.

Enclosed is the first draft of a proposed seminar on the changing South. The prospectus is organized in five sections: 1) an introductory discussion of the past activities of the Southern Project; 2) a discussion of the need for this program; 3) a description of the proposed seminar; 4) a model program; and 5) a proposed budget. It is expected that the first section would be expanded by the present Project staff before submitting this proposal to the foundation(s). Also, the Student Government Vice President would draft a summary of the activities of the two officers who have served in the South in recent years.

Respectfully,

Michael H. Lawler
Student Government
Vice President
U. S. N. S. A.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

PROPOSAL FOR A SOUTHWIDE SEMINAR ON THE NEW DAY IN THE SOUTH

I. Introduction: The Southern Project

Since 1959, the United States National Student Association and the Field Foundation have been conducting a unique experiment---the Southern Student Human Relations Project. What was the initial, primary focus of this program? Broadly, it was to cause students to confront th problems of the segregated society. By exposing students to experiences and attitudes antithetical to their inherited acceptance of the segregated society, it was hoped they might develop a critical attitude toward the central social issue of their day. Further, it was hoped that these students might proceed from this social consciousness to an active pursuit of solutions and involvement in the means of social change.

Most unique was the inter-racial character of the Project's activities. This particular aspect of its programing testified to the Association's belief that such social change could best be brought about by the efforts of both races working hand-in-hand...as symbolized by the now famous button of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

In 1960, the focus of the Southern Project was forced to adapt to an abrupt change on the Southern scene--the sit-in movement. The sit-in movement and subsequent civil rights activities caused a quick reassessment of the immediate responsibilities of the Association and of the Southern Project. While the Project continued to hold its annual student human relations seminar and to initiate campus programs on the racial issue, a large part of the Director's efforts were directed towards active support of the civil rights direct action movement.

II. The Present Situation: The Need for the Program

We are at another critical juncture today in the life of the Southern Project and in the history of the Southern student community. The task is no longer that of confronting Southern students with "liberal" views. In the main, the task is no longer that of supporting direct action movements which dramatize the effects and conditions of the segregated society. Public accommodations, though a hard fight, was an easily demonstrable issue. The irrationality and wrongness of the segregated society was relatively an easily exposed viewpoint and practice. We cannot afford the luxury of thinking that the job has been completed by either the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act or the shift towards moderation by many Southern whites, students and adults. Neither can we long afford to treat the "racial question" as a separate problem; it must be examined and solutions pursued in the context of its underlying causes and the broader problems and neglects in Southern life and society.

We are clearly at the juncture of enacting various programs directed at our manifold and inter-related problems. The creation of the "New Day" must concern itself with the problems of education, of economic development, of poverty, of politics and of training in leadership skills and the development of commitment to broad community transformation. If there is to be a New South rather than a mere extension of an urbanized North in a Southern setting, if there is to be a meaningful intergration of people, and if the South is to progress from an under-developed region into a fully developed society---then students and adults must direct their activities at the unity of the problems listed above as well as the racial question.

Thus, the Southern Project must once again change the direction of its policies and programing. It must expand its considerations and more important, meet the needs of students as they begin to act in these problem areas. The development of student leadership that will not only play a role now but also make an adult contribution to the developing New South is more fully seen as a central problem and responsibility for the Southern Project. Simply put, we are no longer attempting to create "interest." The challenge now is to direct and to assist the already apparent "interest" in active and constructive programs.

First, it is necessary to understand the various forces that are now at work in the South. Second, it is necessary to examine the changes in the Southern student community. There is clearly a need to give some form and content to the idea of the New South and to define a meaningful division of labor towards its creation. Then finally, there is a need to discover and to define clearly the role of the student, of the Southern Project and of the National Student Association, in light of this new situation.

It is with these needs in mind that the United States National Student Association proposes a southwide seminar on the New Day in the South.

III. The Proposed Seminar: A Description

The seminar will be an extensive and intensive discussion of the above questions. The seminar participants will be: the Southern Project advisers; the Project staff; the N. S. A. national officers (president, national affairs vice president and student government vice president); a small, select group of undergraduates, recognized for their leadership and understanding of the student community; selected Southern adult leaders, whose contributions in specific fields will serve to provide a more substantive discussion of the dynamics of the South today; and selected foundation representatives, who might emerge from the program with a more well-defined idea of useful investment of financial resources in future student endeavors.

This three-day program will be held in the informal atmosphere of retreat at a conference ground in North Carolina. The program will contain a minimum of rhetoric and a maximum of detailed, in-depth discussion of the various aspects of the aforementioned problems. The more formal aspects of the program will utilize a speaker and panel discussion format. The quality of the individuals participating will greatly reduce the problem of background reading and introductory commentary. The participants are gathered to develop the directions for the future based on their knowledge of the past and present.

The program will be co-ordinated by a full-time director with the assistance of the staff of the Southern Project and the N. S. A. national officers. A prospective director has already been contacted. The director will be employed for five weeks prior to the commencement of the program. He will have the aid of a secretary for the final four weeks of this period. The seminar will be closed to the press and other persons in order to insure a maximum opportunity for frank examination of the questions before the participants.

In order to insure the highest quality of undergraduate participation, the proposal requests that their travel, room and board be paid in full by the grant. The Southern Project staff and the national officers will rely on their normal funds for travel. The Southern Project advisers' travel will also be funded in the usual manner. Room and board for the advisers, staff and officers will be included in the conference budget. Costs for additional adult consultants and

and participants will be funded by their respective organizations, in the case of foundation representatives, and by the grant, in the case of other speakers and panelists.

A complete record of the conference will be maintained. This procedure will be handled by the conference secretary and the use of recording devices. Extracts from the conference will be useful for future publications by the Southern Project and the National Office.

This program is a necessary step in order to insure that the Southern Project and the Association will continue to make a meaningful contribution to the future of the South and specifically, to insure some real direction to present and future student action on the campus and in the community.

In order to accomplish this task, the United States National Student Association, a confederation of more than 300 member student governments, requests $3500 for a Southwide Seminar on the New Day in the South.

IV. The Seminar Agenda: A Model Program

The following agenda is a model; its function is to provide an idea of the content and format of the program. This draft agenda is, of course, subject to modification. The draft provides examples of the types of participants to be employed in the panels and lectures. The sole purpose of including these personalities is to give a more complete picture of the proposed program. The seminar director will be responsible for selecting the final actual participants, in consultation with the Southern Project advisers, the Project staff and the national officers.

Friday

7 p.m. Currents of Change in the South.

This is a two-part program designed to focus the more specific aspects of the program in the larger framework of the changing South. Each participant will present a 15-20 minute "position paper" with particular emphasis on recent developments in his field and future trends. There will be a short break between the two presentations. After the formal speeches, the program will proceed into a discussion format between the authors of the "position papers" and the seminar participants.

A. "Problems and Trends in Higher Education"
Mr. Fred Weaver, Vice President of the University of North Carolina.

"The Changing Economic Structure"
Professor Bishop, Chairman of the Department of Agricultural Economics, North Carolina State College of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh.

Break: 15 Minutes.

B. "New Prospectives on Southern Politics"
Mr. Terry Sanford, former Governor of North Carolina.

"What Directions Now? The Struggle for Equality"
Miss Connie Curry, former director, Southern Project; presently with the American Friends Service Committee.

9 p.m. Discussion of Presentations.

Saturday

9 a.m. The Role of Higher Education in the Changing South.

This discussion is a specific examination proceeding from Mr. Weaver's more general remarks. It should present the current and future manner in which the academic community, private and public, is relating and will relate to social change in the South. Mention should also be made of non-institutional experiments such as Continuing Education programs, the Advancement School of North Carolina and other educational programs outside the academic community proper. The four presentations will be approximately 20 minutes each.

A. Mr. John Ehle, the Ford Foundation.
C. G. Gomillion, Professor of Sociology and Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences, Tuskegee Institute.
Dr. Alexander Heard, President, Vanderbilt University.
Dr. Benjamin Mays, President, Morehouse College.

B. Open Discussion.

12 noon - 1 p.m. Lunch.

1 p.m. The National Student Association and the Southern Project: Past and Present Activities.

This will be an historical analysis and discussion of past and present programs and relationships with civil rights and human relations groups in the South. Participants will examine past and present institutional programing in terms of goals, type of program and people involved. The present director of the Southern Project will give an introductory synopsis of the Project's activities and goals; the present national affairs vice president will cover National Office programing and relationships to civil rights groups.

Miss Connie Curry.
Mr. Curtis Gans, past National Affairs Vice President; present member, Southern Advisory Board.

Mr. Hayes Mizell, Director, Southern Project, U. S. N. S. A.
Mr. Phil Sherburne, National Affairs Vice President, U. S. N. S. A.

This discussion should make very clear the assumptions of the past, the past analysis of the methods of social change and assumptions as to "reaching" white and Negro students. A short discussion session will be necessary to clarify statements and to allow for discussion among the panel members. The panel discussion should be approximately one hour in length; the group discussion about 30 minutes.

Break: 15 Minutes.

4 p.m. Where Are the Churches and Human Relations Councils Going?

This presentation will employ a similar format to the above. Rev. Will Campbell will give a brief analysis of the role of religious groups, including the Church proper and campus religious groups. Mr. Paul Anthony will give a summary analysis of past and present activities of the more active human relations councils in the South. Then the remaining panel members will give a very specific discussion on problems, alternative directions and probable directions for both of these groups. The discussion of the Church should give more emphasis to the direction of churches in college communities and the directions that student religious groups are taking on social action, political awareness and community service programs. Some portion of this discussion should emphasize the present and possible role that students are playing in conjunction with human relations councils, city and state.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council; member, Southern Advisory Board.
Rev. Will D. Campbell, Director of the Committee of Southern Churchmen; member, Southern Advisory Board.
Father Thomas Clancy, S.J., faculty, Loyola University of the South; member, Southern Advisory Board.
Chairman, Houston (Texas) City Council on Human Relations.

6-7 p.m. Dinner.

7 p.m. A Summary of Past and Present Student Action.

This presentation should examine such items as the sit-in movement, the Mississippi Summer Project, the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council, student efforts in South Carolina on a compulsory school attendance law and student tutorial programing. The primary function of this series of talks is to present a close factual background of what students have been and are doing in the South. The discussion should be program and activity oriented as opposed to analyzing the various "philosophical" premises of certain groups and the students' attitude toward certain forms of activity on and off the campus. Each participant should make about a 20 minute presentation. A very brief question-answer period will follow merely to clarify primarily factual information. This discussion will serve as a springboard for the later detailed analysis and more lengthy dialogue on present student attitudes towards civil rights, human relations programing and community action projects.

Mr. Julian Bond, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.
Mr. John Brooks, former adviser, N. C. Intercollegiate Council; present legal counsel, North Carolina Fund.
Mr. Curtis Gans.
Miss Pat Knight, former Assistant Director, Southern Project; present staff, Virginia Council on Human Relations.
Mr. Hayes Mizell.

9 p.m. The Southern Student Community.

This is the key discussion of the entire program. It must "pick apart" the student "mind of the South" today. Each participant should provide examples to support his analysis of current thinking and attitudes towards key issues on the Southern campus, white and Negro.

Mr. A. Beardsley, campus minister, Hollins College.
Mr. William Geer, faculty, University of North Carolina.
Mr. Mike Lawler, student government vice president, U. S. N. S. A.
Mr. Ralph Lee, student, North Carolina A & T College.

Mr. Hayes Mizell.
Mr. Bob Spearman, student body president, University of North Carolina.
Mr. Tony Stanley, faculty, Bennett College.
Miss Mollie Volk, student body president, Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia.

These individuals can each speak specifically to certain points; the total sum of their dialogue should present a composite view of the Southern student community. This presentation will be divided into two sections of four panelists each. For example, Mr. Spearman should particularly discuss the attitudes of student government personnel towards certain issues and types of programing. Mr. Lee should discuss the attitude of students on the Negro campus towards involvement, post-sit-in movement. What are their personal goals? What is the atmosphere of the campus and its impact on the students? Miss Volk should give particular attention to the activities and concerns as manifested in a Southern women's college. Mr. Lawler should provide some form of over-view derived from his campus traveling. Mr. Geer should discuss the attitudes explicit and implicit from his experience with students in the classroom. The logical distinction is between the view of the student by a student and the view of the student by an adult member of the academic community. The adult members of this discussion will be responsible for providing some picture of present attitudes in the context of past thinking and activities from their longevity in the academic community. The students should provide some keener insight into directions of student leadership and the potential resources and interest in playing an active role on the college campus.

This discussion will be open end. It is assumed that the program will break into small informal group discussions about 11:30 p.m. Only the discussion can determine when this evening program will close.

Sunday

10 a.m. Non-denominational Church service for all seminar participants.

11:30 a.m. Lunch.

1 p.m. An Institutional Response.

This final program will be organized into concurrent discussions, with the participants divided into three groups. It is felt that this discussion of institutional responses to the "situations" should be conducted in smaller groups than the previous presentations. Each participant will most certainly want to participate fully in the discussion, and this necessitates such a format. Members of the Southern Advisory Board, the Southern Project Staff and the National Office will be evenly apportioned among the three sections. This will enable the policymakers to consolidate all comments, proposals and viewpoints. Each of the three groups will be "structured" to the extent that one or two participants will "respond" to the previous discussions of this seminar. From that point the groups will proceed to discuss specific proposals in terms of new policies, programs, priorities, relationships with other groups in the South, etc.

Group I:
Mr. Hayes Mizell.
Mr. Phil Sherburne.

Group II:
Mr. Paul Anthony.
Mr. Mike Lawler.

Group III:
Mr. John Brooks.
Mr. Bob Spearman.

Close of Conference.

The Southern Project Advisory Board will meet immediately after the seminar for a discussion of the conference in terms of Southern Project and National Office policy, needs and programing. This meeting will continue Sunday evening and Monday, closing in time to permit all participants to return home to their usual occupations by Tuesday morning.

V. Proposed Budget

ITEM		COST
Rooms for participants:	$3 per day for 60 people three days and two nights	$ 360.00
Food for participants:	$2 per day for 60 people Friday dinner through Sunday lunch	250.00
Travel:	$30 per person for 40 people (We will pay travel for all student participants. Adviser, Officer and Project travel can come from present U. S. N. S. A. and Project travel budgets.)	1200.00
Conference co-ordinator:	$500 per month for five weeks	625.00
Conference secretary:	$250 per month for four weeks	250.00
Telephone and telegraph:		250.00
Postage:		50.00
Supplies:		75.00
Rentals:	(Typewriter, tape recorder, etc.)	50.00
		$3110.00
Administrative costs:	(10% of the above total)	311.00
Total cost:		$3421.00

STATEMENT by Mrs. Marjorie Prather (Mother of Harold Prather, our black brother who was shot Tuesday, September 6, 1966 by a white policeman) as given to ~~MKK~~ John Tillman of SNCC.

"My son had went up and borrowed the car from Arizona Walker, who works at Ridge Ave. Auto Parts on Ridge Ave., and he said, 'Well I reckon I'd better carry the car back because the baby ain't going to be able to come home tonight, and he left."

"I heard four or five shots and thought it was firecrackers that the children stomp on the streets. But when I go back to the kitchen, Harold Prather's wife screams and say ' come here, come here' trying to pick the baby up the baby and run to the door when I saw the baby on the floor and my son fell besides the baby. And the policeman ran up to the porch with the pistol in his hand and I asked what he was doing. I asked him 'what do you want to kill my son for?' He said he was resisting arrest."

"I said.. you ain't going to hurt him no more. There used to be days in slavery times when they killed people like dogs, but this is another day. If you live and he lives, you'll pay for this."

Tillman asked Mrs. Prather if the car was stolen, she said: "The car was not stolen." When asked if she knew why the police shot him, she said: "I don't know. They told me he was resisting arrest. Maybe they told some oether people what he did. A man told me they had him for robbery and a stolen car. I know the car wasn't stolen. The car belonged to Arizona Walker." When asked if Mr. Walker knew that her son had his car, she said: "Yes, I have called him and he said he would come as soon as he could leave the shop. He lives at 341 Richardson St. He works at Ridge Ave. Auto Parts." When asked if Mr. Walker had said that he loaned the car to her son, she said: "Definitely, he let him have

XXXXXXX.

the car. I know the car. My other daughter borrowed the car to take me to visit my daughter." Mr. Tillman asked Mrs. Prather if her son was handcuffed after he was shot, and she said: "Well I didn't see him handcuffed. I seen him, he was right here on the porch, and he was laying on his back like this. I didn't see it. He was already handcuffed on the porch."

Mr. Tillman asked her if she saw where he was shot, and she said" I know it was in his right side. I knew he was wounded there the most because there was a big puddle of blood. He looked up and said, 'Let me lay down.' And I let him lay down and put a pillow under his head. When they carried him to the hospital, he was begging for some water. He was consciousand told me to tell Junior (that is my other boy) to get Mickey's car out of the street..

Mr. Tillman then asked her if her son jumped out of the car after the police stopped him, and she said: "Someone said the police tried to flag him down. All I know is that when the police came after him with pistols, I guess he didn't know what was happening, him being scared and being a young kid. He went around to Happy Jacks, and when he went around there and that is when they were shooting at him, that is when one of the police got him. I know one white cop come here."

Tillman asked Mrs. Prather if the ambulance came to take him or did the police, and she said: "The ambulance come to take him off and he lay down there. He told me: 'Call anybody you can call. And my other son and this other police was about to get into it out there. He was saying 'I know you didn't have to shoot him. You didn't have to cause this, you could have caught him cause he wasn't running that fast.' And some of the people told me that when the policeman shot him once, he said: 'Lord, let me make it back tothe house. Let me make it back to the house." I told the policeman 'You didn't have to do anything except take a long stepp to catch him, but you didn't even try, you were too budy shooting at him."

when Fred went in we had to sign this thing that if the organization couldn't get a lawyer or anything for him, we would have to be responsible for these things. Fred stayed there for six months or more in Mississippi. We just about supported him. I said, now I don't think that this is any consideration whatever by not even telling us or calling us.

"You know when a mother's child is away from home and you hear all of this stuff on the news--on the radio. I'm a nurse and I went to work even at a new station this morning. One of the girls was there that had worked with me on Friday at another Board of Health station. And she said, "Was that your son I kept hearing about on the radio?" I said, yes, that was my son. Well, this can be pretty shocking you know. I don't know if you've ever head of WMUS in Chicago, it broadcasts news continously. They give the headlines and then they ela--borate on each item. And this goes on for a half hour. And then at the end of that half hour they give you the time and the weather; and then they give the headlines again, and they start elaborating again. Every half hour, I'm listening to this: Fred Meely, age 27, the leade of Philadelphia SNCC, is being sought by the police about the dynamite found in the SNCC office." You know, this can be very bad. So I don't know.

"But after all, that's my child, you know. I was fit to be tied. I felt like taking off and going to the moon or anywhere. But you know yourself, you don't know what to do. Now I know that you are working on the case. That is all that I need.

signed by Mrs Marie E. Meely

in witness of: Authur B Channon (notary)

on this 27th day of Auguslt, 1966

There is a lot that we need to say to each other.

Here in the Atlanta Communication Department, we've been concerned for a long white while as to what is the best form for
generating
circulating
staff expressions
We, WE -- SNCC staff,

Poems, plays, essays
and articles
short stories.

We dance, dig, doo's and dug James Brown and all the other brothers and sisters.

We run off at (and in) the motherly mouthes a lot, Accepting that we do do...and dig all these things, shouldn't this flow regularly among the SNCC staff?

Yes!

This first booklet is the beginning of something that can be beautiful. You the staff, the entire staff in its entwining entirety, it is hoped, will pick up on . . . and contribute to

You

YOU

Y-o-u! should contribute things for future booklets of this type

* * *

There's no title. The words here will speak to what this booklet is -- and ought to be. The words you give to other booklets will make them what they are.

So read baby. Then fling words back at us.

(C) STUDENT VOICE, INC.
360 Nelson St., S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

Folder #1 Letters JAN-1966 - These are letters, correspondances from various indiviuduals on the council staff. The dates are Feb 14 1965 - March 10, 1966

Folder #2 Letters - April 1966 - Included are letters, memorandums, reports, rough drafts, resumes, etc The dates included are Feb 8, 1966 - May 9, 1966

Folder #3 Letters - Sept '65 - Letters, reports, rough drafts, resumes, conference forms, etc are included in this folder which dates from June 29, 1965 - January 25, 1966. The Report "Mississippi, A Mirror written by Tyler Dudley is included in this file unit.

Folder #4 Model - ByLaws - Contained are 4 form copies of the by-laws of the different organizations. The duties hierarical structure can be ascertained from these,

Folder #5 No label Heading (North Nashville Project) Two copies of the proposal for the North Nashville Project with maps of the area.

Folder #6 Pearl City Civic League Boca Raton, Florida - Telegram to Mr. Ulmer to arrange special meeting concerning the Pearl City Project. Letter and Operation Future of Pearl City Project.

Folder #7 - PPC - Grant - Poor Peoples Corporations by-laws, PPC Co-op Handbook No. 1, letters and correspondances concerning the project. are included in This unit.

Folder #8 - Pritchardsville - Rough drafts, letter, and articles "Get your own home the co-operative way" are included

Folder # 9 - Self - Help Housing - Letters, by-laws, proposal for funding, Organization chart, Bexar County Migrant Program Report, Salt River Mutual Help Program Report, Co-operative housing in Novia Scotia booklet, Applications for Community Action Program, Meeting minutes, housing plans, Self-help housing booklet, Self - Help Enterprises Reports and Friends Housing Cooperative are included in this unit.

Folder #10 - Selma - Inter-Religious - Newsletters, letters, rough drafts, newsclipping concerning this project are included in this file unit.

Folder #11 - SNCC - Freedom School Poetry Booklet

HISTORY

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—SNCC—was born out of the student sit-in drive. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina on Easter Weekend in 1960 formed the Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. At an Atlanta conference later that year, officers were elected, programs outlined, and the "temporary" dropped.

From an immediate concern with lunch counters and movie theaters, SNCC moved into activity across the entire Southern Black Belt.

Participation in the Freedom Rides in 1961 and a growing sense of the depth of fear that shackled most Negroes of the South convinced SNCC that some one would have to take the freedom movement to the millions of disenfranchised, dispossessed and degraded Negroes of the rural South . . .

SNCC DID JUST THAT

. . . August, 1961, SNCC launched the Deep South's first student manned voter registration project . . . choosing Walthal, Pike and Amite Counties in Southwest Mississippi. Their drive developed into a student revolt in McComb, began to spread across the entire state and culminated in the 1964 Summer Project that involved more than 1,000 volunteer workers.

. . . October, 1961 — SNCC workers opened up Albany, Georgia for the massive demonstrations that followed that year and have since organized movements in the surrounding counties.

. . . January, 1963 — SNCC workers came to Selma, Alabama, and with the aid of local groups set the stage for the drive that resulted in the 1964 Voting Rights Act.

PROGRAM

SNCC'S grass-roots approach is designed to . . . build indigenous, trained leadership . . . in small communities and urban centers of the South, in high schools and college campuses . . .

SNCC workers organize and aid local and state wide movements, some never identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its program to insure a continuous committed movement across the South.

This program has captured the idealism and imagination of students and adults all across the country, and today, more than 150 SNCC field workers are engaged in the always dangerous, often dreary and tedious work of organizing people in the most difficult areas of the South . . .

Mississippi — Southwest Georgia
Central Alabama — Eastern Arkansas

SNCC field secretaries receive subsistence salaries when funds are available, but at times have chopped cotton and picked squash to secure food and a bed. They live in the community they work in, in the homes of local residents and in freedom houses, for the weeks and months required to break through generations of fear-enforced apathy and despair. A SNCC worker's skills and drive help a community begin. Sustained personal contact, discussion and persuasion and his determination to stay with the job gives a community confidence to seek and assert their rights and to make their own decisions.

SNCC voter registration drives and work on Agricultural Stabilization Committee elections have begun to give forgotten communities a power they can use to build their own organizations and to help themselves . . .

— the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party . . . an independent political party which educates by its work . . . attempts to involve the disenfranchised in the political processes which are so crucial to their lives.

— the Poor People's Corporation . . . "To assist low income groups in their efforts to receive financial assistance to initiate and sustain self-help projects of a cooperative nature that are designed to offset some of the effects of poverty."

— the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union . . . farm workers in the Mississippi Delta working to improve economic conditions . . .

— Freedom Schools . . . community centers . . . all these things mean a ray of hope for those with no hope of help anywhere.

Those of us who think that what happened to a poor Negro in the Summerhill Community cannot happen to them, think about Mrs. Henry Aaron.

Those of us who think that Mayor Ivan Allen is for Negroes and interested in all the citizens of Atlanta should remember the same Mayor Ivan Allen who physically seperated the Negro and whites on Peyton Road.

Those of us who think that Mayor Ivan Allen is for Negroes should remember that just a few years ago the good Mayor aAllen was one of the people who denied Negroes entrance into theatres, restaurants, lunch counters, etc.

Those of us who think that Mayor Ivan Allen is for Negroes should remember that we still are the last hired and first fired.

Those of us who think that Mayor Ivan Allen and the city of Atlanta are concerned about Negroes, even its Negro police officers should remember the time when a Negro police officer stopped a white person he had to call a white policeman to arrest that person. It wasn't until this summer that they abandoned the Negro shift.

Those of us who think that the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee is against them should ask themselves who has been in the forefront of the fight against segregation in the city of Atlanta.

Remember SNCC's activity in 1964? The SNCC demonstrations were largely responsible for the desegregation of the Dobbs House and Toddle House restaurant chains in Atlanta. SNCC's demonstrations also caused the desegregation of 14 hotels and motels.

What Would You Do With

$40 Million Dollars

Each Day?

DID YOU KNOW that the U.S. Government spends over $40 MILLION DOLLARS every day in VIETNAM.*

DID YOU KNOW that for each Vietnamese we murder, we spend $4 MILLION in supplies.

DID YOU KNOW that we spend more in one day to kill TEN VIETNAMESE, than TEN MILLION VIETNAMESE spend in one week to eat!

Information from Senator Vance Hartke (Democrat Ind.) in his weekly newsletter.

If President Johnson decided to give $40 MILLION DOLLARS each day to Atlanta's Negroes then:

RIGHT NOW YOU, and every black man, women, and child would have $181.81 in his pocket.

EACH WEEK YOU and every black person in Atlanta would have $1272.72, which is enough money to buy 3 color T.V. sets.

EACH MONTH YOU, and every black man, woman, and child would have $5636.42, enough money to buy an air conditioned Mustang and enough gas to travel across the country six times in style.

EVERY 4 MONTHS YOU could pay cash for a new house on Collier Drive.

OF COURSE we didn't expect Atlanta's Negroes to get $40 MILLION DOLLARS per day, but WE ALSO...

DIDN'T EXPECT PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO CUT OFF $19 MILLION DOLLARS FROM THE SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM. A program that feeds thousands of Atlanta's Black children every school day.

AND WE DIDN'T EXPECT HIM TO CUT OFF $175 MILLION DOLLARS FROM THE COLLEGE STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM. We are not sure how many millions of dollars he has CUT OFF from the Welfare Program, the Health and Hospital Aid Programs,

WE JUST WONDER, HOW WOULD YOU SPEND $40,000,000 DOLLARS PER DAY?

BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS°

LET'S GET THE FACTS STRAIGHT°

DON'T LET THE WHITE PRESS TR[illegible]°

1. Last Tuesday, a white policeman shot one of our Black Bothers-25 year old Harold Prather - a husband and father of four children.
2. Prather was arrested fpr SUSPICION of stealing a car. His mother said he had borrowed the car from a friend and had done it many times before.
3. Because he was young and scared, he tried to run. Instead of chasing after him, the cop just pulled out his pistol, started firing at our brother - and shot him.
4. THE COP THEN GOT SCARED AND RAN AWAY!
5. Prather was wounded in his side, crawled to his mother's house and begged her to get help for him.
6. When the ambulance came, he was lying on his mother's porch in a PUDDLE OF BLOOD!
7. A large crowd of friends, neighbors, and young people got together in front of the Prather house because they were ANGRY! They were ANGRY about the brutal and unnecessary shooting of Harold Prather.
8. They wer also SICK AND TIRED of seeing white cops mess over Black men and women, as they have been doing for over 300 years. The crowd that Harold Prather knew was only one of thousands of Black men and women in Atlanta who have been brutalized and shoved around by white cops and their bosses.
9. Let us think about the words that Mrs. Prather said to the white cops:

" YOU AIN'T GOING TO HURT HIM NO MORE. THERE USED TO BE DAYS IN SLAVERY TIMES WHEN THEY KILLED PEOPLE LIKE DOGS, BUT THIS IS ANOTHER DAY. IF YOU LIVE AND HE LIVES, YOU'LL PAY FOR THIS!"

THINK YOU CAN'T BE SHOT IN THE BACK BY A COP AS WAS HAROLD PRATHER--- A POOR NEGRO OF THE SUMMERHILL COMMUNITY? WHAT ABOUT THE COP WHO DREW HIS GUN ON MRS. HANK AARON, (wife of a famous black baseball player) AT ATLANTA STADIUM?

COULD RACIST MAYOR ALLEN BE THE FRIEND OF NEGROES? HE'S THE SAME CRACKER WHO:

1. sepegated Negroes and whites homes on Peyton Road.

2. Denies Negroes city jobs (We are still last hired.)

3. Keeps a quota on the number of Negro firemen hired.

4. Offers only janitor jobs to Negroes in the many places he owns.

5. Keeps a Kangeroo Court with cracker judges where Negroes are tried with no lawyer---given stiffer sentences and black women are beaten in the bull pen.

WHY DOES RACIST MAYOR ALLEN ATTACK THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee)?
SNCC fought and fights ---such things as segregation in Atlanta. (Remember the Dobbs House and Toddle House restaurant chains... and desegregation of some 14 motels and hotels.

SNCC also fights against slum housing --- police brutality.

* *

RACIST IVAN ALLEN AND HIS COPS CAN BE STOPPED FROM BRUTALIZING NEGROES IF YOU WILL:

1. witness with your presence at the trials on Sept. 15th, at 3:30 P. M.

2. call Racist Mayor Allen at 522-4463 and demand release of all arrested in Summerhill.

3. get together with your neighbors and organize to protect yourself against illegal cop action.

4. send money, and names of those arrested to SNCC Defense Committee at

360 Nelson Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

Tele: 699-0331

DON'T FORGET---ITCOULD HAPPEN TO YOU---BLACK PEOPLE MUST UNITE

IT'S TIME . . . FOR A NEW SOUTH

Nobody much likes poverty.

But nobody likes to do much about it unless they are poor themselves. And poor people have so much to fight for ...

They could use some full-time help--the type of help that they decide they want when they want it--and on their terms

Not more degrading welfare

Not more uniformed bullies

Not more interfering social workers

We think that means a community organizing project that can help people most just by showing them they are not helpless.

We think the people can come to see that poor white people and poor black people don't have to compete for the crumbs in our society and that the way to gain strength is to fight together for economic and political demands.

We think we can create in the white working class community something better than what the Klan and the Nazis have to offer. If we don't do it, they will -- AND THEY ARE PUTTING MILLIONS INTO A CAMPAIGN TO ATTRACT THE PEOPLE.

THE YOUTH

We will be working alot with young people--who aren't taught much in their schools, except obedience ...

Young people who are discouraged from thinking
Young people who are harrassed by the cops
Young people who just "hang around" or work on their cars or get drunk because there isn't much else to do

Young people with the talent, ability and potential that this society has closed its doors to ...

And they sure don't like it. But they don't know what to do about it either. They are trapped and frustrated. They get angry quickly and are always ready for a fight. THEY KEEP TRYING.

And that's the most important thing about them--they haven't given up. They refuse just to accept all the hell that is tossed at them. They can't find a way--yet--to stop being pushed around, but we think they are willing to learn.

That may include learning some things very strange to them such as, "organizing", democratic politics, economics and some lessons about other people in our society--those who can and will help them, those who can and will try to stop them. They can learn to see their own strength and talents once they have a vehicle for using them. They can get some hope into their lives before they get oldand beaten down.

Then they will be able to do something about the conditions around them and won't have to take being pushed around. They can start doing some pushing and if they push hard enough and long enough, maybe they can push this society right off their backs.

PROGRAM

The community is supporting the housewives' boycott to lower food prices. We want to see a cooperative buying service develop along with a consumer education program.

Tutorials which involve the parents as well as the children are important. We will seek acceptable tutors among our friends and supporters. The tutorials will be part of the oarger program to broaden contact between people. We see that showing films for children and films that the teenagers choose to see are important in a recreation program that the people have control over. We are trying to get a record player, records, a decent library, dart board, later on a pool table.

We think a cooperative day care program would be vital to the community. Also a voter education program will be a necessity.

If the people are to win the battles that their efforts will bring about, they must also know how to use politics--and what politics to use. Thus we hope to tie in a study on the city power structure and ownership patterns. It's vital that people know just WHO controls WHAT in their lives.

It becomes more important every week that passes for staff to be more and on regular jobs less. That means we are more and more dependent upon friends and supporters to keep us alive.

We are part of a movement for a new and more democratic society. We need the financial aid of those who share our faith. We suggest:

--- A monthly pledge to pay all or part of the subsistence for a staff member ($100 a month). Perhaps a group could keep such a pledge.

--- A monthly pledge to pay the cost of renting films (approx. $80 a month)

--- The cost of a 16 mm sound film projector

--- Funds toward building a library or for recreation equipment

--- Funds to run a mimeograph--repairs, paper, ink,

--- Rent and utilities on a 5-room house ($100 a month)

We will appreciate whatever you can do for this effort--thank you.

SOUTH NASHVILLE COMMUNITY PROJECT - Box 6072 - Nashville - 37212

South Nashville Community Project
P.O.Box 6072
Nashville, Tenn. 37212

Mr. Olmer;

We were told that you are interested in community projects and may be able to help us. We need any information or contacts that you can lead us to concerning consumer education and buying co-ops. We have just achieved some concrete results in the area of establishing a co-op, and we need some knowledgeable information on how to operate an effective co-op that will educate and help people.

For
People Power
Brian Heggen
S.N.C.P.

Sorry about this green ink!

also File –

June 3, 1966

Mr. Baxton Bryant, Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Baxton:

Enclosed is a check for $500.00 to be used for The North Nashville Project.

The proposal is an excellent one. I would very much appreciate it if you would keep me informed as the project develops.

Best wishes,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh
Encl. $500.00 check

P.S. Please sign the enclosed carbon copy and return as a receipt for our files. Thank you.

MRS. MARTHA RAGLAND
PRESIDENT
NASHVILLE

LEWIS S. SINCLAIR
VICE-PRESIDENT
KNOXVILLE

MRS. ERNEST SILVER
SECRETARY
OAK RIDGE

DR. VASCO SMITH
VICE-PRESIDENT
MEMPHIS

DR. G. J. TARLETON, JR.
TREASURER
NASHVILLE

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1106 19th Avenue, South • Nashville, Tennessee 37212 • 297-6568

BAXTON BRYANT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MISS KATHERINE JONES
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

May 5, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

I have worked closely with these young people on the enclosed proposal. I believe it to be worthy of support.

We will take responsibility for oversight and will see that proper reports are prepared and proper accounting of funds takes place.

If you need further information, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Baxton Bryant
Baxton Bryant

BB:jw

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REV. DOGAN W. WILLIAMS, BRISTOL
WILLIAM R. WILLIS, JR., NASHVILLE
MISS LOUISE YOUNG, NASHVILLE

*SERVING ON EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

NORTH NASHVILLE PROJECT

Proposal for Action

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- B. In the Wider Nashville Community

VIII. Appendix

- A. General Statistical Characteristics of Area
- B. Proposed Monthly Budget
- C. Personal Information Sheet - Salaried Staff

Introduction

We are deeply disturbed and concerned because we see around us growing numbers of people for whom the basic needs of food, shelter, jobs, medical care, and education are going unmet. We believe that all people should have freedom within the political and economic systems to have alternatives available, and to be able to choose the most meaningful ones for their lives. We believe this freedom does not exist, because we see people excluded from these systems, frozen in cycles of poverty, whose symptoms are unemployment, poor housing, poor schools, etc. We propose to demonstrate our concern in a community action project in north Nashville.

We also believe that the only meaningful way to help people, is to help them help themselves. Toward this end, we believe that perhaps we can be most effective in helping people to realize their common problems and concerns, and to organize into groups which have the skills and power to attack and hopefully solve some of these.

The Community

The area in which we have located the project lies in the northwest section of north Nashville, roughly bounded by Buchanan Street (north) and Osage Street (south), and 20th Avenue (east) and 26th Avenue (west). This is a depressed pocket bounded on the northwest by a new, middle class housing development. To the northeast the area becomes transitional, being populated by both whites and Negroes. This has been designated by the Metropolitan Action Commission as a "medium poverty area", as opposed to the more abject "high poverty areas", and was chosen for several reasons: (1) Almost all of the most abject poverty areas in Nashville have either been rezoned, or are scheduled for urban renewal within the next five to ten years. If we are successful, we hope to build a community organization of a permanent nature, which we do not want to see scattered either by natural transitoriness or by government programs. (2) The area has many attributes which we believe will facilitate organizing. It is typified by small, individual, often deteriorating dwellings. Many residents have lived in this area for a number of years, and there exists a sense of community evident in the small community churches, stores, and interpersonal and inter-family relationships. (3) The problems encountered are not so great as to be overwhelming, and we believe that in this community we can gain valuable knowledge about urban organizing, and perhaps build a base from which to expand into more serious areas.

Objectives and Long-Term Programming

A. Student Involvement - We hope the impact of our project will be twofold; benefitting the community and providing a channel for student concern, involvement, and commitment. There exist 13 colleges and universities in Nashville, and we believe that there is a great deal of latent interest among students in meaningful community work, and once we have established programs, it will be easy to draw in many students with varied interests and talents. We hope that in the community context, students will not only experience the symptoms of poverty, but encounter its socio-economic roots, and hopefully come to understand and participate in some vehicles of social change.

Hopefully such a program would be flexible enough to involve students at all levels of understanding and commitment, be that in physical work, tutorial or recreational work, research, or actual organizing. Presently there are a number of students who are interested and talented in working with children, whom we hope to involve in a tutorial-recreational-enrichment program. In addition, we believe we will be able to tie in with groups such as the Vanderbilt Student Legal Aid Group, thus obtaining often unavailable professional services.

Thus eventually, we hope that our role will be one of initiator and coordinator, providing an opportunity for a meaningful experience for both students and the community.

B. Community Information Center - Many resources exist to deal with the problems of poverty, but go unutilized because people are unaware or do not know how to obtain them. A center which could hear out people's problems and help them to utilize the available resources might include information on welfare, social security, unemployment, medicare, Headstart, urban renewal, public housing, job retraining, and private services such as those of community centers, churches, etc. This would utilize a major resource offered by college students--academic knowledge, but would hopefully move toward autonomy of the local people in this endeavor.

C. Community Organization - Hopefully the hub of our program would center around issue-oriented groups, at first on a block level, and perhaps eventually on the model of a community union. Such issues may at first be very small and specific (i.e. a stop sign or street light) to obtain initial involvement of community people, to acquire organizational skill (for both students and local people) and hopefully to provide small victories which will lend both the experience and confidence to tackle bigger and more basic problems.

Possible issues may fall into several categories: (1) Governmental functions: (a) Municipal services such as water, sewage, streets, lights, police and fire protection, and (b) Social services, such as welfare, unemployment compensation, and public housing; (2) Housing; (3) Jobs; and (4) Discrimination.

Hopefully an organization will grow out of one or several of these that is both large and strong enough to tackle other problems, and a leadership will develop such that our aid will no longer be needed.

Means and Immediate Programming

We believe that each community has unique problems, and concerns, and that if such an organization is to exist, it must come from the people and their feeling a common need for this. Thus we cannot project what all the problems are nor which will present themselves as issues, nor consequently what form our program will ultimately take. Rather, we believe, it is presently necessary to talk with the people, to become acquainted and consequently trusted, to understand their perceptions and their concerns. To do this, we propose several preliminary programs which will accomplish this, while being of value in and of themselves.

A. Moving In - Two of the staff plan to make their home, as well as the project office in the heart of the community. A house has been rented at 1705 26th Avenue North, which we are presently in the midst of setting up and furnishing. This will not only provide first-hand acquaintance with many of the people and problems, but will lend legitimacy to our concern for the community. As many workers as possible will be urged to live in the community.

B. Children's Program - There are a tremendous number of children living in this area which is devoid of recreational facilities. We believe we could establish a children's program which might take the form of a tutorial, recreational, arts and crafts, and/or cultural enrichment program, and which might be structured through a community center, one of the local churches, or the schools. This would be of great value to the children, and would open doors to the parents of the community.

C. Neighborhood Survey - This might (1) determine the objective facts of poverty in that area, benefitting both our group and other agencies concerned with this particular area; (2) allow us to canvass door-to-door, providing opportunity for initial contact and acquaintance with a great number of residents, leading to better knowledge of the issues in the community, and (3) be of great educational value to the group.

D. Medicare Alert - This program of the Metropolitan Action Commission is using volunteers to help seek out all persons 65 and over to register for Medicare before the June 30 deadline. This is an important program, and could serve purposes #C-2 and #C-3 above.

E. Voter Registration - Aside from its intrinsic value, this would also serve purposes #C-2 and #C-3 above.

Staff

At present we have a strong core group of about ten persons who are committed to giving both time and resources to the project. With their part-time assistance, four of the group are prepared to spend a good deal of time in the next month laying ground work for such a project, and would like to work full time during the summer, is they are able. (See Appendix, Personal Data Sheets) All of these persons are either students and/or residents in Nashville, and will be able to work with the project for an extended period of time. After getting such a program off the ground during the summer, they will be able to continue as organizers, both of the community and of the students, while continuing as full-time students next fall.

To make this summer work possible, we anticipate the necessity of these people finding summer jobs to support this endeavor. However, $250 would free one staff person to work full-time for 15 weeks (May 29 through September 310). We propose that this person be Fred Brooks (See appendix). If $500 were available, two people could work full-time during this period. The second would be Linda Baughn.

Finance

We do not believe that such a project will require large financial resources, at least initially, and we plan to raise money to support the project independently. We plan to utilize fund-raising contacts in Nashville, and believe we can build a strong base among many who were involved in the earlier civil rights struggle in Nashville. In addition, our fund-raising potential will be proportionate to the number of concrete and visible results which can be seen in the community, and we hope to thus eventually draw resources from the more established agencies and foundations. A simplified, tentative budget is attached in the appendix.

Progress to Date

A. In the Community - After several months of discussion and planning, we rented a small house and actually moved into the community about the third week in April. The first week was spent in becoming acquainted in the community, attending church and community functions, visiting neighbors, and making ourselves known.

After this, we felt the need to initiate one concrete program, and felt this program should be a tutorial. This was done in cooperation with the local church, and we are organizing on a block basis, starting with one block. This will be expended as the program develops, and will, we hope, provide a basis on which to do later block organizing on other issues. The tutorial has been underway one week, and we presently have ten children. For the first two sessions, we are having tutors work in the homes so that they will become acquainted with the family, and vice-versa. Then, we will be conducting sessions in the project house and in the church. We see this as preliminary to an expanded daily summer program consisting of tutoring, arts and crafts, and recreation, which we will try to have parents on the block take major responsibility for organizing. We hope this will eventually tie in to organizing around the need for recreational facilities in the community.

B. In the Wider Nashville Community - Prior to moving in, we contacted a number of key persons and organizations, such as the Metropolitan Action Commission, the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, the Nashville chapter of the NAACP, the Council of Community Agencies, etc. who were most helpful in providing information and support. We have obtained the cooperation and are doing some volunteer work at the UGF supported 18th Avenue Community Center, which is supposed to serve this area, but in fact does not because of distance. We have obtained tutoring materials and suggestions from the Education Department at Peabody College, on whom we will also draw for resource persons to work with the tutors.

We sent out a letter explaining the nature of the project and asking for contributions of both money and household goods, to the Nashville mailing list of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, and have been encouraged by the response. To date we have receiveds, chairs, a desk, linen, bedding, draperies, school books, paint, and a freezer, in addition to $60 in contributions. This supplements $90 already raised by the group. We will publish a periodic newssheet to tie these persons into the project, and hope to build this eventually into a system of pledges to provide a regular source of income.

The staff of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations has been most helpful both in cooperation and consultation with the project, and we are grateful for their support. We are heartened to see the two generations join in sharing mutual concern, and look forward to continued cooperation.

General Statistical Characteristics of Project Area

The following are general statistical characteristics compiled by the Metropolitan Action Commission, which typify a "medium poverty area". The entire north Nashville area north of Jefferson Street is designated thusly:

1.	Median Family Income	$ 3073.00
2.	Income less than $1000	10.7%
3.	Unemployed	6.4
4.	Employed in Private Households Service Worker, Labor	40 .1
5.	Housing - deteriorating & delapidated	47.2
6.	Education less than 5 years (Adults over 25 - funct. illiterate)	17.9
7.	Fertility Ratio	108.2
8.	Welfare Recipients	4.34
9.	Aid to Dependent Children	2.06
10.	Median Age	29.1
11.	Education less than 12 yrs.	80.6
12.	Housing Units with 1.01 or more Persons per room	23.3
13.	Housing Units Occupied by owner	37,3
14.	Sex ratio	89.0

APPENDIX A

Proposed Monthly Budget - Summer 1966

Rent on house	$ 40
Electricity, telephone	10
Supplies for children's program	30
Transportation	20
Salaries (two salaried staff)	c 112
Miscellaneous	20
	$232

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX C

Personal Information Sheet

Name: Fred Brooks
Age: 20

School: Tennessee State University
Year: Senior

Major: Industrial Arts (Printing)

Experience:

1. Summer of 1963 - Work in the state of Mississippi on a voter education Project for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.
2. June 1964 to March 1965 - Worked in the state of Louisiana as director of project in Jonesboro, Louisiana. The project centered around testing the 1964 Civil Rights Bill and around voter registration.
3. Summer of 1965 - The first portion of the summer was spent working with The Congress of Racial Equality in Detroit, Michigan. The latter part was spent in the state of Louisiana working on employment.

Projected Vocation:

I hope to obtain a degree in mechanical printing and spend the greatest portion of the rest of life working in print shops of a civil rights organization.

APPENDIX D

Personal Information Sheet

Name: Linda Baughn Age: 20

School: Fisk University Year: Junior

Major: Religion

Employment:

1. May 1962 - August 1962 - J. J. Newberry's, as salesgirl
2. June 1963 - August 1963 - Our Chef Take-Home Food - as counter waitress
3. July 1964 - August 1964 - Lancaster Community Methodist Church - as intern in Christian Education, working with youth programs in a suburban church.
4. October 1965 - January 1966 - Pomona College Co-op - as counter waitress

Experience:

1. June 1965 - August 1965 - Methodist Student Movement, Morris County Citizenship Project, as community organizer, working with children and adults in a small northern ghetto. Program involved tutorial for children and the formation of a locally based organization called the People's Action Committee.
2. September 1964 through October 1964 - Californians Against Proposition 14, Precinct Worker.

August 10, 1966

Miss Ronda Stilley
North Nashville Project
1705 26th Avenue North
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Ronda:

Thank you for your letter and the North Nashville Project Newsletter. I was especially interested in your decision to move into the white community with a tutorial program in the Fall.

There is a possibility that some funds could be made available to you for this project. I suggest going about it in much the same way as you did the first time you requested funds from us. Write a brief outline of what you plan to do in the white community -- how it ties into the summer project and how you plan to involve Nashville students. If you do this we can try the student contingency fund again.

Again, thanks for letting me know what's going on and best wishes for continued success with your project.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

NORTH NASHVILLE PROJECT
1705 26th Avenue North
Nashville, Tennessee

August 3, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

We would like to thank you for the two scholarships which have been given to the North Nashville Project through the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. These have been used to pay the summer salaries ($15 a week) for Fred Brooks, who directs the project and also lives in the project house, and Linda Baughn, who has been instrumental in the success of the summer children's program.

Since May, we have obtained the use of a vacant lot across the street from the project house, and with contributions of play equipment, now have a fairly adequate neighborhood playground. The area has a tremendous number of children, with no other play area than the street, and this has proved a successful venture.

We feel much encouraged by the response to the daily children's program, which is described more fully in the enclosed newsletter, in terms of numbers (35 to 50 children daily), and the progress which we feel we have made with them and their families.

The summer experience has been very valuable to us, both in giving us an understanding of Nashville and the problems that face its poor people, and in giving us some ideas about how we may best effect these.

The extreme wretchedness of much of the housing in Nashville, as well as some of the causative factors, have become more and more evident to us over the summer, and we are presently doing much background research, and believe we will be channeling much attention to this problem during the fall.

We have had an excellent response from college students, both in terms of part time participation, and as potentially full time staff, and with this resource available, have decided to extend the tutorial several blocks east, into a poor white neighborhood. We are excited about the possibility of building the same sort of community base here, as was done through the tutorial in our present neighborhood, and hope that if we can raise sufficient funds, we may develop this into a sister project. Our thoughts and plans in this respect are more fully described in the article entitled "White Community" on the back page of the enclosed newsletter.

We would like to know if there is any possibility of renewing the scholarships given by SRC, or if any other funds are available for this purpose.

We feel the implementation of particularly our projected plans is very much dependent on the financial resources available, particularly for the hiring of good, full-time staff. We are attempting to build a solid financial base among the concerned people here in Nashville, but this is a slow process, and as of the present time, we are unable to rely on it solely as our source of income.

If this is a possibility, or if you can suggest other organizations or groups who might be interested in this type of project, we would very much appreciate hearing from you. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Ronda Stilley

Ronda Stilley

Enclosure

cc: Baxton Bryant

Newsletter of the

NORTH NASHVILLE PROJECT

1705 26th Avenue North, Nashville, Tennessee

Vol. I, No. 2 August 1966

THE CHILDREN'S PROGRAM

NEGRO HISTORY CLASS

by Fred Brooks

The progress that the children have made here in the Negro History classes which have been taught this summer is really wonderful. For the first time in their lives, they are able to talk about who they are, where they came from, and where they are going.

The classes are taught on the same level as regular school, but the things they learn are much different. The books they read now are written about black people and by black people. The children have become inquisitive about their heritage and are now asking questions that are answered truthfully and sincerely. A sense of respect and pride about being black in white America has been restored.

The success of the class has been so wonderful that the children have requested that the class be continued over into the regular school year. The classes in September will probably be taught twice a week in the late afternoon.

Around the end of the summer program, (late August or early September) the Negro History class is putting on a program about Negro History for the community. A mailing will be sent about this program. We at the North Nashville Project cordially invite you to attend.

Do you have friends who would like to receive the newsletter?

"NEW MATH"

by Wilbur Mellema

Learning mathematics in the North Nashville Project means sampling tidbits from across the years and miles. We follow the general trend proposed by the African Mathematics Workshop at Entebbe, leading pioneer in teaching children "new math." The work is fun, the results encouraging, the children interested, alert, and good.

No rigid syllabus is being followed; likewise, decorum practiced in the cool and airy church basement hardly resembles that found in disciplined classrooms. Our students, about 15 in all, ranging from 9 to 12 years old, enjoy games the most. They enthusiastically and bodily join in math and logic games like the farmer-fox-chicken-corn game, the three jealous husbands game, the stone-paper-scissors game, and others. To win, they have to observe, analyze, and predict patterns--in short, learn math. Little rewards assure concentration.

Learning by Doing

We make the kids participate, playing with real things--"learning by doing," or we carry the blackboard from the Project house and draw pictures. Thus, an elevator going way down, from sub-basement to sub-basement, helps illustrate negative numbers, which the students learn to add and multiply.

Learning various ways of counting, from ancient Rome to modern Mende, introduces

(Continued on Page 3.)

JUNIOR PHYSICS CLASS

by Dave Kotelchuck

An introductory course on waves and wave motion was presented during the science section of the summer study program. This topic was chosen because it represents a basic area of study in elementary physics, because many examples of wave motion can be observed in everyday life, and because these examples can be studied using simple experimental equipment.

During the first week the students named the various kinds of waves they had seen or heard about, then examples of these were shown in class and on film, and finally the properties common to all waves were discussed.

During each of the following weeks, specific kinds of waves were studied in more detail. First we discussed simple mechanical waves and standing waves. Then we studied water waves, using a ripple tank, and discussed simple interference between waves coming from two different sources. Following this, we began a discussion of light waves, studying the diffraction of light, and then the other basic wave property of light, its polarization.

The size of the class varied from twelve to twenty students, with about equal numbers of boys and girls.

The course, I believe, succeeded in its main purpose, which was to give a group of older primary school students (grades 3 to 6) the sort of introduction to science which would help develop their interest in the area and encourage them to persevere in their regular primary school science courses. What was most surprising to me was not only the children's interest, but their degree of comprehension of the material presented. Because many come from broken homes and families in which the adults have only a limited formal schooling, I had expected many of the children to have serious difficulty with the course, both in terms of comprehension and expression of ideas. In fact, those participating in this

THE PRIMARY PROGRAM

by Ronda Stilley

Between the Monday movies and the Friday field trips, the primary class consisting of 12 to 20 VERY lively 6 through 8-year-olds, has a program jam-packed with stories, discussions, arts and crafts, recreation, and other activities.

The focus of the classroom time has been on Negro history--the black man, his role in American history, and the realities he faces today. Thus we have seen movies and read books about Africa, acted out the capture, sale, and shipment of slaves, made miniature plantations, play-acted the story of Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad, and put on a paper-sack puppet show about John Brown.

The crafts give the children a creative outlet, while developing skills and pride in their own handiwork. Most projects have been related to the lessons, but we have also made such things as vases for our mothers by gluing colored shell macaroni on tin cans, and are about to launch into a project of sanding and painting wood scraps to make blocks for the preschool class.

The children have gone far in learning to work and play together, following instructions, developing skills, participating in new and different experiences, and in developing a real sense of who they are.

PHYSICS (Continued)

course were generally ready and able to express themselves, and they had a significant amount of background in science both from school and television. They were most responsive to films, and to experiments which they could perform themselves with the lab equipment.

For the future, I would suggest that a course in the biological sciences would be very useful and interesting for these students. Of course, development of mathematical skills is indispensable for further science studies aside from its importance for its own sake.

PRE-SCHOOL DIARY

by Adelaide Benson

On Mondays movies are shown in the basement of a neighboring church. We walk down the street gathering children as we go. Finally we are all seated inside and the movie begins. I think the younger children particularly enjoy the cartoon. However, the movie on fingerpainting must have interested them because afterwards they fingerpainted--all sorts of wonderful creatures. Tuesday: Only six little boys showed up out of our usual group of fifteen children. What a day for roughhousing. They climbed trees, wrestled in cardboard boxes, crawled around under blankets, crept up behind Linda and me to kiss us. All of this in 104-degree weather. On Wednesday the children are still in a roughhouse mood. Even the presence of the little girls doesn't seem to settle them. There is excitement brewing. They make collages (bits of scrap paper and material pasted on cardboard) and dance. Vincent is our best and most enthusiastic dancer. Billy Ray runs a close second. Still there is a little too much roughhouse to really call the dancing successful. Thursday brings peace. The little boys are all playing with blocks (sawed up scrap lumber donated to us) and hammering nails, while the little girls have made a playhouse out of the branches of a tree, blown down in a recent storm. Today we are having fun with books, singing, circle games, and paper bag masks. We are even invited to a puppet show given by the older children. It is the story of John Brown, and at the end we all sing "John Brown's Body." The only tragedy of the day: a white mouse which had been loaned to us somehow mysteriously escaped from his cage. Friday is trip day, and we're going downtown. Six or seven children have piled into Wilbur's little Volkswagen and are sticking their heads up through the convertible roof, waving to passersby and to the rest of us who are following in the bus. We are going to the Life and Casualty tower with its slick marble entrance and breathtaking elevator, which takes us to the top where we can look down on the entire city. Then, down again and a couple of blocks over to the bus depot. Unfortunately, there are no buses loading, but we like their pinball machines and restrooms. Now a long, long walk to a warehouse where exhaustion is forgotten when the children are invited to help themselves to candy. Finally, tired and sticky-fingered children are driven home in the drizzling rain.

"NEW MATH" (Continued)

non-decimal number systems with ease. Mental addition--by breaking numbers into dimes and pennies--is another favorite. The children also seem to like "clock" arithmetic, where 9 and 5 equals 2 and flexes their mental muscles.

Still, we teach mostly the traditional kind of four-operation arithmetic because the kids' overworked public school teachers haven't the time or resources to correct each individual's weakness. Among these students, achievement varies. Many children show real potential under personal tutoring which we carry on in the mornings each weekday.

FRIDAY FIELD TRIPS

Friday means field trips for the children at the North Nashville Project. These field trips are geared to giving children new experiences--new learnings about their city, about animals and the country, about transportation and about the way things are made. Some of the field trips have included all the children; other days we have taken the preschool children one place and the older ones another.

Highlights of these trips have been watching a jet take off in the rain at the airport, the fast,giggly ride to the top of the L & C Tower where you can see your neighborhood by the factory that gives off all the white smoke, the preschool class wading in a creek and discovering insects, shells, and hundreds of chiggers, the gigantic reality of a water buffalo at Rudy's farm, seeing how Coca-Cola is put into bottles, and ending up with a 5¢ ice cream cone on the way home in the rain.

* * * * * *

THIS AND THAT

ONE-TO-ONE TUTORING

When we first moved into the Delk, we began a one-to-one tutorial program, helping children with the basic skills of reading and arithmetic. Beginning with one child, the word quickly spread around the neighborhood, and we were soon tutoring close to twenty children. The tutorial has continued this summer, although somewhat diminished by the fact that many of our tutors are out of town for the summer. We have continued tutoring several of the children in basic reading skills. In addition, we have been tutoring four older elementary children in math. We anticipate expanding the tutorial when school starts again and more students will be back in town and available to tutor, and we can help the children with their class work as well as work on basic skills. Lorrie Killough will be working primarily with the tutorial and will be exploring the possibilities for such programs as a drama group, toddler class, and a continuation of the Negro history class.

"WHEATLY COMMUNITY PARK"

Across the street from the community house is a large vacant lot, the use of which is loaned to us by the Phyliss Wheatley Homes of The Methodist Church. Because there is no city playground near this neighborhood, we have cleared the lot and are using it as a playground. The clearing and equipping of the lot has been a real community enterprise.

One weekend we were offered a large branched log for climbing on by a Fisk professor. Although the announcement of this treasure was greeted by polite puzzlement on the part of one of the men in the community, he rallied about a dozen others for the expedition of loading it onto his boat trailer and hauling it the mile to the playground. Set now against a tall tree, it is used for climbing, sitting, and lots of other games.

About a week later, a high school dropout who lives next door to the play-

LENDING LIBRARY

The North Nashville Project is setting up a lending library so that the children and adults of the area will have a place near their home where they can freely borrow books. Along with the regular children's books we will have simplified versions of the classics plus books on Negro history. For the adults we will have fiction plus such practical books as the latest edition of Consumers Reports and books on child care, sewing, etc.

So far the library has gotten off to a good start with the shipment of almost 300 books from the Southern Regional Council. We expect 200 more from them. We are asking organizations and individuals for books, and are building shelves and setting aside an attractive place for our library. We see this library as an important part of our program because for many this will be their first chance to freely read and borrow books.

"PARK" (Continued)

ground came over, asked its name and said he could make a sign for it. We admitted that we had never thought about a name, but went on to explain that the Phyliss Wheatley Home (named after the first Negro poetess in this country) owned the lot and was letting us use it. Later that evening he showed up with a neatly lettered sign for the community house which proclaimed: WHEATLY COMMUNITY PARK OFFICE BUILDING.

A typical day

In the morning children arrive early for a game of baseball or to swing on the tire. Later on, the small children come around, to swing, play with trucks, build tents and castles, or climb trees. During the afternoon, the playground is the scene of organized play, mud-pie making, badminton, croquet, and baseball. Early evening brings out the teenagers and young adults who center around the ping pong table until darkness empties the playground for the night.

BLESSINGS AND HEADACHES

The generosity of our supporters is immediately evident to anyone who visits the project house, where nearly everything but the four walls has been contributed. Since the rpoject began, some of the things we have been given are:

FURNITURE: tables, chairs, couch, stove, bed, dresser, desk and freezer; UTENSILS: pots, pans, dishes, silver, towels, linen, and the many million items that make a house livable; TOYS AND PLAY EQUIPMENT: swings, basketball goal, baseball bats, Top Value stamps which brought us badminton, croquet, darts, and volleyball; a ping pong table and set, dolls games, books, craft materials, and various and sundry other toys; OTHER: an electric typewriter and the use of a VW bus, as well as a refrigerator.

The Southern Regional Council through the Tennessee Council on Human Relations has granted us a selection of 500 paperback books for both children and adults. These, in addition to other contributions of books, will constitute the core of a neighborhood lending library.

Also, the Southern Regional Council granted us $500, for the summer salaries of two staff members. Other financial contributions have come with varying frequency and in varying amounts, ranging from $1 to $200.

With the generosity of people supplying goods to the project, we are fast reaching the point where the major and overriding need will be financial contributions--also the need which is most difficult to fill. Our most **pressing needs now are for money to pay salaries**, to repair the VW which is all but dead, to pay lights, rent, car expenses, etc. Presently many of those giving the most in time and energy are also reaching deep into their own pockets to fill these needs.

The question which will be facing us, as so many projects before us, is--Shall we turn to the "Big Foundation World of the North"?, or can we be a local project, supported by local people? If the lat-

MEET THE STAFF

The full-time staff for the project has been made up of four persons. RONDA STILLEY is a graduate of Lewis and Clark College and also a staff member of the Southern Student Organizing Committee. She has done much of the ground work for the project and has been working full-time here since March. FRED BROOKS, a student at Tennessee A & I, and a veteran of the civil rights movement both here and in Louisiana, is living at the project house, going to summer school, and working full time for the project. GLEN JOHNSON is also a student at A & I and a veteran of the civil rights movement in his native Louisiana. He too is living and working on the project full-time while going to summer school. LINDA BAUGHN is a former exchange student from California at Fisk University and is working on the project for the summer. This is the staff which has been working since the project began in April.

In addition, we have had several other people devote large portions of their time to the children's program. WILBUR MELLEMA and JACKIE SAINDON are spending several weeks working full-time with the program, Wilbur with the older primary children and Jackie with the younger children. Adelaide Benson, wife of a Fisk professor, has spent much time with the pre-school children.

LORRIE KILLOUGH, recently a student at Scarritt College and a program assistant in the Fisk pre-college program will be working full-time for the project beginning in mid-August. She plans to devote most of her time to working with tutorial programs in the Delk. Ronda Stilley and DON BONER, a Nashvillian, will be expanding into a poor white neighborhood (See article p. 6). Linda will be returning to California. Fred and Glen will be in school, but will contimue working with the project.

BLESSINGS...(Continued)

ter is possible, then we must begin to think in terms of regular pledges from the concerned, so that we can build a firm financial base.

* * * * * *

LOOKING AHEAD—AND BEYOND

THE WHITE COMMUNITY

by Ronda Stilley

One of the most important objectives of the North Nashville Project is to work with college students, providing a channel for their concern and involvement, and hopefully increasing their understanding of the realities facing the poor people of our city. In this respect, the response of students has been good, particularly among white students--in fact such that we are beginning to feel uncomfortable about putting many more white students into this predominantly Negro community.

✓

We have become aware and concerned that many white families in Nashville find themselves caught up in the same cycles of poverty and crippling despair that afflict Negro families, yet remain a silent, unseen, and too frequently uncared about minority.

Thus we are planning to extend our tutorial this fall into a poor white neighborhood, where we hope we can build the same type of foundation that we have here in the Delk. This would allow us, without large financial or other commitments, to explore the possibility of setting up a sister project. This would also give us time and insights into two little-explored questions: what it means to organize poor white people, and what organizing in a southern, urban situation means.

The initiation of a poor white project would be dependent on the answers to these questions, as well as upon staff and financial resources. At present, we have two people, Don Boner and Ronda Stilley, who are in a position to give substantial time to the exploration of these possibilities. Already considerable research on poor white areas in the city has been done, and an area as near the present project as possible will be carefully chosen.

The relative ease of recruiting white students, as well as the recent reappraisal of the white student regarding his role in the southern movement, give us confidence that a good staff can be recruited. Also, we hope that the current excitement within the movement about poor white organizing, coupled with the new and experimental nature of such a project will have great fund-raising strength.

WHITE COMMUNITY (Continued)

We believe that dual projects could be of great mutual benefit. If this materializes, the projects will be mutually funded. Staff members well versed in certain issues or programs, as well as research, can act as a resource for both projects.

Finally and ideally, working similarly in both communities, we may be able to organize both groups together around some of the real, nitty-gritty economic and political issues which affect them as poor people, and not as black or white.

TENTH AND HERMAN

by Fred Brooks

Within the next few months, we are planning on expanding the program into a number of other poverty stricken areas. One of these will be the Tenth and Herman area. Research is being done and contacts being made for that program.

The Tenth and Herman area is probably (or maybe I should say is) the most poverty stricken area in Nashville. It seems almost impossible that in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1966, that an area like Tenth and Herman still exists. What happened to President Johnson's "War on Poverty"? Does it still exist?

The types of programs that are possible in that community cannot be completely determined at this point, but we are almost certain that housing and employment will be part of the program.

The next newsletter will describe more fully the possibilities in that area.

NORTH NASHVILLE PROJECT
1705 26th Avenue North
Nashville, Tennessee
242-5702

August 19, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

Enclosed is a very recent proposal, outlining the present developments in the project and our future projections. Much of what we are able to accomplish will naturally depend upon the resources available.

We are presently seeking to extend the two honorariums which SRC had granted to the summer project. This would allow us to hire two of the three persons who are now applying to be on the North Nashville Project staff (see proposal) who will be instrumental in the successful expansion of the project.

We consider resources to obtain good, full time staff to be our most important expense, and this aid in the past several months has been invaluable. We would appreciate your consideration. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Ronda Stilley

Ronda Stilley

cc: Baxton Bryant

Al,

Since I am custodian of the obvious, I hesitate to ask this question--fearing that the idea has been tried in two trillion cities and found insufficient. Nevertheless (sin embargo)?

What chance is there to place a licensed practical nurse in community centers in neighborhoods such as north Nashville and in "high poverty areas." My experience was that children got almost no medical care because General Hospital was remote. The Methodist community center did have a nurse who was around on certain days to give polio and tetanus shots, but the area she was responsible for was huge. Since the bulk of my kids disorders could have been prevented by dietary changws and cursory medical care (clean bandages, delousing, ointment for impetigo, etc.) and since this community nurse would relieve the tremenduous burden of outpatient clinics it would seem feasible to try it in spite of the shortage of nurses.

Good idea!

Seems SRC might locate a Negro LPN and place her in a transitional neighborhood. Great store is set in nurses' advice and attention, so that such a person might be a valuable liason in stabilizing a community. (Great Scot? what an idealist I have become.)

Re the proposal, which is a swinger, those kids might be able to get some help from a few of the folks I know. Attendance worker Mary Bratton is white, hard-headed, but fair, and knows the area and the people very well. / Villa Lane, who lives on 24th Ave. North might be regarded by the young as an uncle Tom, but he has lived in the community forever and knows a lot of folks. His next-door neighbor is a Muslim, which makes him a tad nervous.

A PROJECT

FOR

VIRGINIA'S

BLACK BELT

This report is being distributed by:
THE VIRGINIA STUDENTS CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

ONE MAN - ONE VOTE

V.S.C.R.C. Publication #1
March, 1965

PREFACE

This paper is a report published by the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee. The report's purpose is fourfold:

1. To familiarize the citizens of Virginia with V. S. C. R. C's history, purposes, philosophy, and plans.
2. To indicate the dire necessity for a Summer Project in Virginia and to help end the myth that Virginia does not have problems.
3. To give V. S. C. R. C's field workers a handy reference source, detailing statistically some of the general facts relating to the status of the Negro in the Fourth.
4. To serve as a guideline for more detailed studies to be made in the near future.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE VIRGINIA STUDENTS CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

The Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee is a relatively new organization, for it was established at the termination of a conference about the Upper South which was held at Hampton Institute on December 3-5, 1964. This conference was sponsored by SNCC in cooperation with Hampton Institute. A Continuations Committee of VSCRC was established with a threefold purpose:

1. To establish and increase communications among college students about the Civil Rights Movement in Virginia by monthly meetings of the elected representatives of the participating colleges and universities.

2. To plan for a Spring Conference.

3. To do research and to plan for a Summer Project in Virginia.

The VSCRC now has representatives from approximately eleven colleges and universities throughout Virginia. In addition, several professors, interested citizens, and representatives of several local and national civil rights organizations have been working with the committee. However, VSCRC is not formally affiliated with any State or national organization. The committee has had three meetings. The January and February meetings were held at Virginia Union College in Richmond, and the March meeting at Hampton Institute. Stanley Wise, a field representative of SNCC, has been present at each of these meetings, helping the committee to understand the involvements of a Summer Project. Ben Montgomery, a student at Hampton Institute, was elected permanent Chairman.

At the January meeting the Continuations Committee decided to contact various organizations, such as NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, AFC, and VCHR, and to determine what their plans were, if any, for Virginia this Summer, and how we might possibly work with them. In February the committee had a long discussion about what the organization wanted to do in the Summer Project, The Philosophy of Social Change - The result of the discussion is the paper in this report, "The Role of the Community Organizer." Also, the committee was able to obtain only limited information from some organizations about their plans for Virginia. The programs of some of the other organizations seemed somewhat indefinite or unacceptable. Therefore, the committee decided to continue to develop its own plans and if programs sponsored by civil rights groups become available later the committee could still work in these projects. Representatives from the colleges and universities were assigned to do research papers on various aspects of the Summer Project, such as Job Opportunities, Freedom Schools, Community Centers, Voter Registration. These research papers were presented at the March meeting. Also, several civil rights leaders from the Fourth Congressional District and state and national organizations discussed the type of projects that could be conducted in the Fourth. At the conclusion of the meeting, the committee voted to begin to make the necessary arrangements and plans to work in one or more counties of the Fourth.

The Spring Conference will be held at the University of Virginia on April 2-3. The reports presented at the March meeting will provide most of the background material for the discussion groups. Since the program which will be discussed is modeled after the Mississippi Project, several people who have had experience in that project have been invited to attend the conference to advise and lead discussions. Also, a number of Virginia's civil rights and political leaders who attended the March meeting have kindly consented to attend the Spring Conference.

If you would like further information about VSCRC please contact one of the following officers:

Chairman: Mr. Ben Montgomery
329 Harkness Hall
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Finance Chairman: Mrs Howard Romaine
Port-A-Ferry Farm
RFD #3
Charlottesville, Virginia

Secretary: Miss Marlette Lewis
213 Ivy Home Road
Hampton, Virginia

Miss Sylvia Pettis
309 Kennedy Hall
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

If you would like additional copies of this report or the research reports and papers listed below, please contact:

Research Staff of V.S.C.R.C.
164 East Avenue
Hampton, Virginia

The following reports are available:

Politics and The Movement in Virginia
Economics and The Movement in Virginia
Job Opportunities and Related Federal Programs
A Study of The Negro Farmer in South Carolina (Reprinted from Southern Regional Council, Inc.)
Freedom Schools
Community Centers (Reprinted from COFO)
What's In the Civil Rights Act? (Reprinted from The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights)

Additional Statistical Reports are being prepared.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZER

The questions, what are we going to do when we get into a community this summer, and why are we in this community, i. e., what is our role here? and how are we going to go about doing whatever we decide to do? were raised at the February meeting of the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee. One answer, which is a partial reply to all of these, was given by Stanley Wise, representative from SNCC. This paper is an attempt to summarize what he said, what others in the meeting added, and what the basic principles are which underlie this answer. Hopefully, this paper will give some idea of what we want to do and why we feel that we ought to do it. It cannot be taken as an adequate representation of Stanley's position since it is largely drawn from memory and, hence, necessarily transposed to some extent by the author's own ideas. Finally, it should not be taken as the final position of the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee since some members may not agree with my interpretation. However, I hope that it can serve as a point of departure for discussion and that it will give some idea of our purpose and ultimate goals. Also, I believe that it can at least get us off to a start in answering the questions outlined above.

Stanley's speech came primarily, I believe, as an objection to our discussion which, at that point, was assuming that we were going into a community to give them something. That is, our attitude resembled what is known historically as the "white man's burden," which has been and still is characteristic of the opinion of the 'western world; especially the white developed nations, toward the non-western world, especially the non-white underdeveloped nations. Only now, this was the attitude of an integrated group of college students toward less educated and poorer people. What we seemed to be discussing was, what programs are we going to choose which will help these people, i. e., what are we going to give them, voter registration, community centers, etc.? In simple language, we were trying to decide for people whom we had never met what was for their good. What we were doing, then, was quite similar to what the southern white planter is doing when he maintains that it is much better for Negroes not to vote because he knows how to take care of them, he knows what they really need, and how to make them happy. It was this assumption on our part of presuming to know what is best for others that Stanley challenged.

Instead, Stanley questioned, is not our role more nearly that of a catalyst and a helper? If a community organizer seeks to address the needs of the people, then he is defeating his own purpose if he decides before he goes into the community what its needs are. Although it might seem that this position removes one necessary part of any political or social movement, namely, some sort of structured program, it has a standardized approach to problems without having a particular program which is to be imposed on the people. This formal approach is not a rigid formula, but an aid to thinking out how one can help the community meet its own needs. For example, assume that the community wants the worker, to aid in setting up a voter registration program; how to go about this can be analyzed in the following manner:

Needs	Offers	Function	Programs
Voter Registration and Education	Find out what you know Find out what they know Classes Information Experience at polls Not able to vote-why What to do	Help them to face problems Demonstrations Help them to deal with problems	Take people to polls Voter registration classes Freedom Democratic Party Mass meetings

One lists the needs which the community presents. Then, one tries to enumerate what can be offered to meet this need. Then one's own function in meeting this need is listed. The final result is a program; hopefully one which places emphasis on the role of the people in helping themselves, and which is designed to build up local leadership and ultimately to eliminate the organizer.

One prime example of this is the development of the Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi. People who were denied access to the normal channels of participation in the Democratic Party, (the sole party of import in Mississippi), set up, with the help of organizers, their own party, parallel to the regular one. They held precinct, county, district and state conventions. They voted, caucused and drew up platforms. For the first time in recent Mississippi history Negroes took an active and forceful part in shaping their political destinies. By coming together they developed the sense of solidarity and purpose so necessary to a political movement. Furthermore, a structure with grass roots support was set up so that the people themselves could establish and perpetuate a claim to a permanent role in Mississippi politics.

Other needs and possible answers are listed below:

Needs	Offers	Function	Program
Food	Welfare Office	Presenting the problem	1. Aid from North a. Communication b. Send representatives to appeal to Northern groups 2. Organization and transportation to Washington to ask for aid.
Community Center	Recreation Dept. 1. Local 2. State 3. National	Assistance 1. Writing letters 2. Organizing people 3. Securing transportation	1. Get them to see representatives 2. Get them transportation

Job Opportunities	See Gov't. Bureaus	Demonstrations	1. Mass meetings 2. Newsletters 3. Send representatives to Elected Officials 4. Provide Information 5. Get transportation

The implication of this analysis is that we, as college students, have in our acquaintance with "democratic institutions" and our grasp of academic skills, the means to aid a community to mobilize itself. If we do not know how to go about filling a need--and we very often have a better knowledge of where to go than we might realize--we have the academic tools or the contacts to find out where to go. Our role is to address the needs of the people, to act as a catalyst, to organize people around the need, and to research and think out methods of meeting this need.

The philosophy of organizing which does not prescribe the needs of the people, but rather tries to discover the needs and adapts to them, does not deny the necessity for forethought about and planning for what the probable needs of the community will be. One can predict, for example, from our statistics on the Fourth Congressional District, that the people there need increased participation in voting, aid to job opportunities, additional legal and medical services, etc. Thus, some things can be done beforehand to prepare and inform the organizer as to how these needs can be met. This we have tried to accomplish by writing research papers which have been duplicated and are available to all organizers. Thus, the idea is to prepare oneself as well as possible to cope with general problems, but to remain prepared to adapt the "answers" to the particular community.

The presuppositions of these principles of social change are that men are capable of governing themselves, that the inherent value and dignity of the individual must be respected, and that democracy and democratic practices can be made to work. The insistence upon no dictating to the community testifies to an awareness of each individual's right to determine his own destiny and of our respect for each person's dreams. The practice of utilizing or attempting to utilize the institutions of government for the betterment of the people reveals an insistence that democratic institutions can and will work.

These principles have very practical applications. For it is simple psychology that human beings will react to any attempt to meet their basic needs of food, shelter, education, etc., with at least as much enthusiasm as abstract appeals to their rights and duties as citizens. Also, by organizing people around basic human needs, one can perform an educational function in demonstrating how the government and other agencies can and to help people to meet their needs. If the agencies are not functioning correctly, or if Negroes are segregated from or ignorant of the programs, the reasons for their separation can be made crystal clear. The relation of the Negro and poor white's political weakness to his economic exploitation and deprivation are points that can constantly be pointed out. A practical appeal can be used to help in creating the understanding of the roots of the economic and social injustice inflicted upon the poor. Such an understanding is necessary in building indigenous leadership with the vision and the will to suffer the hardships necessary for the achievement of equality.

Howard Romaine

VIRGINIA'S BLACK BELT

THE FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT*

The Black Belt extends from Tidewater Virginia along the Atlantic Coastal Plain of the Carolinas, westward across Georgia and Alabama to the Mississippi Delta, and extends up the Mississippi Lowlands into parts of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee. Also, the Black Belt touches parts of Florida and Texas. The Black Belt is a crescent shaped region. The term "Black Belt" refers not only to the rich black soil of the area but to the human resources of this region, the Negro, who comprises a majority or near majority of the population of most of the counties in the Black Belt. For years Negroes have been tied to the agricultural economy of this section of the South. As agribusiness, the mechanized corporate farm, continues to create economic dislocation, the Negros have had to bear, as in the past, the greatest economic hardships whether they remained on the farm or moved to the ghettoes in the industrial urban areas of the North or South. ("Between 1940 and 1959, the drop in the number of American farms was 39 percent, but the number of farms owned or operated by Negroes was cut more than on-half, from over 700,000 to less than 300,000. Only 23 percent of southern Negro farm workers own their own farms as contrasted with 60 percent of white farm workers. On the other hand, almost half of all tenant farmers and over 65 percent of all sharecroppers are Negroes" - The Economies of Equality, Tom Kahn, p. 25). The Black Belt not only continues to fail to provide the Negro, as well as many whites, with economic freedom, but it also is in this region that the Negro suffers the most blatant violations of their legal, political, and social rights.

Of Virginia's Ten Congressional districts, only the Fourth could be classified as a Black Belt district. The Negro population of the Fourth is 47.9 percent of the total population while the corresponding figure for the state is 20.6 percent. Only seven other districts of the nation's 435 congressional districts have a higher percent Negro population. In the Fourth there are eighteen counties and four independent cities, Franklin, Hopewell, Petersburg, and Suffolk. Of the sixteen of Virginia's ninety-nine counties which have 50 percent or more non-white population, ten are in the Fourth, four in the First, and two in the Eighth.

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*Source: Unless otherwise indicated the sources for this report are: Congressional District Data Book (88th Congress); 1961 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Report No. 1-Voting; 1960 Census of Population, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 48, Virginia; County and City Data Book, 1962; SNCC's Outline for Projected Black Belt Project. All statistical data are for 1960, unless otherwise stated. The term non-white and Negro for statistical purposes are the same since Negroes make up all but .1 percent of the non-white population of the Fourth.

District & Representative (89th)	White Population	Negro population	Other Races	Percent Negro
VIRGINIA	3,142,443	816,258	8,248	20.6
1. Downing (D)	299,496	121,557	1,571	28.8
2. Hardy (D)	354,648	137,345	2,298	27.8
3. Satterfield (D)	310,225	107,380	476	25.7
4. Abbitt (D)	183,105	168,754	298	47.9
5. Tuck (D)	250,253	75,550	186	23.2
6. Poff (R)	327,490	51,158	216	13.5
7. Marsh (D)	287,118	25,376	396	8.1
8. Smith (D)	270,287	86,458	716	24.2
9. Jennings (D)	355,105	9,771	97	2.7
10. Broyhill (R)	504,716	32,908	1,994	6.1

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF FOURTH BY RACE, 1960

RACE	POPULATION	PERCENT OF POPULATION
White	183,105	52.0
Negro	168,754	47.9
Other	298	.1
Total	352,157	100.0

A vast majority of the people of the Fourth live in rural areas, 72.6 percent. Only the Eighth and Ninth have a smaller urban population than the Fourth. Urban is defined as incorporated towns, cities, villages with a population of 2,500 or more persons. While the figures have not been compiled for the Fourth, the state figure is 46.9 percent of the non-whites live in rural areas as compared with 44.5 percent of the whites in Virginia. The population of the Fourth increased 4 percent from 1950 to 1960 while the state averaged a 19.5 percent increase.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF FOURTH BY RESIDENCE, 1960

Residence	Total	Percent
Urban (2,500+)	96,417	27.4
Rural, non-farm	171,763	48.5
Rural, farm	83,977	24.1
Total	352,157	100.0

OTHER POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF FOURTH- 1960

Total population, 1960	352,157
Percent of State total	8.9
Total population, 1950	338,514
Percent change, 1950 to 1960	4.0
Population per square mile, 1960	47.8

In the Fourth, Negroes make up 42.8 percent of the voting age population compared with 18.9 percent for the State. Negroes make up 60 percent or more of the voting age population in one county, 50 percent or more in five counties, and 40 percent or more in four counties and the independent City of Petersburg, and 30 percent or more in six counties and the independent City of Suffolk. (See Tables I, II, III). It is understood that Negroes have made dramatic gains in voter registration in the Fourth, particularly for federal elections, in the 1964 election it was estimated by the Associated Press that the white registered voters still have a 4-to-1 edge over Negroes.

While the Negro voter has great potential political power which is already being developed at the local, district, and state levels, in the Fourth one should consider certain factors in order to obtain a realistic picture. The poll tax which is still required for state and local elections will continue to be an economic barrier to the large numbers of Negroes living in poverty. The educational level of many of the Negroes will be another barrier due to the present registration requirements which still require a degree of literacy. Also, on the state level Negroes, while slightly increasing in total population, are declining on a percent basis relative to the total population. This results from an outmigration of Negroes. (See Table I).

Distribution of Population of Fourth and Virginia by Percent of Voting Age Population, Percent of Voting Age Population Registered, By Color, 1960

Region	Percent of Voting Age Population		Percent of Voting Age Population Registered	
	White	Non-white	White	Non-white
Fourth	57.2	42.8	54.8	18.6
Virginia	81.1	18.9	46.2	23.0

Watkins M. Abbitt of Appomatox was reelected to Congress in 1964. He has served this district since 1948 and appears to have had little or no opposition until 1964. In the 1964 elections, Abbitt's opponent was S. W. Tucker of Emporia who has represented the NAACP in many desegregation suits. Goldwater carried the Fourth by a slight margin while Johnson carried the State. In the previous three Presidential elections, the Fourth was carried by the Democrats while the State went Republican. (See Table IV). In the 88th Congress, Abbitt ranked 6th on the Agricultural Committee, chairing the sub-committee on tobacco and ranked high on several other agricultural sub-committees. He was also 6th on the committee on House Administration, and ranked first on the sub-committee on Elections. This last appointment is strategic to any challenge of Congressional seats - The Mississippi Challenge by M.F.D.P.

VOTE CAST BY MAJOR PARTY OF FOURTH
FOR PRESIDENT

Total vote cast, 1960	60,265
Democratic	34,820
Republican	24,684
Percent vote for majority party	57.8
Total vote cast, 1956	56,913
Democratic	23,522
Republican	23,039
Total vote cast, 1952	51,296
Democratic	27,302
Republican	23,692

FOR REPRESENTATIVE

Total vote cast, 1962	30,642
Democratic	30,642
Republican	
Total vote cast, 1960	39,593
Democratic	39,408
Republican	
Total vote cast, 1958	43,241
Democratic	37,679
Republican	
Total vote cast, 1956	51,512
Democratic	51,434
Republican	

(Representatives, continued)

Total vote cast, 1954	14,744
Democratic	14,728
Republican	
Total vote cast, 1952	23,849
Democratic	23,806
Republican	

In the Fourth there are diversified manufacturing interests, including textiles, garments, wood products, tobacco and peanut processing, chemicals, and optical equipment. The main agricultural crops include peanuts, tobacco, poultry, dairy, and livestock.

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCES BY INDUSTRY OF THE FOURTH, 1960

Agriculture		21,434
Full owners	8,690	
Part owners	4,520	
Tenants	5,091	
Laborers	3,133	
Mining		404
Construction		6,864
Manufacturing		30,361
Durable goods	10,984	
Non-durable goods	14,377	
Transportation		3,449
Wholesale and Retail Trade		17,795
Educational Services		5,061
Public Administration		5,210
Armed Forces		6,638

Economic conditions vary among the counties and cities of the Fourth. Dinwiddie, Isle of Wight, Nansemond and Southampton counties all significantly increased their population from 1950-60, and median income is also higher in these counties than in the rest of the Black Belt counties of the Fourth.

*For the district as a whole, the median income came to $3,532 per year. This ranks 405th lowest among the 435 congressional districts. The Ninth is the only Virginia district with a lower median income, $3,370, ranking 411th lowest among the congressional districts. The median income for the State is $4,964. However, in this district Negroes followed state and national economic characteristics. Some of these characteristics are:

a. Far lower incomes than whites.

b. Widening of dollar gap between whites and non-whites.

c. Concentration in low paying and/or declining job categories.

d. Unemployment rate for Negroes twice as high as rates for whites.

In most of these counties, from one-fourth to one-third of all Negro families earned less than $1,000 per year. For example, 25.8 percent of the Negro families in Amelia earned less than $1,000; 31.1 percent for Brunswick, 39.4 percent for Cumberland; 21.4 percent for Dinwiddie; Isle of Wight 19.5 percent; 33.0 percent for Greenville; 39.9 percent for Meckenburg; 20.5 percent for Nansemond; 29.0 percent for Southampton; 33.7 percent for Sussex, and 18.6 percent for Petersburg. For the entire district, 48.1 percent of the Negro families earned less than $2,000 per year and 80.3 percent less than $4,000 per year. The median income for Negro families of the Fourth was $2,095 per year compared with a similar State figure of $2,780. Only the small number of Negro families in the Ninth district had a lower family median income of $1,895. The income figures between whites and non-whites is even more revealing when consideration is given to the fact that Negro families are larger than white. (See Table V).

The dollar difference between whites and non-whites is increasing in Virginia as well as the United States, in spite of all the talk about progress. While the dollar difference figures for the Fourth have not as yet been tabulated there appears to be no basis for believing that the Fourth is not following State and national trends. The dollar difference between the median family income of whites and non-whites in Virginia increased from $1,286 in 1950 to $2,442 in 1960. (See Table VI and VII)

The Fourth follows State and national patterns of Negroes being concentrated in low paying and/or declining job classifications due to discrimination and the destruction of unskilled jobs on and off the farms by technology and cybernation. In the Fourth, 37 percent of the employed Negro females work as private household workers, maids, and

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*All income figures are for 1959.

38 percent of the employed Negro males work as unskilled laborers, and 21.9 percent as semi-skilled blue-collar workers. Blue-collar and unskilled jobs are declining, for they are being eliminated by cybernation while white-collar and service jobs are increasing. (See Table VIII).

Distribution of Employed and Unemployed Persons of the of the Fourth By Color, Sex, and Major Job Classification - By Percent, 1960

	White		Non-White	
Occupational Group	Male	Female	Male	Female
White collar	31.6	58.4	5.4	13.4
Blue Collar	36.1	23.1	29.8	19.3
Unskilled Labor, including farm laborers and foremen	7.4	-	38.0	-
Service workers, including private household	2.9	10.1	7.2	55.1
Farmers and Farm Managers	16.5	-	15.7	-
Not classified	5.5	8.4	3.9	14.2
Unemployed	2.4	3.4	6.4	7.9

The trend towards fewer farms, particularly smaller farms, persists in Fourth. From 1954 to 1959 the number of farms decreased by 6,579 in the Fourth of which 1,113 were farms under 10 acres. During this same period, the size of the farms increased from 118 to 139 acres. This economic dislocation will create extreme hardships for those families who will find it difficult to obtain employment in industrial-urban areas because of their low educational level and the scarcity of jobs for which they have the skills.

Distribution of Number of Farms and Amount of Farm land of Fourth, 1954-59

All Farms, 1959	18,342
All Farms, 1954	24,921
Land in farms, 1959, 1000 acres	2,550
Land in farms, 1954, 1000 acres	2,949

Distribution of Farms by Size of Fourth - 1954-59

Average size, 1959 - acres	139
Average size, 1954 - acres	118
Farms under 10 acres, 1959	1,534
Farms under 10 acres, 1954	2,647
Farms of 1,000 acres and over, 1959	184
Farms of 1,000 acres and over, 1954	194

In education this district has received national publicity resulting from the fact that Prince Edward is located in the Fourth. Other segregated private schools which receive their major financial support from tuition grants in this district are in Powhatan, Amelia and Surry. All these schools will be affected by the recent federal court decision about the tuition grant system. The usual pattern of southern Negro public education persists: A growing disparity between whites and Negroes as the educational scale of achievement is ascended. In the Fourth, the median school years completed for all persons 25 years or older is 8.0. The Fifth and Ninth districts have a lower median figure, 7.5 for each. In fact, the Fifth and Ninth rank third and fourth as the least educational districts in the nation. However, the median school years completed for Negroes 25 years or older in the Fourth is 6.0, which is the lowest figure for all of Virginia's ten districts. The corresponding figure for Negroes in Virginia is 7.2 years. For the entire district, 39.3 percent of the Negroes 25 years or over have completed less than 5 years of school. This figure includes a large percent who have completed no years of school such as Amelia-8.2 percent, Brunswick-7.9 percent, Cumberland-11.5, Dinwiddie-19.7-Greenville-9.2 percent, Isle of Wight-10.9 percent, Nansemond-7 percent, Petersburg-6 percent. Also for the Negro population 25 years or over, 86.4 percent have less than a high school education. The corresponding total figure for all persons in Virginia is 62.4 percent. As a result of inferior education, the Negroes have not been given the necessary skills that would equip them to escape the low paying and/or declining job categories, even if there were enough jobs and disscrimination was eliminated. Desegregation of public schools is moving very slowly in Virginia and probably even slower in the Fourth. (See Tables IX and X).

Inferior housing conditions for Negroes are found in the Fourth. A much smaller percent of Negroes own their own homes than whites and the condition of all homes occupied by Negroes is worse. The percent of deteriorating units occupied by whites is 16.1 percent and 33.1 percent for Negroes. For delapidated units the figure for whites is 7.4 percent and 25.4 percent for Negroes. (See Table XI).

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING
OF FOURTH BY TENURE AND COLOR, 1960

Tenure	Total Number	Percent	White Number	Percent	Non-White Number	Percent
Owner Occupied	50,495	56.9	34,185	67.7	16,310	32.3
Renter Occupied	38,202	43.1	18,836	49.3	19,366	50.7

4th Congressional District
of Virginia

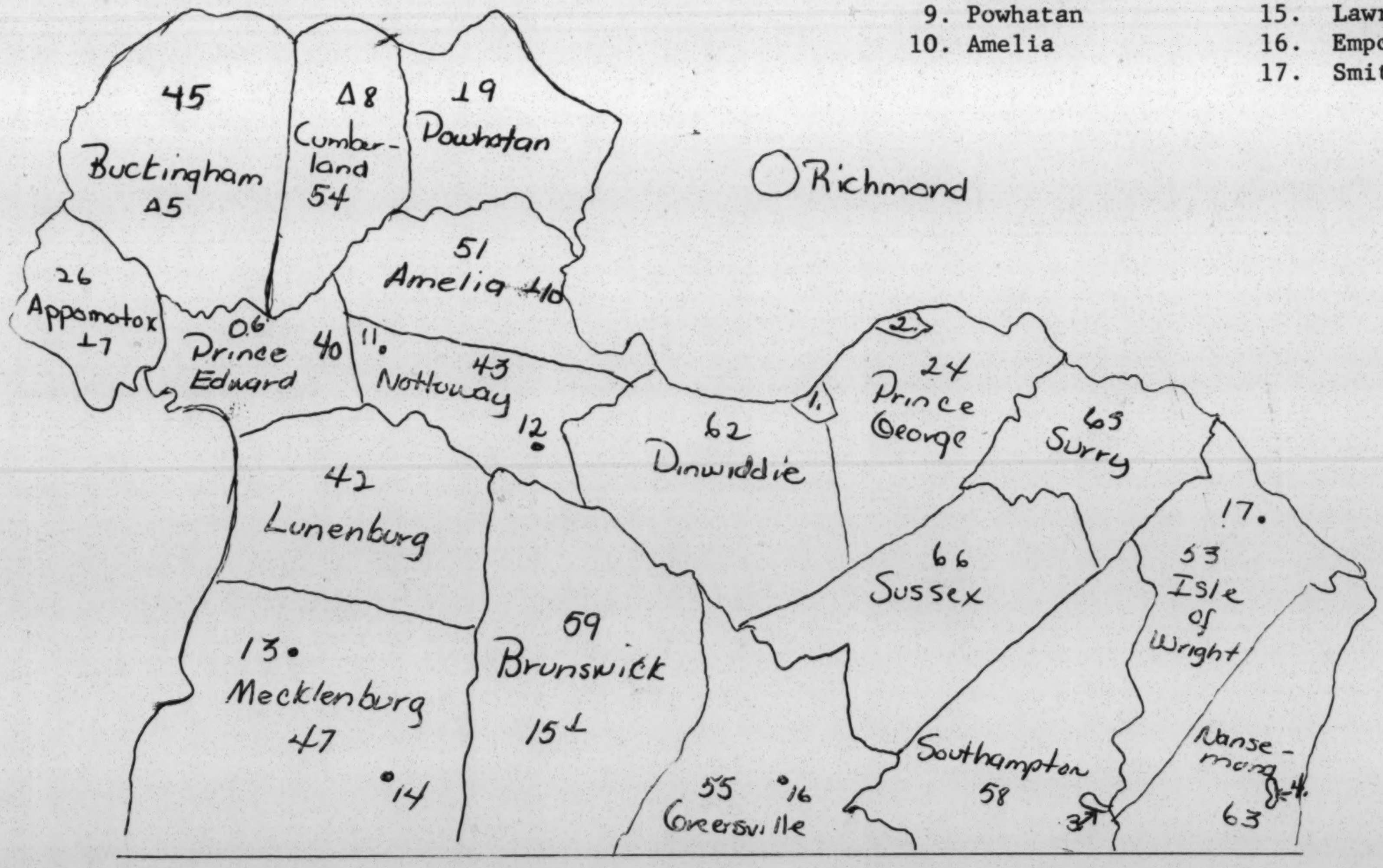
Independent Cities

1.	Petersburg	47
2.	Hopewell	17
3.	Franklin	Included in Southampton County
4.	Suffolk	37

Numbers- Distribution by % of Nonwhite Population in 1960

OTHER CITIES

5. Buckingham
6. Farmville
7. Appomatox
8. Cumberland
9. Powhatan
10. Amelia
11. Crewe
12. Blackstone
13.. Chase City
14. South Hill
15. Lawrenceville
16. Emporia
17. Smithfield


45
Buckingham
Δ5
Δ8
Cumberland
54
⊥9
Powhatan
Richmond
26
Appomatox
⊥7
51
Amelia ⊥10
0.6
Prince Edward
40
11•
43
Nottoway
12•
2.
24
Prince George
1.
62
Dinwiddie
65
Surry
42
Lunenburg
17•
53
Isle of Wright
66
Sussex
13•
Mecklenburg
47
•14
59
Brunswick
15⊥
Southampton
58
3
Nansemond
4
63
55
•16
Greensville

CORRECTION

A PROJECT FOR VIRGINIA'S BLACK BELT, MARCH, 1965

TABLE I - Add:

White Voting Age Population			Non-White Voting Age Population			
White Total	No. Reg.	%Reg.	Total Non-White	No. Reg.	%Reg.	%of Reg.

TABLE IV - Change: Fourth District

	County or City	Pcts.	Reported	Abbitt
From:	Powhatan	6	6	61,256
To:	Powhatan	6	6	1,256

TABLE VII - Add: 1960 above first four columns - 1950 above second four columns.

TABLE VIII - Add: (under first columns, male and female) White - and under second columns - Non-White.

Change: Column #1, sub-heading "Unskilled Labor and Service Occupations" (line #3) from 1,376 to: ^{1}376

TABLE IX - Change: Median years of school completed - 9.9% (total) to: 8.0 (total)

Table I

Population and Registration Figures for Virginia

Year	Total	White Population	White Total	No.Reg.	%Reg.	Total of Nonwhite	%Tot.	Total Nonwhite	No.Reg.	%Reg.	%of Reg.	Potential Percent of Reg.
[1]1958	3,799,174	2,981,893	1,799,399	852,483	47.9	817,281	21.5	422,889	92,172	21.8	10.8	19.2
[2]1960	3,966,949	3,142,443	1,876,167	866,774	46.2	824,506	20.8	436,720	100,499	23	10.4	218.9
[3]1964	4,447,937	3,595,037	2,121,000	-	-	852,900	19.4	452,037	125,214	27.7	-	-
[4]1965	4,568,887	3,698,508	2,182,120	-	-	870,371	19,05	461.296	212,196	46	-	-

(1) Sources: Southern Regional Council, Inc., The Negro and The Ballot

(2) Source: Voting 1961 Commission an Civil Rights Report I

(3) Sources: Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1964 and Southern Regional Council.

(4) Sources: Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1964, Civil Liberties a publication of A.C.L.U.
These figures includes many who are registered for federal elections only.

Table II

Major Counties and City of Potential Political Strength for Negroes of the Fourth, 1960

	White Voting Age Population		Nonwhite Voting Age Population			
Counties	White Total	Percent Registered	Nonwhite Total	Percent Registered	Percent of County Reg.	Potential percent of County Reg.
Dinwiddie	5,212	69.4	8,587	10.2	19.5	62.2
Nansemond	6,965	47.5	9,806	17.7	34.4	58.5
Sussex	2,662	85.5	3,706	18.6	23.3	58.2
Surry	1,479	62.5	1,842	24.4	32.7	55.5
Southampton	7,239	64.2	7,435	11.8	15.9	50.7
Brunswick	4,637	81.2	4,734	16.2	16.9	50.5
Cumberland	1,819	71.5	1,647	21.9	21.7	47.5
Isle of Wright	4,991	71.2	4,317	24.6	23.0	46.4
Greenville	4,499	77.0	3,885	24.4	21.5	46.3
Amelia	2,261	87.7	1,924	33.2	24.3	46.0
Petersburg	12,528	48.0	9,821	23.6	27.8	43.9

Source: 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Report 1: Voting

Table III

4th Congressional District of Virginia

	Voting Age Population					Nonwhite Population		Voting Age Population				
Counties	Total Pop.	White Pop.	White Total	No Reg.	Percent Reg.	Nonwhite Total	Percent County Total	Nonwhite Total	No. Reg.	Percent Reg.	Percent County Reg.	Potential Percent
Amelia	7,815	3,806	2,261	1,983	87.7	4,009	51.3	1,924	638	33.3	24.3	46.0
Appomattox	9,148	6,818	4,245	2,395	56.4	2,330	25.5	1,142	165	14.4	6.4	21.2
Brunswick	17,779	7,348	4,637	3,764	81.2	10,431	58.7	4,734	765	16.2	16.9	60.5
Buckingham	10,877	6,015	3,776	1,275	33.8	4,862	44.7	2,208	465	21.1	26.7	36.9
Cumberland	6,360	2,910	1,819	1,300	71.5	3,450	54.2	1,647	360	21.9	21.7	47.5
Dinwiddie	22,183	8,499	5,212	3,618	69.4	13,684	61.7	8,587	879	10.2	19.5	62.2
Greensville	16,155	7,281	4,499	3,464	77.0	8,874	54.9	4,317	1,063	24.6	23.0	46.4
Isle of W.	17,164	8,133	4,991	3,556	71.2	9,031	52.6	4,317	949	24.6	23.0	46.4
Lunenburg	12,522	7,233	4,611	2,495	54.1	5,290	42.2	2,534	460	18.2	15.6	35.5
Nansemond	31,366	11,584	6,965	3,311	47.5	19,782	63.1	9,806	1,737	17.7	34.4	58.5
Nottoway	31,366	11,584	5,564	3,310	59.5	6,477	42.8	3,458	515	14.9	13.5	38.3
Powhatan	6,747	4,071	2,376	1,470	61.9	2,767	39.7	1,463	505	32.3	25.6	39.7
Pr. Edward	14,121	8,488	5,125	2,775	54.1	5,633	39.9	2,986	1,100	38.0	284	36.1
Pr. George	20,270	15,444	8,860	1,978	22.3	4,826	23.8	2,420	478	19.8	19.5	21.5
Southampton	27,195	11,536	7,239	5,645	64.2	15,659	57.6	7,435	875	11.8	15.9	50.7
Surry	6,220	2,196	1,497	925	62.5	4,024	64.7	1,842	450	24.4	32.7	55.5
Sussex	12,411	4,186	2,662	2,275	85.5	8,225	66.3	3,706	690	18.6	23.3	58.2
Mecklenburg	31,428	16,717	10,474	5,492	52.4	14,711	46.8	6,624	529	8.0	8.9	38.7
Hopewell	17,895	14,905	8,854	3,400	38.4	2,990	16.7	1,549	210	13.6	5.8	14.9
Franklin (Included in Southampton County)												
Petersburg	36,750	19,372	12,528	6,017	48.0	17,378	47.3	9,821	2,316	23.6	27.8	43.9
Suffolk	12,609	7,899	5,272	2,696	51.1	4,710	37.4	2,769	600	21.7	18.2	34.4
Total	352,157	183,105	113,467	62144	54.8	169,052	47.9	84,867	15,749	18.6	20.2	42.8

Source: 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Report 1: Voting Figures are based on 1960 Cenus

Table IV

County or City	Fourth District Pcts.	Reported	Abbitt	Tucker	County or City	Fourth District Pcts.	Reported	Johnson	Goldwater
Amelia	9	8	1,331	525	Amelia	9	8	815	1,260
Appomattox	10	8	1,597	327	Appomattox	10	9	684	1,480
Brunswick	12	12	2,705	1,362	Brunswick	12	12	1,883	2,560
Buckingham	10	10	1,930	526	Buckingham	10	10	1,182	1,547
Cumberland	4	4	1,166	614	Cumberland	4	4	871	1,099
Dinwiddie	10	10	2,593	1,128	Dinwiddie	10	10	2,182	2,096
Franklin City	2	2	1,079	664	Franklin City	2	2	1,257	783
Greensville	7	7	2,486	1,557	Greensville	7	7	2,262	2,245
Hopewell	5	5	3,922	923	Hopewell	5	5	2,499	3,284
Isle of Wright	14	14	2,188	1,347	Isle of Wright	14	14	2,656	1,737
Lunenburg	12	12	2,158	509	Lunenburg	12	12	1,128	1,846
Mecklenburg	18	18	5,277	1,635	Mecklenburg	18	18	3,328	4,976
Nansemond	18	18	2,369	2,047	Nansemond	18	18	3,614	1,791
Nottoway	6	6	2,970	995	Nottoway	6	6	2,138	2,353
Petersburg	11	11	3,928	2,803	Petersburg	11	11	4,519	3,250
Powhatan	6	6	61,256	696	Powhatan	6	6	986	1,196
Prince Edward	7	7	2,755	1,065	Prince Edward	7	7	1,512	2,545
Prince George	5	5	2,204	771	Prince George	5	5	1,502	1,790
Southampton	14	14	2,267	1,188	Southampton	14	14	2,566	1,520
Suffolk	4	4	1,856	637	Suffolk	4	4	1,625	1,462
Surry	7	7	1,076	779	Surry	7	7	1,131	1,004
Sussex	9	6	893	479	Sussex	9	9	1,234	1,538
Total	200	197	50,657	22,894	Total	200	197	41,466	43,288

Fourth District

Watkins M. Abbitt, the Democratic incumbert, built up a large early lead and coasted to victory in Virginia's Fourth District over S.W. Tucker, a Negro who was running as an independent. Abbitt had a lead of 37,953 to 16,584, with returns from 162 of 200 precincts. A late afternoon survey indicated that the largest vote ever polled in the history of Nottoway, Lunenburg and Amelia counties was recorded Tuesday. Voters formed long lines all day at the various polling places while they waited to cast their ballets. It was necessary to construct two new booths, at the Blackstone town hall, to supplement the two regular units. At Victoria they had to build three new ones to accommodate the voters. An extra one also was erected in Kenbridge.

Source: Associated Press

Article cont'd.

Fourth District

Abbitt, who was counted as a safe bet for re-election, first went to Congress in 1948 to complete the unexpired term of the late Rep. Patrick H. Drewry.

He waged what has been described as a quiet campaign, making few public statements to his Southside Virginia constituents and carefully avoiding mention of the Johnson-Humphrey presidential ticket.

Tucker, who has represented Negro plaintiffs and the Virginia NAACP in many desegregation lawsuits, is a native of Alexandria and now lives in Emporia. He rose to the rank of major during World War II.

Tucker entered the race as an independent candidate because he said he believed the distict's voters should have a chance to show at the polls their true convictions regarding changing social concepts.

Abbitt, who is also chairman of the state Democratic committee, fought against the 1964 civil rights bill. He has not faced any serious opposition in several years and took no chances this time in associating himself with the party's national ticket and the possibility of a white "backlash" against President Johnson.

The Fourth district has had a substantial increase in the number of registered Negro voters in recent months, but the number of white voters is estimated larger by a 4 - to 1 edge.

Table V

Distribution of Income of Families of 4th Congressional District of Virginia

By Color - 1959

Family Income level	Total	White Families	Percent	Nonwhite Families	Percent
All Families	79,569	47,770	59.9	31,798	40.1
Under $2000	22,890	7,601	15.9	15,289	48.1
$2000 to $3999	21,525	11,283	23.6	10,242	32.2
$4000 to $5999	16,228	12,167	25.5	4,061	12.8
$6000 to $7999	9,589	8,173	17.1	1,416	4.5
$8000 to $9999	4,621	4,101	8.6	520	1.6
$10000 to $14999	3,433	3,163	6.6	270	.8
$15000 to over	1,282	1,282	2.7	[1] -	[1] -
Median income	$3,552			$2,095	

Source: Congressional District Data Book (Districts of 88th Congress)

[1] For nonwhites not shown only for $10,000+

Table VI

Medium Income of Whites and NonWhite Families for Virginia, South and the U.S.

	1960				1950			
	White	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	Dollar Difference Between White & Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	Precent Nonwhite of White	Dollar Difference
Virginia	5,522	2,750	50.3	-$2,442	$2,519	1,233	48.9	-$1,286
South #1	5,424	3,058	56.3	- 2,366	3,445	1,869	54.3	- 1,576
U.S.	5,009	2,332	46.4	- 2,677				

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce (The Economic Status of the Negro - Southern Regional Council, Inc.)

#1 South includes: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisianna, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, West Virginia.

TABLE VII

Median Income of White and Non-White Persons Fourteen Years and Over For Virginia, South and U. S.

	White	Non-White	Percent Non-White of White	Dollar Difference Between Whites & Non-white	White	Non-White	Percent Nonwhite of white	Dollar difference Between White & Non-White
Virginia	$2,765	1,247	45.1	-$1,518	$1,880	$919	48.9	-$961
South*	2,473	995	40.2	- 1,478	1,647	739	44.9	910
U. S.	3,024	1,502	49.7	1,522	2,053	973	47.4	1080

Soutce: U. S. Department of Commerce:

*South includes Delaware, D. C., Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia

Distribution of Income of Families, U. S. and Virginia - By Color - 1960

		U. S.	Virginia
Under 2,000	Non-White	32.4	35.5
	White	11.0	7.8
$2,000-2,999	Non-White	15.5	18.6
	White	7.6	5.9
$3,000-3,999	Non-White	13.5	15.6
	White	9.1	8.1
$4,000-4,999	Non-White	11.4	11.5
	White	10.9	10.2
$5,000-over	Non-White	27.2	18.3
	White	61.4	68.0

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce

Table VIII
Distribution of Employed Persons In the Fourth Congressional District of Virginia
By Color, Sex, and Major Occupation Groups, 1960

Occupational Group	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
Total Employed	47,490	100	19,587	100	32,271	100	15,675	100
White Collar Occupations	15,001	31.6	11,441	58.0	1,759	5.4	2,088	13.4
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	3,347	7.0	2,857	14.6	616	1.9	1,334	8.5
Managers, Proprietors, Officials, Nonform	5,538	11.7	867	4.4	366	1.1	148	1.0
Clerical and Related workers	2,318	4.90	5,480	28.0	473	1.5	334	2.1
Sales Workers	3,798	8.00	2,237	11.4	304	.9	272	1.8
Blue Collar Occupations	17,136	36.10	4,519	23.1	9,627	29.8	2,701	17.3
Craftsmen (Skilled)	9,192	19.4			2,560	7.9		
Operatives (Semi-skilled)	7,944	16.7	4,519	23.1	7,069	21.9	2,701	17.3
Unskilled Labor and Services Occupations	4,910	10.3	1,990	10.1	14,613	45.2	8,635	55.1
Laborers (unskilled)	[2]3,534	7.4			[2]12,282	38.0		
Service workers (except house-			1,578	8.0	[1] 2,331	7.2	2,787	17.8
hold)	1,376	2.9					5,848	37.3
Private Household Workers			412	2.1				
Farm Occupations	7,846	16.5			5,054	15.7		
Farmers and Farm Managers	7,846	16.5=			5,504	15.7		
Not Classified	2,597	5.5	1,637	8.4	1,216	3.9	2,251	14.2
Unemployed	1,124	2.4	666	3.4	2,076	6.4	1,241	7.9

Source: Congressional District Data Book (District of 88th Congress)

1. Includes Household
2. Includes farm laborers and foremen.

Table IX

Education Level of Persons 25 and Over of Fourth Congressional District of Virginia Color, 1960

Educational Level	Total	White	Percent	Nonwhite	Percent
Persons 25 years old and over	179,757	102,835	57.3	76,922	42.7
Completed less than 5 years of school	22.9%	10,835	10.5	30,380	39.3
Completed more than 5 years but less than 4 years of high school	45.1%	44,840	43.6	36,230	47.1
Completed 4 years of high school or more	27.1%	40,275	39.2	8,439	11.1
Completed 4 years of college or more	4.9%	6,885	6.7	1,923	2.5
Median years of school completed	9.9%			6.0	

Source: Congressional District Data Book (Districts of 88th Congress.)

Table X

Public Elementary and Secondary Schools-Segregation-Desegregation Status for Virginia: 1963

	School Districts			Enrollment*				Negro Students In Schools with White Students	
State	Total	With both White and Negro Students	Desegregated	Total		In desegregated districts			
				White	Negro	White	Negro	Number	Percent of Negro enrollment
Virginia	130	128	55	728,259	236,386	486,231	145,658	3,721	1.6

Source: Statistical abstract of the U.S., 1964 which used as source Southern Education Reporting Service

*Largely estimated.

Note: In 1961, in Virginia, 11 schools districts were desegregated, 208 Negroes were enrolled in desegregated schools and Negro percent of enrollment was .09. Source: 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report 2 Education.

Table XI

Condition and Plumbing of Housing and Year Structure Built of Fourth Congressional District of Virginia By Color of Head of Household, 1960

Condition and Plumbing	White Units	Percent	Nonwhite Units	Percent
Total Units	63,029		35,676	
Sound Units	48,232	76.5	14,818	41.5
with all plumbing facilities	40,027	63.5	8,536	15.5
lacking some or all facilities	8,205	13.0	9,282	26.0
Deteriorating Units	10,162	16.1	11,809	33.1
with all plumbing facilities	3,835	6.1	1,119	3.1
lacking some or all facilities	6,327	10.0	10,690	30.0
Delepidated	[1]4,635	7.4	9,049	25.4
1950 to March 1960	14,996	23.8	8,718	24.4
1940 to 1949	7,144	11.4	7,857	22.0
1939 or earlier	40,800	64.8	19,100	53.6

Source: Congressional District Data Book (Districts of 88th Congress)

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[1] Figures includes vacant units while nonwhite figure includes only occupied units.

APPLICATION TO WORK IN VIRGINIA'S
BLACK BELT PROJECT

NAME____________________________________AGE________ SEX________

SCHOOL ADDRESS____________________________Telephone__________

HOME ADDRESS ____________________________Telephone__________

I am interested in or committed to working in Virginia's Black Belt Project_______interested__________committed.

If you are interested can you pay (approximately $200.00 for Summer) your own way?________

Or do you have a group, church, or contact who will pay your way?________

If you were paid subsistence wages could you work?________

Would you consider working a year with V.S.C.R. if you were given a scholarship to return to school the following year?_________

Have you ever worked in a Civil Rights Project before?________If so, briefly describe the work you did.

Send application to:

Mr. Howard Romaine
Port-A-Ferry Farm
RFD #3
Charlottesville, Virginia

DONATION

I am enclosing a contribution of $__________to support and expand your work to bring social justice to the people living in Virginia's Black Belt.

Name____________________________________

Address__________________________________

Send to: Mrs. Howard Romaine, Port-A-Ferry Farm, RFD #3, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Jesuits' Program Brings Revolution in Low-Cost Housing in Chile

By **JUAN de ONIS**

Special to The New York Times

SANTIAGO, Chile, May 28 — A spray Belgian Jesuit priest made himself heard over the snarl of wood-cutting machines at a prefabricated housing factory that turned out 25,000 units last year.

"Our favorite clients are the ones who can't pay; they are king here," said the Rev. van der Rest, whose building operation has caused a minor revolu-Chile.

This policy toward the pauper isn't as financially ruinous as it might appear. Only 10 per cent of the houses sold go to needy cases. The rest are financed by small savings, and the most expensive units, which include a finished wooden house for $1,000, have a slight charge to cover "subsidies."

"We don't turn anayone away. We offer a quick, cheap solution to someone who needs a house," said Father van der Rest." If they can pay for it, we require a great sacrifice. If they simply can't, we give them a house."

Homes for 100,000 People

Under this program, the House of Christ emergency housing program has provided shelter for more than 100,000 people in nearly 40,000 houses, many of them just one-room shacks, in five years. The factory's machinery and capital came from West German and Belgian bishops.

In this city of two million people, studded with mushroom towns of shanty slums, the House of Christ method offers the only practical home-improvement plan within reach of thousands of subsistence-income families.

The problem of the economically marginal family, which can't obtain home financing through established state or private building institutions, vexes every large urban center in Latin America.

The experiment involved in the House of Christ program is just one of a number of pathfinding projects that an unusual group of dynamic Jesuits are carrying forward in Chile. It is having a remarkable impact on public policy-makers.

Four years ago, Raul Cardinal Silva Henriquez, Archbishop of Santiago, and Msgr. Manuel Larrain Errázuria, Bishop of Talca, provided five church-owned rural estates to begin the first major agrarian reform experiment in Chile.

This was the first major venture into "pathfinding changes in social structure," which had been a principal concern of about 25 Chilean and European Jesuits who formed the Centro Bellarmino, a sort of modernized Roman Catholic workshop.

The major thesis of this group is that a revolution has been under way in Latin America and it is necessary that "the revolution be Christianized."

The present Christian Democratic Government of President Eduardo Frei Motalba is intellectually influenced by the teachings of this group and many of the Government's key members have participated actively in its social-reform projects.

The leaders of the Government's agrarian reform program, including Rafael Moreno, executive vice president of the Agrarian Reform Corporation, and Jacques Chonchol, executive vice president of the Institute for Agrarian Development, have worked in the church-sponsored agrarian reform projects.

The experience gained in six divisions of estates in favor of small tenant farmers under the church's Institute of Agrarian Promotion have inspired the administration's agrarian reform bill now before Congress. The bill aims to provide homes for 100,000 people. The institute has proved that the farmers can treble their individual income and pay for the land.

JUN 1 0 1965

DIRECTORY OF
LOUISIANA FARMER CO-OPS
PART I

PURCHASING, MARKETING AND CREDIT-TYPE COOPERATIVES

Prepared by:
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Department of Agricultural Economics and Agribusiness
Louisiana State University
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INDEX

(Louisiana farmer cooperatives are indexed by primary type of business conducted. The number listed after each parish or county corresponds to the number listing under each parish or county in the body of the directory itself. In many cases, cooperatives conduct several lines of business in addition to their primary function. The grand total of 166 co-op establishments exceeds slightly the number of co-op firms since some co-ops operate branch stores or establishments).

Farm Supplies and Purchasing - 36

Ascension (2)
Avoyelles (1)
Bossier (2)
Calcasieu (4)
Catahoula (1)
Claiborne (2)
Concordia (2)
DeSoto (1)
East Baton Rouge (1)
East Feliciana (1)(2)
Evangeline (3)
Grant (1)
Iberville (1)
Jefferson Davis (9)
Lafayette (3)(4)(5)
LaSalle (3)
Natchitoches (3)(4)
Pointe Coupee (2)
Rapides (2)(3)(9)(10)
Richland (1)
Red River (1)
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St. Landry (4)
Tangipahoa (11)(13)
Terrebonne (2)
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Bienville (1)(3)
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East Baton Rouge (3)(4)
East Carroll (2)
Iberia (3)
Jefferson Davis (1)(6)
Lafayette (7)
Lafourche (2)
Madison (1)
Natchitoches (2)
Orleans (1)(2)(3)
Ouachita (1)
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Richland (4)
St. Landry (1)(2)
Tangipahoa (6)(7)(8)(9)

Rice,Drying, Storage and Marketing - 18

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Calcasieu (1)(2)(3)(5)
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Cotton Ginning and Marketing - 16

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Rural Electric and Telephone - 15

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Bosser (1)
Claiborne (1)
Concordia (1)
East Baton Rouge (2)
Franklin (1)
Iberia (2)
Jefferson Davis (4)
Lafayette (1)
LaSalle (2)
Natchitoches (1)
Pointe Coupee (1)
St. Landry (5)
Terrebonne (1)
Washington (1)

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Beauregard (4)
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Livingston (1)
Plaquemines (1)
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Washington (2)
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Assumption (1)
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Lafourche (1)
Rapides (1)
St. James (1)(2)
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Milk Handling, Bargaining and Marketing - 7

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Lafayette (2)
Rapides (11)
Tangipahoa (12)
Vermilion (2)
Washington (3)

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Beauregard (2)
Lafourche (3)
Livingston (2)
Richland (3)
St. James (3)
Tangipahoa (10)

Food Processing, Storage and Marketing - 5

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Lafayette (6)
LaSalle (1)
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Fishery Marketing and Supplies - 4

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East Baton Rouge (5)
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Evangeline (4)

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Beauregard (5)

GRAND TOTAL OF NUMBER OF CO-OP ESTABLISHMENTS - 166

PART I

PURCHASING, MARKETING AND CREDIT-TYPE CO-OPS

Acadia

1. Crowley Rice Drier Co-op (1943)
Acadia; P. O. Box 142, Crowley.

Mgr. - Felix Simon Telephone: 783-6142

(Rice Drying and Storage)

2. Louisiana Rice Growers, Inc. (May 1952)
P. O. Box 455, Crowley.

Mgr. - W. Sylvester Nash Telephone: 783-2875

(Rice Milling and Marketing)

3. Federal Land Bank Association of Crowley (1957)
Acadia, Lafayette and Vermilion; 612 N. Parkerson Ave. -
Box 304, Crowley.

Mgr. - Roy Clark Telephone: 783-0466

(Long-Term Farm Loans)

Allen

None

Ascension

1. Evan Hall Sugar Cooperative, Inc. (1936)
Ascension, Assumption and St. James; P. O. Box 431,
Donaldsonville.

Gen. Mgr. - James H. Thibaut
Office Mgr. - Larry Montero Telephone: GR-3-8241

(Raw Sugar Milling)

2. Ascension Farmers' Cooperative Assoc. (July 1939)
Ascension; P. O. Box 182, Gonzales.

Mgr. - Cleveland J. Marchand Telephone: HO-3-3434

(Purchasing)

Assumption

1. Glenwood Cooperative, Inc. (1932)
Assumption; Napoleonville.

Secty. & Gen. Mgr. - John Thibaut
Office Mgr. - Joseph U. Melancon Telephone: 3181

(Raw Sugar Milling)

2. South Louisiana P.C.A.
South Louisiana Area; Box 448, Napoleonville.

Secty. - Robert C. Martin Telephone: 3431

(Short-Term Farm Credit)

Avoyelles

1. Avoyelles Farmers Cooperative (1959)
Avoyelles; Box 100, Evergreen.

Secty. & Mgr. - Kenneth M. Jans Telephone: 346-2546

(Farm Supply and Elevator)

Beauregard

1. Beauregard Electric Cooperative, Inc. (March 1939)
Allen, Beauregard, Calcasieu, Jefferson Davis, Evangeline,
Vernon, Rapides; P. O. Drawer 512, DeRidder.

Mgr. - John A. Sim   Telephone: 6221

(Electric Distribution)

2. Beauregard Wool Growers Association (1940)
Southwest Louisiana; P. O. Box 265, DeRidder.

Secty. - Wymon Welborn   Telephone: 7048

(Wool Marketing)

3. Beauregard-Vernon D.H.I.A.
Beauregard and Vernon; DeRidder.

Treas. & Secty. - Hubert Deere
Supervisor - James W. Reeves   Telephone: 7006

(Dairy Herd Testing)

4. Sugartown Melon Growers Association (1964)
Beauregard and Allen; Dry Creek.

Pres. - Loe Baggett, Star Rt. 2, DeRidder
Secty. - Albert Hagan, P. O. Box 302,
Dry Creek   Telephone: EA-8-5456
(Sugartown)

(Watermelon Marketing)

5. Bennett Lumber Co. Association (1964)
P. O. Box 107, DeRidder.

Mgr. & Pres. - Henry M. Bennett

(Timber Marketing)

Bienville

1. Arcadia P.C.A. (1934)
Bienville, Claiborne, Jackson, Lincoln, Union, Webster and west half of Ouachita; P. O. Box 478, Arcadia.

Secty. & Mgr. - Roy Brice	Telephone: 2318

(Short-Term Agricultural Financing)

2. Northwest Louisiana Agricultural Association (1937)
Bienville; Box 99, Saline.

Secty. - Van H. Burns	
Mgr. - Dewey Williams	Telephone: 2141

(Marketing Produce)

3. Federal Land Bank Association of Arcadia (1947)
Bienville, Lincoln, Jackson, Part of Claiborne;
Box 215, Arcadia.

Secty. & Mgr. - Lawrence C. Bingham	Telephone: 2316

(Long-Term Farm Loans)

Bossier

1. Bossier Rural Electric Membership Corp. (December 1938)
Bossier, Webster, Bienville, Red River; P. O. Box 5756, Bossier City.

Mgr. - D. L. Knight	Telephone: 422-3134

(Distribution of Electricity)

2. Bossier Parish Colored Farmers Co-op Assoc., Inc. (September 1955)
Bossier; Rt. 1, Box 123, McDade.

Secty. - William Mims	
Mgr. - Charley Morris	Telephone: 949-2446 or 949-3086

(Farm Supplies)

Caddo

1. Shreveport P.C.A. (1934)
Caddo and N.W. Louisiana; P. O. Box 1503, Shreveport.

Secty. & Mgr. - S. T. Hamiter Telephone: 423-6253

(Short-Term Production Loans)

2. Federal Land Bank Association of Shreveport (1952)
Caddo and Others; 1716 Centenary Blvd.; Box 4321, Shreveport.

Mgr. - Abner W. Cook, Sr. Telephone: 422-6477

(Farm Mortgage Loans)

3. North Louisiana Pure Milk Producers Assoc. (1956)
Caddo and N.W. Louisiana; P. O. Box 8086, Shreveport.

Mgr. - J. K. Webb Telephone: 686-1620

(Milk Marketing)

Calcasieu

1. American Rice Growers Cooperative Association (1926)
Louisiana & Texas; 211 Pioneer Bldg., P. O. Box 877,
Lake Charles.

Gen. Mgr. & Secty. -
George B. Blair Telephone: HE-9-5114

(Rough Rice Marketing)

2. American Rice Growers Cooperative (Holmwood)(1929)
Calcasieu; (Office) 424 Pujo St., Lake Charles.
(Plant) Hayes, Louisiana.

Secty. - R. L. Netzloff
Mgr. - Wasey Hayes Telephone: HE-9-4206

(Rice Drying and Storage)

3. American Rice Growers Co-op Assoc. (Iowa Div.)(1938)
Calcasieu, Jefferson Davis; P. O. Box 568, Iowa, Louisiana.

Secty. & Mgr. -
Lawrence Toups, Jr. Telephone: HE-9-5114

(Rough Rice Marketing)

4. American Rice Growers Exchange, Inc. (1940)
Rice Area; 211 Pioneer Bldg., Lake Charles.

Gen. Mgr. & Secty. -
George B. Blair Telephone: HE-3-9784

(Purchasing)

5. Vinton Cooperative Drier, Inc. (April 1950)
Calcasieu; P. O. Drawer 638, Vinton.

Mgr. - Clarence LeBlanc Telephone: JU-9-4741

(Rice Drying and Storage - Farm Supplies)

Caldwell

None

Cameron

None

Catahoula

1. Macon Ridge Farmers Association (1960)
Catahoula; P. O. Box 428, Sicily Island.

Mgr. - Ben Westerburg Telephone: 2581

(Farm Supplies)

Claiborne

1. Claiborne Electric Cooperative, Inc. (1938)
Jackson, Bienville, Ouachita, Claiborne, Union, Lincoln, Webster; P. O. Box 719, Homer.

   Mgr. - Orval B. Couch Telephone: WA-7-3504

   (Distribution Electricity)

2. Claiborne Producers Association (January 1953)
Claiborne; Rt. 1, Box 36, Athens, La.

   Secty.-Treas. - J. C. Fincher
   Mgr. - F. E. Gandy Telephone: WA-7-2786 (Homer Exchange)

   (Farm Supply)

3. Haynesville Electric Refrigeration Co-op (1945)
Haynesville, Louisiana.

   Telephone: 699

   (Cold Storage)

Concordia

1. Concordia Electric Cooperatives, Inc. (1941)
Concordia, Catahoula, LaSalle, Tensas, and Grant; 1302 N. Fourth Street, Ferriday.

   Mgr. - E. E. Taylor, Ferriday Telephone: 757-3661

   (Distribution of Electricity)

2. Ferriday Farmers Liquid Fertilizer Co-op, Inc. (1948)
Concordia; Ferriday.

   Secty.-Treas. - W. C. Gibson Telephone: 757-2951

   (Farm Supplies)

DeSoto

1. DeSoto-Caddo Supply Cooperative (1960)
DeSoto; P. O. Box 45, Stonewall.

Mgr. - Mrs. Lavelle Greer — Telephone: 925-9977 (Keithville Exchange)

(Farm Supply)

2. Louisiana Pecan Shelling Co. (1965)
Route 3, Mansfield, Louisiana.

Pres. - Riemer Calhoun, 917 Polk St., Mansfield
Secty. - Tom B. McGuirt

(Pecan Shelling)

East Baton Rouge

1. Louisiana Agricultural Cooperative, Inc. (1936)
State of Louisiana; 1175 Choctaw Drive, Baton Rouge,
P. O. Box 949, Baton Rouge.

Secty. & Mgr. -
W. F. Williamson, Sr. — Telephone: DI-3-9241

(Farm Supply)

2. Dixie Electric Membership Corporation (August 1938)
East Baton Rouge, Livingston, St. Helena, Tangipahoa,
East Feliciana, West Feliciana, and Ascension;
P. O. Box 2230, Baton Rouge.

Mgr. - J. E. McAdam — Telephone: WA-1-5371

(Distribution of Electricity)

3. Baton Rouge Area Federal Land Bank Assoc. (1918)
8050 Florida Blvd., P. O. Box 66126, Central City Sta.,
Baton Rouge.

Mgr. - Howard Mackay — Telephone: WA-1-5481

(Long-Term Farm Loans)

4. Baton Rouge P.C.A.
East Baton Rouge and Others; P. O. Box 5-3188
Baton Rouge 5.

Mgr.-Secty.-
Treas. - E. H. Thomas — Telephone: EL-5-3478

(Short-Term Production Loans)

5. Louisiana Animal Breeders Cooperative, Inc. (1947)
State of Louisiana; LSU Box B.D., Baton Rouge.

Pres. - Wilfred Broussard, Natchitoches
Secty. & Mgr. - Dr. T. E. Patrick
Field Supervisor - Dr. John Hall — Telephone: DI 4-2324

(Artificial Breeding)

6. Baton Rouge Area Milk Producers Assoc. (1960)
Baton Rouge Marketing Area; Zachary.

Pres. & Mgr. - John East, Zachary
Treas. - Robert W. Dougherty,
Jackson — Telephone: OL-4-2316

(Milk Bargaining)

East Carroll

1. Madison and East Carroll Gin Assoc., Inc. (1942)
East Carroll; Sondheimer.

Pres. - E. V. Parker
Operator - Ted Oliver — Telephone: 490-W-3

(Cotton Ginning)

2. Federal Land Bank Assoc. of Lake Providence (1950)
East Carroll, West Carroll, Madison, and Tensas:
Box 307, Lake Providence.

Secty. - John D. Blue — Telephone: 271 or 316-M

(Long-Term Loans)

East Feliciana

1. Tri-Parish Cooperative
East Feliciana, East Baton Rouge and West Feliciana;
Slaughter.

Mgr. - L. M. Womack   Telephone: OL-4-2026

(Farm Supplies)

2. Feliciana Farmers Cooperative (1962)
East and West Feliciana; Clinton (Branch of Amite County, Mississippi Co-op, Liberty, Mississippi)

Branch Mgr. - Lester White, Clinton
Telephone: 683-5158

(Farm Supplies)

Evangeline

1. Basile Rice Drier, Inc. (December 1951)
Evangeline; Box 425, Basile.

Mgr. - Carl Robinson   Telephone: 4281

(Rice Drying and Storage)

2. Ville Platte Rice Drier (1954)
Evangeline; P. O. Box 425, Ville Platte.

Mgr. - Noah J. Fontenot   Telephone: 363-3571

(Drying and Storing Rough Rice and Farm Supplies)

3. Evangeline Farmers Co-op (1961)
Evangeline and St. Landry; Ville Platte.

Treas. & Mgr. -
Chester Sylvester, Sr.
Rt. 1, Box 493
Ville Platte, La.   Telephone: 4380-or
5861

(Farm Supplies)

4. Basile Canal Co.
Rt. 1, Box 283, Basile.

Mgr. - Nelson Richard — Telephone: 432-6358 or 432-6441

(Irrigation)

Franklin

1. Northeast Louisiana Power Cooperative, Inc. (July 1938)
N.E. Louisiana; Box 151, Winnsboro.

Mgr. - D. J. Anders, Jr. — Telephone: 435-4523

(Electric Distribution)

2. Farmers Cooperative Gin (1940)
Franklin; Mauld Road, Winnsboro.

Mgr. - W. L. Pippin — Telephone: 435-6493

(Cotton Ginning)

3. G. and W. Cooperative Gin (1956)
Franklin; P. O. Box 1202, Wisner.

Mgr. - Lewis Boone — Telephone: 2488 or 3407

(Cotton Ginning)

Grant

1. Cenla Purchasing & Marketing Co-op Assoc. (1953)
Rapides, Grant, Vernon; Pollock.

Secty. & Mgr. - Mrs. W. H. Burney — Telephone: 3571

(Farm Supply)

Iberia

1. Iberia Sugar Cooperative, Inc. (February 1937)
Iberia and St. Martin; P. O. Box 1389, New Iberia.

Secty. - A. E. Hughes Telephone: EM-4-1913

(Raw Sugar Milling)

2. Teche Electric Cooperative, Inc. (June 1937)
Iberia and St. Martin; P. O. Drawer 472, Jeanerette.

Mgr. - Edgar L. Chaney, Jr. Telephone: CR-6-5230

(Distribution of Electricity)

3. Federal Land Bank Associations(New Iberia Group)(1942)
St. Martin, St. Mary, Iberia; P. O. Box 138, New Iberia.

Mgr. - Dalton F. Hebert Telephone: EM-9-9513

(Long-Term Loans)

4. Cajun Sugar Cooperative (1963)
Iberia Area; P. O. Box 975, 510 French St., New Iberia.

Pres. - Minus Gisclair, 510-A French St., New Iberia
Secty. - Levis Dartez, 4007 Walnut Dr., New Iberia
Gen. Mgr. - R. W. Bringhurst
Office Mgr. - R. Stagni
Plant Mgr. - Luis Suarez Telephone: 369-9655

(Raw Sugar Milling)

Iberville

1. White Castle Fertilizer Co-op (1950)
Iberville; P. O. Box 248, White Castle.

Pres. & Mgr. -
Victor L. Wintz Telephone: 3020 or 2516

(Anhydrous Ammonia and Chemicals)

Jackson

None

Jefferson

1. Lafitte-Barataria Fishermen's Cooperative
   Jefferson; c/o Post Office, Lafitte.

   Pres. & Mgr. - Edward Otero, Sr.
   Secty. - Mrs. Joseph Boudlach   Telephone: 689-3423

   (Shrimp Marketing and Supply Purchasing)

Jefferson Davis

1. Jennings P.C.A. (1934)
   Jefferson Davis, Calcasieu, Cameron, Acadia, Vermilion;
   P. O. Box 342, Jennings.

   Secty. & Mgr. -
   L. P. Theriot, Jr.   Telephone: 824-2024

   (Short-Term Credit)

2. American Rice Growers Co-op (Elton Div.)(1938)
   Jefferson Davis; P. O. Box 417, Elton.

   Secty. & Mgr. -
   John O. Fontenot   Telephone: JU-4-2812

   (Farm Supply and Rough Rice Marketing)

3. American Rice Growers Co-op Assoc. (Welsh Div.)(1939)
   Jefferson Davis; P. O. Box 536, Welsh.

   Secty.-Treas.-
   Mgr. - E. D. Shipp, Jr.   Telephone: 8-9521 or
   8-9511

   (Rough Rice Marketing, Drying, Storage and Farm Supplies)

4. Jefferson Davis Electric Co-op, Inc. (September 1941)
Jefferson Davis, Cameron, Calcasieu, Vermilion, and Allen;
P. O. Drawer 542, Jennings.

Mgr. - J. S. Robbins Telephone: 824-4330

(Distribution of Electricity)

5. Fenton Rice Cooperative, Inc. (1946)
Jefferson Davis; Box C, Fenton.

Mgr. - George Theriot, Sr. Telephone: 756-5311

(Rice Drying, Storage and Farm Supplies)

6. Federal Land Bank Assoc. of Jennings (1947)
Allen, Beauregard, Calcasieu, Cameron, Vernon, Jefferson Davis;
P. O. Box 817, 214 E. Nezpique, Jennings.

Mgr. - J. B. Trahan, Jr. Telephone: 824-1456

(Long-Term Loans)

7. Roanoke Rice Cooperative (1950)
Jefferson Davis; P. O. Box 471, Roanoke.

Secty. - Glenn N. Harris
Bookkeeper - L. C. Fitzgerald
Mgr. - John P. Hudson Telephone: 753-2219

(Rice Drying and Storage)

8. Thornwell Warehouse Association (1961)
Rt. 1, Lake Arthur.

Mgr. - Wilson Derouen Telephone: 587-2424 or
587-2441

(Rice Drying, Storage, Farm Supplies)

9. Louisiana Agricultural Cooperative (Branch store)
P. O. Box 611, Welsh.

Mgr. - Allen Meche Telephone: 734-5311

(Farm Supplies)

Lafayette

1. S.W. La. Electric Membership Co-op, Inc. (June 1937)
Lafayette and Others; P. O. Box 3347, 207 University Ave.,
Lafayette.

Mgr. - U. J. Gajan Telephone: 234-7435

(Electric Distribution)

2. Southwest La. Pure Milk Producers Assoc. (1958)
Lafayette; Rt. 1, Box 57-A, Scott.

Mgr. - Ray Brignac Telephone: CE-2-0236

(Milk Marketing)

3. Acadian Dairy Association (1964)
Southwest La; P. O. Box 394, Youngsville.

Pres. - A. Frank Arceneaux, Rt. 2, Box 636, Lafayette
Secty. - Glenn D. Baker, P. O. Box 394, Youngsville

Telephone: 856-5702
(Lafayette)

(Dairy Feeds and Supplies)

4. Lafayette Farmers Cooperative (1961)
Lafayette, Vermilion and St. Martin; Carencro.

Mgr. - Charles Kidder, Jr. Telephone: CE-5-2174

(Farm Supplies)

5. Louisiana Agricultural Co-op (Branch store)
P. O. Box 357, Broussard.

Mgr. - Forest J. Viator Telephone: 837-6616
(Lafayette)

(Farm Supplies)

6. Southern Consumers Cooperative (1964)
S.W. La. Area; 425 Gen. Mouton St., Lafayette.

Pres. - Rev. Albert McKnight
Vice-Pres. - Vincent C. Coco
Mgr. - Lester Scurlock
Secty.-Treas. - Miss Rita Joseph
Educ. Dir. - Una May Hargrave (Southern Consumer Educational Foundation)

Telephone: 235-0567

(Processing and Marketing)

7. People's Enterprise, Inc. (1964)
S.W. La. Area; 425 Gen. Mouton St., Lafayette.

Reg. Agents - Rita Joseph, 205 S. Washington, Lafayette
- Clyde Coco, 512 S. Pierce St., Lafayette

Telephone: 235-0567

(Productive Loans)

Lafourche

1. Caldwell Sugars Co-op, Inc. (1946)
Lafourche, Terrebonne, Assumption; P. O. Box 226, Thibodaux.

Pres. - V. L. Caldwell, Jr.
Gen. Mgr. - V. J. Bailliet
Office Mgr. - Reuben Thibodaux Telephone: HI-7-4024

(Raw Sugar Milling)

2. Federal Land Bank Assoc. of Thibodaux (1950)
Assumption, Terrebonne, St. James, St. John, St. Charles, Lafourche; Box 387, 209 St. Louis St., Thibodaux.

Secty.-Treas.-
Mgr. - John K. Schwarzenbach Telephone: HI-7-3166

(Long-Term Loans)

3. South Louisiana Livestock Co-op (1960)
South Louisiana parishes; 108 Apricot St., Thibodaux.

Mgr. - Gene Voiron   Telephone: HI-6-6540 or
HI-6-6516

(Livestock Auction)

4. Lafourche Fishermen's Co-op (1964)
P. O. Box 591, Golden Meadow.

Agents - Andrew Martin, 1203 S. Bayou Dr., Golden Meadow
Filton Cheramie, Rt. 1, Box 81, Galliano

Telephone: GR-5-5513 or
GR-5-5585

(Seafood Marketing and Supplies)

LaSalle

1. Urania Electric Cooperative (1953)
Urania.

Secty. - G. H. Middleton   Telephone: 3-2370

(Cold Storage and Marketing)

2. LaSalle Mutual Telephone Company (1928)
Jena.

Mgr. - Al M. Cobb   Telephone: 21000

(Telephone Service)

3. Cenla Agricultural Association (1965)
P. O. Box 429, Jena.

Pres. - H. G. Wilbanks, Box 792, Jena.
Secty. - Charles G. Boyd, Rt. 1, Trout
Treas - W. E. Appleby, Rt. 1, Box 111, Trout

(Farm Supplies and Marketing)

Lincoln

None

Livingston

1. First Hungarian Farmers Cooperative Assoc. (1928)
Livingston; P. O. Box 216, Albany.

Mgr. - Noblisse Fontenot   Telephone: 486
(Hammond Exchange)

(Produce Marketing and Farm Supply)

2. Louisiana Poultry Producers Co-op Association (1962)
Rt. 1, Box 62, Livingston.

Pres. & Mgr. - Herman Simeon   Telephone: 686-2401
Livingston, La.

(Poultry Marketing and Supplies)

Madison

1. Tallulah P.C.A. (1943)
Madison; P. O. Box 1111, Tallulah.

Secty. - C. B. DeMoss, Jr.   Telephone: 229

(Short-Term Credit)

2. Staple Cotton Cooperative Association
506 E. Green St., Tallulah
(Home Office: 210-214 W. Market, Greenwood, Miss.)

Office Mgr. - Lombard Burns   Telephone: 6

(Cotton Marketing)

3. Tallulah Cooperative Gin
Madison; Tallulah.

Pres. - E. Z. Adams
Mgr. - William F. Powell   Telephone: 537

(Cotton Ginning)

4. Mound Gin, Inc.
Mound, La.

Mgr. - Edward Yerger   Telephone: 515-J (Tallulah))

(Cotton Ginning)

Morehouse

1. Jones Cooperative Gin (1956)
Morehouse; Jones.

Mgr. - P. D. McKoin   Telephone: VA-3-4318 or VA-3-4412 (Bonita Exchange)

(Cotton Ginning and Farm Supplies)

Natchitoches

1. Valley Electric Membership Corporation, Inc. (1937)
Natchitoches; P. O. Box 659, Natchitoches.

Mgr. - A. P. Wood   Telephone: 3601

(Electric Distribution)

2. Natchitoches Federal Land Bank Association (1946)
Red River, Sabine, Winn, Natchitoches; Third & Church Sts.,
P. O. Box 255, Natchitoches.

Secty.-Mgr. - E. M. Rice   Telephone: 2219

(Long-Term Farm Loans)

3. Valley Farmers Cooperative, Inc. (1951)
Natchitoches; P. O. Box 817, Natchitoches.

Mgr. - Jared S. Dixon Telephone: 6426

(Farm Supplies)

4. Marthaville Broiler Growers Association (1951)
Natchitoches, Sabine; Marthaville.

Mgr. - Travis Moore Telephone: 4728

(Farm Supply)

Orleans

1. District Bank for Cooperatives (1933)
Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi; 860 St. Charles Ave.,
P. O. Box 50072, New Orleans 50.

Pres. - Neal Pendleton
Secty. - Walter Verlander Telephone: JA-5-9171

(Loans to Farm Cooperatives)

2. District Federal Land Bank of New Orleans
Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi; 860 St. Charles Ave.,
P. O. Box 50072, New Orleans 50.

Pres. - John L. Ryan
Secty. - Ralph Jenkins Telephone: JA-5-9171

(Long-Term Loans)

3. District Federal Intermediate Credit Bank
Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi; 860 St. Charles Ave.,
P. O. Box 50072, New Orleans 50.

Pres. - Steve Voelker
Secty. - Ernest P. Geiger Telephone: JA-5-9171

(Short-Term Loans)

Ouchita

1. Federal Land Bank Association of Monroe
705 N. Second St., Box 2628, Monroe.

Secty.-Mgr. - A. C. Ransom Telephone: FA-2-0940

(Long-Term Loans)

2. Bayou Gin Company (1965)
Box 430, Sterlington.

Pres. - J. B. Holley, Rt. 2, Box 174, Bastrop
Secty. - James McMullen, Route 2, Bastrop

(Cotton Ginning)

Plaquemines

1. Vegetable Growers Assoc. of Plaquemines Parish (1963)
P. O. Box 69, Belle Chasse.

Pres. - Kermit Ballay
Secty. - Julius Foster Telephone: 656-2284

(Produce Marketing)

Pointe Coupee

1. Pointe Coupee Electric Membership Corp., Inc. (August 1939)
Pointe Coupee, West Baton Rouge, Iberville; P. O. Box 137,
New Roads.

Mgr. - Alfred A. Robinson Telephone: 638-9333

(Electric Power Distribution)

2. Avoyelles Farmer Co-op
Lettsworth.

Mgr. - Marion Rabalais

(Farm Supplies)

Rapides

1. Meeker Sugar Cooperative, Inc.
Avoyelles, Rapides, St. Landry; Meeker Rural Sta., Lecompte.

Pres. & Mgr. - E. L. Klock
Secty. - A. W. Bergeron Telephone: 3511

(Raw Sugar Milling)

2. Valley Farmers Co-op (1959)
Rapides; Box 68, Boyce. (Home office: Natchitoches, La.)

Mgr. - Charles Faircloth	Telephone: SY-3-2145

(Farm Supplies)

3. Bayou Boeuf Corporation.
Rapides; Cheneyville.

Mgr. - Burt Broussard	Telephone: BR-9-3075

(Farm Supplies)

4. Cotton Growers Gin Company
Rapides; Lecompte.

Pres. & Mgr. - Frank Hathorn, Sr.	Telephone: 5177

(Cotton Ginning)

5. Alexandria Federal Land Bank Association
Rapides; P. O. Box 1832, Alexandria.

Secty. & Mgr. - Adrian Land, Jr.	Telephone: HI-2-7564

(Long-Term Loans)

6. Producers Mutual Gin
Rapides; Cheneyville.

Pres. - Clyde Smith, Rt. 1, Bunkie	
Operator - Jack Whatley	Telephone: BR-9-3591

(Cotton Ginning)

7. Central Louisiana D.H.I.A.
Rapides; P. O. Box 1126, Alexandria.

Secty.-Treas. - C. D. Brazzel, Jr.	
Supervisor - Clennon D. McCann	Telephone: 445-1182

(Dairy Herd Testing)

8. Alexandria P. C. A.
Rapides; P. O. Box 1511, 621 Washington St., Alexandria.

Secty. &
Mgr. - S. F. Trammel Telephone: HI-2-7863

(Short-Term Loans)

9. Louisiana Agricultural Cooperative (Branch Store)
Rapides; 2112 Lower Third St., Alexandria.

Mgr. - E. C. Marler Telephone: HI-3-5625

(Farm Supplies)

10. Bayou Robert Farmers Cooperative (1962)
Rapides; Rt. 1, Box 63-B, Lecompte.

Pres. - C. Wayne Hunt, Lecompte
Secty. - Richard G. McGraw, Lecompte
Mgr. - Pete Stacks Telephone: 445-3108
(Alexandria)

(Farm Supplies)

11. Central Louisiana Milk Producers Association (1963)
Rapides; Rt. 1, Box 96, Alexandria.

Pres. - Aylwin L. Lachney Telephone: HI-2-4729

(Milk Bargaining)

12. Boyce Gin Co-op Inc. (1964)
Rapides; Boyce.

Pres. & Mgr. - Robert C. Bowers, Box 428, Colfax.
Secty. - Charles F. Buckley, 621 N. 3rd St., Alexandria

Telephone: 793-2439
(Alexandria)

(Cotton Ginning)

13. Bayou Rapides Gin Co-op (1965)
R.F.D. No. 1, Alexandria.

Pres. - John H. Robert, Rt. 1, Boyce
Secty. - Charles M. Bollar, Rt. 1, Alexandria

(Cotton Ginning)

Richland

1. Richland Farmers Co-op Association, Inc. (1947)
Richland; 406 N. Benedette St., P. O. Box 747, Rayville.

Mgr. - Archie Brown Telephone: 728-3642

(Farm Supplies)

2. Farmers and Owners Cooperative Gin (1959)
Richland; Rayville.

Pres. - Emmet Brown
Mgr. - Emmet Greer Telephone: 728-3914

(Cotton Ginning)

3. Richland Sheep Growers Association (1959)
Richland; Rayville.

Secty. & Treas. - R. V. Norman, Rayville

(Wool and Lamb Marketing) Telephone: 728-4183

4. Federal Land Bank Association of Rayville
Richland, Franklin; P. O. Box 329, Rayville.

Secty. - G. Lyman Gladney Telephone: 728-2562

(Long-Term Loans)

5. Louisiana Cotton Brokers, Inc. (1965)
P. O. Box 117, Rayville.

Pres. - E. A. Barham, Oak Ridge
Mgr. - C. L. Thomas

(Cotton Business)

Red River

1. River-Hill Colored Farmers Cooperative (1957)
Red River; P. O. Box 417, Coushatta.

Secty. &
Treas. - Verlie C. Knighton   Telephone: WE-2-5626

(Farm Supplies)

2. Armistead Gin Company (1964)
Red River; Hanna.

Pres. - Clarence Smith

(Cotton Ginning)

Sabine

1. M.F.A. Feed Company
Sabine; 640 Railroad Ave., Many.

Mgr. - J. A. Moore   Telephone: 256-5421

(Farm Supplies)

St. James

1. Helvetia Sugar Cooperative, Inc. (1934)
St. James, Ascension; Rt. 1, Convent.

Mgr. - Jules A. Dornier, Jr.   Telephone: 562-3681
(Convent Exchange)
UN-9-5625
(Lutcher Exchange)

(Raw Sugar Milling and Farm Supplies)

2. St. James Sugar Cooperative, Inc. (1946)
St. James; St. James.

Pres. &
Mgr. - F. A. Graugnard, Jr.   Telephone: CO-5-4056
(Lutcher Exchange)

(Raw Sugar Milling and Farm Supplies)

3. Sugar Belt Sheep Association (1959)
Cane Parishes; St. James.

Secty. &
Mgr. - Eugene H. Graugnard — Telephone: CO-5-4056 (Lutcher Exchange)

(Lamb and Wool Marketing)

St. John the Baptist

None

St. Landry

1. Opelousas P.C.A.
Iberia, St. Martin, Evangeline, St. Landry;
P. O. Box 630, Opelousas.

Secty. &
Mgr. - Clarence Harmon, Jr. — Telephone: 942-3266 or 942-5772

(Short-Term Loans)

2. Opelousas Group F. L. B. A. (1943)
St. Landry, Avoyelles, Evangeline; 240 W. North St.,
P. O. Box 431, Opelousas.

Mgr. - Isom Deshotels — Telephone: 942-2771

(Long-Term Loans)

3. Tri-Parish Drier, Inc. (1955)
St. Landry, Evangeline, Acadia; Box 575, Eunice.

Secty. &
Mgr. - Herbert B. Fontenot — Telephone: GL-7-5292

(Rice Drying and Storage)

4. Louisiana Agricultural Cooperative (Branch Store)
St. Landry; P. O. Box 296, Opelousas.

Mgr. - D. E. Hornsby Telephone: 942-3592

(Farm Supplies)

5. Louisiana Electric Cooperative
State of Louisiana; 755 W. Groles St., P. O. Box 749, Opelousas.

Pres. - A. A. Robinson, New Roads Telephone: 942-4904

(Generation and Transmission of Electricity)

St. Martin

1. Breaux Bridge Sugar Co-op (February 1938)
St. Martin; P. O. Box 236, Breaux Bridge.

Secty.-Treas. &
Mgr. - Octave Gutekunst Telephone: ED-2-7361

(Raw Sugar Milling and Farm Supplies)

St. Helena, St. Charles and St. Bernard

None

St. Mary

1. Twin City Fishermen's Cooperative
St. Mary; 1031 Front St., P. O. Box 1237, Morgan City.

Mgr. - Ira Mott
Secty. - A. T. Galloway Telephone: 459-2681

(Shrimp Marketing and Supplies)

2. St. Mary Sugar Cooperative, Inc. (1946)
St. Mary; P. O. Box 269, Jeanerette.

Mgr. - F. P. Broussard Telephone: CR-6-5691

(Raw Sugar Milling)

3. St. Mary Fishermen Cooperative (1955)
St. Mary; P. O. Box 267, Patterson.

Secty. &
Mgr. - S. J. Cardinale   Telephone: 395-3244

(Marketing Headless Shrimp)

4. Louisa Sugar Cooperative (1963)
St. Mary; Louisa, Louisiana.

Secty. - Harold J. Junca
Star Rt. B, Box 350, Franklin
Mgr. - Clay Terry

St. Tammany

None

Tangipahoa

1. Ponchatoula Farm Bureau Association (1931)
Tangipahoa; Box 175, Ponchatoula.

Mgr. - Leonard N. Hoover   Telephone: 6569

(Produce Marketing and Farm Supply)

2. The Farmers Cooperative Association, Inc. (1936)
Tangipahoa; Box 224, Independence.

Secty. &
Mgr. - Sam Garafola   Telephone: 7128 or
4091

(Produce Marketing and Farm Supplies)

3. Farmers Educational and Co-op Association (1948)
Tangipahoa; Box 132, Tickfaw.

Mgr. - Pete Morales   Telephone: 349-W or
866-J-1
(Hammond Exchange)

(Produce Marketing and Farm Supplies)

4. The Hammond Farmers Co-op Association, Inc. (1954)
Tangipahoa; P. O. Box 693, Hammond.

Secty. &
Mgr. - Frank Faldetta Telephone: 2565

(Produce Marketing and Farm Supplies)

5. Amite Farmers Cooperative (May 1961)
Tangipahoa; Amite.

Pres. - Anthony Lascaro
Box 69, Rt. 3
Amite, La. Telephone: 8194 or
8574

(Strawberry Marketing)

6. Gulf Dairymens' Federal Credit Union (1961)
Florida Parishes; Kentwood.

Pres. - Sanford Hyde, Rt. 1, Roseland
Secty. &
Treas. - Glenn S. Hendry
Rt. 3, Amite, La. Telephone: 8224

(Short-Term Credit)

7. Fourth Ward Federal Credit Union
Tangipahoa; Rt. 2, Amite.

Secty. &
Mgr. - Mrs. Belle R. Lanier Telephone: 6237

(Short-Term Credit)

8. Husser Community Credit Union (1942)
Tangipahoa; Husser.

Secty. &
Treas. - Loretta Smith Telephone: 2496

(Short-Term Credit)

9. Little Chappapeela Credit Union (1943)
Tangipahoa; Rt. 2, Amite.

Mgr. - Mrs. Vera Lanier Griffin Telephone: 5609

(Short-Term Credit)

10. Louisiana Egg Producers Association (1963)
SE Louisiana; P. O. Box 76, Springfield, Louisiana.

Pres. - D. Travis Lobell
Secty. - Larry L. Parent Telephone: 294-3375

11. Louisiana Agriculture Cooperative (Branch Store)
Tangipahoa; Amite.

Mgr. - Arlis Crawford

12. Ard Dairy Cooperative Association (1963)
Rt. 2, Independence.

Pres. & Mgr. - Alfred Ard
Secty. - Ivy Ard Telephone: 6281

(Milk Marketing)

13. Kentwood Cooperative, Inc. (1964)
Kentwood, Louisiana.

Pres. - Dale Forrest
Secty. - Deloy Smith

(Farm Supplies)

Tensas

None

Terrebone

1. South Louisiana Electric Co-op Association, Inc. (1939)
South La. Parishes; 420 Magnolia Ave., P. O. Box 591, Houma.

Mgr. - Peyton R. Hall, Jr. Telephone: UP-2-6103

(Rural Electrification)

2. La.-Terre Cane Growers' Cooperative Associations (1963)
Cane Belt; 1508 Barrow St., Houma.

Pres. - Emile Fryou
Rt. 2, Box 223
Schriever, La.
Secty. - E. J. Thiac Telephone: 872-3208 (Office)
Hillcrest 73617 (Home)

(Farm Supplies, Equipment and Parts)

Union

1. Union Electric Refrigeration Co-op (1943)
Union; Farmerville.

Mgr. - James E. Cobb Telephone: 4621

(Processing and Cold Storage)

2. Union Watermelon Marketing Association (1964)
Union; Courthouse Bldg., Farmerville.

Pres. - D. E. Holman, Rt. 1, Downsville
Secty. - Eugene Pearson, Bernice

Telephone: 285-5193 (Bernice)

(Watermelon Marketing)

Vernon

1. S.W. Louisiana Feeders Co-op (December 1954)
Vernon; P. O. Box 57, Rosepine.

Mgr. - Carl Thompson Telephone: 5176 (DeRidder Exchange)

(Farm Supplies)

Vermilion

1. Vermilion Farmers Co-op Assoc., Inc. (1920)
Vermilion; P. O. Box 206, Abbeville.

Mgr. - Charles E. Dill Telephone: TW-3-0956

(Rice Drying & Storage and Farm Supply)

2. Vermilion Dairy Co-op Assoc., Inc. (1947)
Vermilion; P. O. Box 277, Abbeville.

Mgr. - Joe A. Tate Telephone: TW-3-3844

(Milk Bottling)

3. Gueydan Co-op Drier, Inc. (November 1947)
Vermilion; Box 276, Gueydan.

Secty. - Floyd Touchet
Mgr. - Proford L. Petry Telephone: 5852

(Rough Rice Drying and Storage)

4. Kaplan Farmers Co-op (1950)
Vermilion; P. O. Box 43, Kaplan.

Secty. & Mgr. Dalton J. Meaux Telephone: Midway 36-146

(Rice Drying and Storage)

55. National Rice Growers Association (1965)
Box 616, Abbeville.

Pres. - Charles Broussard, Flying J Ranch, Kaplan
Secty. - Manson Saltzman, Rt. 3, Box 175, Kaplan

(Rice Promotion)

Washington

1. Washington-St. Tammany Electric Co-op, Inc. (February 1938)
Washington, St. Tammany; Franklinton.

Mgr. - Lyle Killingsworth Telephone: VE-9-3562

(Rural Electrification)

2. Washington Parish Colored Farmers Marketing & Buying Assoc.
(1943) Washington; Rt. 6, Franklinton.

Mgr. - Charlie Wilson Telephone: VE-9-2142

(Produce Marketing and Farm Supply)

3. Gulf Milk Association (1959)
Florida Parishes; P. O. Drawer 329; Franklinton.

Mgr. - V. F. Ledford Telephone: VE-9-3551

(Milk Processing)

4. Washington Co-op (1964)
1103 Greenlaw Ave., P. O. Box 448; Franklinton.

Pres. - Lester C. Alford
Mgr. &
Secty. - Jasper Smith Telephone: VE-9-3625

(Farm Supply)

5. Louisiana Agricultural Cooperative (Branch Store)
P. O. Box 155, Franklinton.

Mgr. -Martin Penton. Telephone: VE-9-3625

(Farm Supplies)

Webster

1. Shongaloo Freezer Club (1955)
Webster; Shongaloo.

Mgr. - Maurice Duke Telephone: TI-6-3451

(Cold Storage)

West Baton Rouge

None

West Carroll

1. Chickasaw Cotton Co-op (1948)
West Carroll; Rt. 1, Oak Grove.

Mgr. - A. E. Bobo Telephone: 428-2330

(Cotton Ginning and Farm Supply)

2. West Carroll Produce Association
West Carroll; Box 403, Oak Grove.

Mgr. - None at present Telephone: 428-3571

(Marketing Fresh Sweet Potatoes)

3. Macon Ridge Vegetable Growers Association (1963)
N.E. Louisiana; Oak Grove.

Secty. - J. M. Welch, Oak Grove

Telephone: 428-3372

(Produce Marketing and Storing)

West Feliciana and Winn

None

LIST OF OUT-OF-STATE CO-OPS DOING BUSINESS WITH FARMERS AND/OR FARM CO-OPS IN LOUISIANA

1. Coastal Chemical Corporation, Pascagoula, Mississippi.
   (Fertilizers)

2. Cotton Producers Association, Box 2210, Atlanta, Georgia.
   (Pecan marketing)

3. Agway, Inc. Syracuse, New York.
   (Bagasse litter)

4. Land O' Lakes Creamery, 2215 Kennedy St., N.E., Minneapolis, Minnesota.
   (Dairy products marketing)

5. Mississippi Chemical Corporation, Yazoo City, Mississippi.
   (Fertilizers)

6. Mississippi Federated Cooperatives, P. O. Box 449, Jackson, Mississippi.
   (Farm supplies)

7. Mississippi Livestock Producers Association, Box 4797, Fondren Sta., Jackson, Mississippi.
   (Livestock marketing)

8. MFA Milling Company,,Springfield, Missouri.
   (Feeds)

9. Sioux Bee Honey Association, Sioux City, Iowa.
   (Honey marketing)

10. Southern Farmers Association, 800 N. Palm St., N. Little Rock, Arkansas.
    (Farm Supplies)

11. Staple Cotton Cooperative Association, 210-214 Market St., Greenwood, Mississippi.
    (Cotton marketing)

12. Mid-South Cotton Growers Association, P. O. Box 44, 44 S. Front St., Memphis, Tennessee.
    (Cotton marketing)

13. National Tung Oil Marketing Cooperative, Tung Center, Poplarville, Mississippi.
    (Tung oil marketing)

14. Associated Dairymen, Inc., Chicago, Illinois.
(Dairy marketing)

15. United Cooperatives, Box 836, Alliance, Ohio.
(Farm Supplies)

16. First Nitrogen Corporation, 1017 Deposit Guaranty Bank Bldg,,
P. O. Box 1249, Jackson, Mississippi.
(Fertilizers)

U.S. POLICY CALLED A ROOT OF POVERTY

Welfare - gen

Federal Standard Is Asked for Minimum Income

6/30/66

By NATALIE JAFFE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 29 — A committee of citizens authorized by Congress to study the Federal system of public welfare declared today that the system itself was "a major source of the poverty on which the Government has declared unconditional war."

As a remedy, the 12-man committee proposed a "revolution" in welfare administration that would make the Federal Government responsible for guaranteeing residents of all states a minimum income, no matter how poor their state might be.

The Federal system is a major source of poverty, the group believes, because one result of it is that incomes of welfare families in about half the states are below the national poverty standard.

Many recommendations made by the group — the Advisory Council on Public Welfare—involve areas that are coming under intense attack from welfare client organizations and proponents of a guaranteed minimum income.

'Careful Study' Promised

After receiving the council's 148-page report today, John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, promised that it would receive "careful study."

Welfare Commissioner Ellen Winston, meanwhile, was obviously enthusiastic. She noted that many suggestions of advisory groups in the past had found their way into legislation.

The legislation proposed by the council, several members said, could become Title 20 of the Social Security Act. Title 18 is the Medicare legislation that goes into effect Friday, and Title 19 is the medical assistance program for the needy.

The major proposal is that the Federal Government set nationwide welfare standards and pay whatever it would cost to reach them after the states had contributed what they could afford.

The state's share would be calculated on the basis of per capita income and the amount it traditionally spent on public welfare.

Under the present system of matching grants, the state sets the standards according to its own capacity to pay. The result is a wide range of benefits—from a low of $8.71 a month for a needy child in Mississippi to a high of $52.28 in Minnesota.

Although the Federal Government already pays a large share of the benefits—$15 to a state's $3 for the first $18—five states cannot afford even that: Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas and Florida.

In about half the states, the income of families on public welfare falls below the national poverty standard of $3,200 a year for a family of four, according to Dr. Fedele afford.

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If the national income "floor" proposed by the council were established at the poverty line, he said, the yearly Federal expenditure for welfare would rise from $4-billion to $9-billion.

However, he noted that antipoverty programs, improvements in social insurance and other social developments would increase the level of income by the time the new policy could be implemented.

In creating the new Federal-state relationship, the report declares, many cumbersome details of administration could be eliminated. There would be no more Federal categories in which a person would have to qualify for welfare, no more reporting to Washington case by case.

'States Should Love It'

"The states should love it. New York has been begging for something like this for years," Mrs. Elizabeth Wickenden, a council member from New York, said.

"Once the state puts up its sum, according to the formula, that's its share for the year. There would be no more working in the dark to set a budget, or slicing the benefits when the money runs out," she said.

Special requirements for eligibility would also be eliminated by the council's proposal. "Need would be the sole measure of entitlement," it declares, adding that social services as well as money should be available to all.

Six public hearings were held and 250 witnesses were heard during the council's two-year study. C. Virgil Martin, president of the Chicago department story Carson Pirie Scot, said that "even those council members that were doubtful about some of the proposals were convinced after those hearings."

The other members of the council, whose Congressional authorization expires tomorrow, were Dr. Walter E. Brown of the Glass-Nelson Clinic in Tulsa; Mrs. Cernoria D. Johnson, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Urban League; Guy R. Justic, director of the American Public Welfare Association, and Mrs. De Leslie Allen, vice chairman of the National Council of Churches's Department of Social Welfare.

Also James W. Fogarty, executive director of the Community Council of Greater New York; Leonard Lesser, assistant to the president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Frank W. Newgent, director of the Youth Division of the Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare; Eugene Nickerson, county executive for Nassau County, and Sanford Solender, executive vice president of the National Jewish Welfare Board.

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
TALLAHASSEE 32306

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

July 9, 1965

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

I have tried every night for almost two weeks to call you regarding this crazy thing you are about to do.

Liz is quite anxious to get the details so would you call us collect some evening soon.

Best regards,

Jim

James C. Smith
Associate Professor

JCS/sg

December 20, 1965

MEMO

TO: Paul Anthony
FROM: Al Ulmer

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON COOPERATIVE EFFORTS IN THE SOUTH

A number of self-help efforts have been begun in the South. Cooperatives, credit unions and community organizations organized around local self-interest issues are among these efforts.

I have worked in two self-help type programs, have visited many such projects and have some idea of what is going on in a number of others through correspondence with the organizations

Alabama - In Forkland, a little town north of Demopolis is a small grocery Co-op.

Greenville - plans have been made to begin such a store.

Greensboro - has a credit union 4 years old with assets of $83,000, and plans for a grocery store and perhaps a bank.

Selma - a Negro Business and Professional Men's club has started a small grocery store.

In Sumter, Hale, Greene, Marengo, Perry, Dallas, Wilcox, and Lowndes Counties an effort is being made to establish farm cooperatives around truck crops.

These counties have 37% (over 10,000) of the Negro farmers in the state. 23% of the land in these counties is owned by Negroes.

Plans for small stores (Forkland is an example) are being made.

Mississippi

Canton - has a sewing cooperative called the Madison County Sewing Firm. Ten women are employed.

Batesville - has an Okra-Producer's Cooperative.

Bolivar County - the Delta Ministry is working on a gas and oil cooperative to serve Negro owned Service Stations.

Jackson - Liberty Outlet House -- retail shop and mail order house for the Poor People's Cooporation. (Canton, McComb and Mileston) SNCC.

McComb - 8 employees making suede handbags for women.

Mileston - 8 employees making leather belts and repairing shoes.

Louisiana

New Orleans - Community Organization attempt.

5 small community groups of 25-40 persons organized around local self-interest issues -- rats, slum housing, health conditions.

Lafayette - Southern Consumer's Cooperative. A Cooperative begun by a Pfiest with approximately 650 member families in 18 chapters.

-- They have 75 discount loans to their credit.

-- A fruitcake factory expanding under a $25,000 OEO-SBA loan into breads and cakes.

-- Only a few employees.

Florida

Jacksonville - The West Jacksonville Assoc. for a Better Community.

-- Clean-up program, adult classes , working for a youth center.

-- Director has refused an OEO job.

Boca Raton - A small Negro community called Pearl City with 650 residents operates behind a cement wall. An organization is working to establish a community center and to pave some streets. They recently sent in a "hand-written" proposal to OEO.

Georgia

Crisp County - SNCC - Credit Union

Cordelle - United Presbyterians plan a center for 9 counties to co-ordinate local self-help efforts.

Crawfordville - (Tailferro County) --

1. A silk-screen business has been started.
2. And a Sewing Cooperative.

Atlanta - Several community organization attempts.

Vine City Improvement Association has cleared a lot for a playgound, picketed several unsafe rental units, gone before the Aldermanic Board with several demands, rented and rennovated an old house into a Community Center, and recently established the Vine City Candle Company, employing 3 women making hand-made quality candles.

Mechanicsville Civic League - Threatened a rent strike.

Lynwood - A credit union and a grocery are being started.

South Carolina

Frogmore - Penn Community Center has 2 Community Development men working in 8 communities in Beaufort County.

North Carolina - McKissick's state-wide cooperative idea.

Virginia - The Virginia Students Committee on Civil Rights has community organizations started in Amelia, Brunswick, and Dinwiddie Counties. Effort in three other counties--Powhaton, Lumenking, and Nottaway are suspended for lack of staff and finances.

6 ex-students are working - central office in Victoria, Va.

I've named a number of self-help efforts being made in the South. There are many more I don't know about yet.

We are here, I understand, to discuss ways of broadening the economic base mainly of Southern Negroes.

The projects just described perhaps employ 50 people -- maybe 10 of whom receive minimum wage. Most of the groups have yet to experiment with their political power, if they have any, due to their small size.

With the little knowledge of the situation I have several ideas stand out.

1. State-wide Cooperatives of small Negro grocery owners and coop grocery stores enabling these stores to buy in large lots, lowering both their wholesale and retail prices.

2. The,same type co-op with gas and oil involving small Negro service station owners.

3. Land co-operatives and credit unions locally initiated -- affiliated with larger state-wide and perhaps South-wide co-ops and unions.

4. Housing Co-operatives.

Suddenly many people seem to be looking to the self-help, co-operative type of effort to save the South morally and psychologically. Perhaps someone should made sure that such programs can work economically and politically.

THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

The project has three basic parts:

1. To survey self-help efforts in the South. Programs ranging from credit unions to block organizing to self-help housing are included.

2. To supply consultants to local groups upon request. It is hoped that technical assistance can be provided to low-income groups for extended periods of time (up to three or four weeks) especially in making application for federal programs and in the organizational stages of programs.

3. To experiment with the hiring of people from low-income communities to do organizational work in their communities around local self-interest issues. An effort here is being made to involve church and civic groups, both financially and people-wise, in the problems of slum communities.

THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

The Community Project is made up of four parts.

1. Survey of Present self-help activities in the South. - A survey is being made of community efforts such as credit unions, cooperatives of various types, block organizations, etc. A preliminary report has been completed which briefly describes these programs and attempts to emphasize areas needing research and assistance. Over the first year the director of the project will visit as many self-help programs as is possible. By spending several days in each location it is hoped information will be gained concerning identification of persons with specific organizational skills, ideas applicable to other locations, and various causes of successes and failures.

2. Consultants to Community Organizations - A small amount of money will be used to provide communities with skilled consultants. Hopefully, the consultants, in some instances, will be persons from low-income communities who have gained technical skills through first-hand experiences in initiating and operating organizations in their communities. In this way specialists with knowledge of conditions in low-income communities, as well as possessing needed technical skills, will be available. For a period of several weeks the project would pay the salary and the expenses of such a person to work in a new community.

3. Employment of Local People to Work as Full-time Community Organizers - It is hoped money will be available to pay the salaries, or part of the salaries, for qualified people from within a community to do full-time organizational work.

4. Publications - Simply written "How We Did It" pamphlets will be written. These will describe how a project, such as a housing cooperative or a block organization, was begun; the problems it solved and failed to solve; and how such a project might be done in another part of the South.

URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

QUARTERLY REPORT - APRIL 1-JUNE 15, 1966

Consultation Trips: Washington, D. C., April 4-April 14

The primary purpose of this trip was to talk with Secretary Robert C. Weaver, Department of Housing and Urban Development. Mr. John H. Wheeler was instrumental in arranging this meeting which allowed me to explain to Dr. Weaver the purposes and plans of the Southern Regional Council's Urban Planning Project and to ask him how we might work with HUD in an informal manner to further equal opportunity in housing and equal treatment in urban facilities for all people. Our discussion was cordial and, I believe, meaningful. Afterwards I spoke with others at HUD and was impressed with their interest in and openness toward our project.

While in Washington I contacted other groups which have programs related to our interests. Among these organizations were Urban America, Inc., the American Institute of Planners, the American Institute of Architects, and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

In pursuit of further information on the workings of successful neighborhood organizations whose aims have included the stabilization of integrated or integrating neighborhoods, I spoke with Mrs. Margery Ware of Washington Neighbors, Inc., Mr. Edward Holmgren of Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., and Mrs. Ruth Steele of West Mt. Airy Neighbors, Inc., Philadelphia. Each of these groups represents a different type of organization with individual goals and programs to realize them. It is my hope that we may draw together the experiences of these three organizations and publish their stories in three separate pamphlets which could be distributed together. Mr. Bob Anderson has asked Mr. Holmgren to write an article on housing in Baltimore for an issue of the New South.

Continuing Activities: Fort Lauderdale, Florida

The Urban Planning Project is acting as silent partner to the NAACP group studying the various urban renewal plans in Fort Lauderdale. Mr. James Hibben, Fort Lauderdale Urban Renewal Agency Director, has kept me constantly informed of the progress and difficulties as he views them from his position. Fort Lauderdale will be a test case for SRC-UPP involvement in a specific way with local urban planning problems.

Department of Housing and Urban Development:

A great part of my time has been spent in orienting the UPP toward co-operation with HUD. This seems to be reasonably successful. I have felt immediate and warm response to my overtures, and several Region III HUD officials have been particularly helpful in suggesting ways which might increase the effectiveness of the UPP. Three suggestions have been as follow:

1. Request a group of top men from different academic disciplines and business and professional areas to serve as advisors and consult on various urban problems in the South. With this in mind, I will meet with Dr. Constantinos Doxiadis, internationally renowned urban planner from Athens, Greece, in Aspen, Colorado, the last of July. Dr. Doxiadis will be in Aspen to receive the Aspen Award for achievement in the humanities.
2. Document the ways communities are using federal funds to buttress segregated housing with the idea of writing future legislation.
3. Select carefully four Southern cities to

approach as "demonstration cities" with the hope of working with the city governments and minority groups for open housing and involvement of the disadvantaged in planning similar to the Fort Lauderdale project.

At the present time we are in the midst of pursuing these suggestions.

Consultations:

Noyes Collinson, American Friends Service Committee - neighborhood stabilization and the Urban Planning Project.

Miss Eleanor Lord, graduate student in the social sciences at Emory University - neighborhood stabilization with emphasis on Atlanta and Stone Mountain.

DeKalb County residents - neighborhood stabilization.

Lewis Black - Urban Planning Project

Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity - Urban Planning Project

Nicholas Read - utilization of visual aids and community participation.

Dr. Addison Duval - psychiatry, community participation, and work on community action in mental health.

Publications:

Reprinting of "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program" after some revision resulting from criticism by various people with special interest in this area. We hope to publish a trilogy of experience papers on housing in integrated neighborhoods in Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia.

Education:

I have continued probing discussions with members of institutions of higher learning regarding a new orientation for the indoctrination of planners so that they would be planning with the high ethical concept of responsibility to the total community.

Personnel:

Miss Judy Randall, a student at Kalamazoo College who worked with SRC for the past three months, rendered effective service to the UPP during her stay in this office. She undertook willingly and enthusiastically the task of indexing those parts of publications by conservative business groups which might help us make our case for an open economy in urban development to the governments of Southern cities.

Miss Susan Bresler will be added to our staff as of July 5, 1966. Miss Bresler is trained in urban planning, having received her B.S. degree in city planning from the University of Illinois and with a graduate seminar in the political aspects of planning. She received her degree in 1965. Miss Bresler worked this past year in the position of Community Planner with the Alabama Planning and Industrial Development Board, Community Planning Division. In addition, during the summers while in college she worked with the following groups: Summer Intern, Comprehensive Planning Department, Moline, Illinois; part-time Planning Intern, Planning Department, Champaign, Illinois; and Summer Intern, Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission. She will aid and assist me in all technical and creative areas of my work. With her training and experience as a professional I anticipate that she will be able to undertake and direct her own special projects as well as help me in carrying out the programs presently underway. I hope that she will be composing and editing the various publications, research papers, and resource documents in our publication plans. Although her appointment is only temporary, from three to six months, I am confident that the Urban Planning Project will be able to put her considerable talents to good use.

Mrs. Jerry Dell Gimarc, my present staff assistant, will be moving from Atlanta August 15 due to her husband's acceptance of a position with the University of South Carolina. Regretfully we will have to make this replacement. Mrs. Gimarc has been most helpful and effective as a researcher and organizer, developing and expanding sketchy ideas and composing our necessary written material. This has been of inestimable help to the Director.

Projections:

During the summer we will be continuing our present programs. With the consultation of various impartial observors, such as Dr. Doxiadis, I hope to evaluate our gains and successes and to analyze our failures and difficulties in order to formulate our future plans. An informal conference on urban problems in the South for SRC staff and others who share our interests might be the most economical and effective way to confront action with reflection and theoretical solutions with actual problems.

Al: For Info Moreland

Susan Bresler

Impressions - Macon, Ga. - August 3 to 5, 1966

Introductory remarks

I didn't spend a whole lot of time in Macon because the urban renewal program was well underway, appeared thorough and successful, and because everyone I talked to seemed pleased with the program. So, this report will mainly tell how they did it--how the urban renewal staff made the program work.

Background of community - "Macon on the Move"

Macon has 125,000 people. The city's economy is based on trade; manufacturing, particularly textiles; and nearby Robins Air Force Base. Mayor Merritt is a full-time mayor. He's a self-sufficient businessman. He was progressive two terms ago but evidently didn't start off close enough to the people. Wilson defeated Merritt, then proceeded to carry out Merritt's ideas. Now Merritt is back in office, closer to the people, and continuing progressive leadership.

To show you what I mean by progressive, Merritt recently got a public housing project through that will be located right between white and Negro neighborhoods. All the existing public housing projects are segregated. This project has a good chance of being integrated.

Mayor Merritt is also chairman of the local Community Action board. Negro leader Lewis Wynne gives the mayor most of the credit for the City's progressive outlook. I think this forward-looking attitude influenced the urban renewal program.

Organization of the Negro community

The Bibb County Co-ordinating Committee is the local voter's league. This group and NAACP work together closely. Lewis Wynne and Bill Randall are in several businesses together. One of them is the Macon Weekly that Bill Randall edits. The paper told of local ministers picketing the supermarkets until the stores agreed to employ Negroes and to employ them in supervisory positions. The picketing (and boycott) were successful. Both Randall and Wynne are on the Community Action board.

Urban Renewal

Macon has three urban renewal projects: Tybee, Ocmulgee, and Coliseum. Tybee is about completed. The area is next to existing industry and was cleared for industrial reuse. The city wanted to put in public housing so the people living there could be close to their jobs. But PHA and FHA wouldn't allow public housing adjacent to industry.

Coliseum project involves clearance for a coliseum, stadium, office park, and shopping areas. A hundred families have been relocated into standard housing. Ocmulgee project will be for residential reuse and public housing.

Assets

Three important conditions have contributed to Macon's urban renewal program: One that I've already mentioned is the progressive mayor. I forgot to say earlier that the mayor set up an active bi-racial committee; he cooperates with Negro leaders. A second important condition has been the contacts of the urban renewal staff with other public agencies. Mrs. Mary Asbell, now the Social Services Coordinator, used to work for the housing authority--the housing authority used to be the Local Public Agency that carried on urban renewal in Macon-- and for the county welfare department. Before relocation began, Mrs. Asbell went around to all the public agencies and told them she would be relocating people and would need to refer them to the public agencies for help: to the welfare department for food stamps and medicare, to the health department for family planning, to the Georgia State Employment Service for jobs and vocational rehabilitation. Mrs. Asbell says, "When people understand what you're doing, they usually cooperate."

The third important condition that contributed to Macon's urban renewal program was informal coordination of the urban renewal staff with the Community Action Program. In fact, the urban renewal staff helped organize the anti-poverty program. So, while the urban renewal staff relocates people, the staff looks for children to put in the Headstart program. A staff relocation worker set up adult classes right in the urban renewal site office. And neighborhood youth corps workers help relocate people and help out in the site offices.

In addition, the renewal staff cooperates with the Rescue Mission, the Salvation Army, and even the Boy Scouts. The staff is interested in starting a clothing bank in the fall. On the citizens advisory committe, a welfare committee, composed of Negroes, appeals to Negro organizations at Christmas times to give gifts and toys to needy families. I read some case studies in the renewal office of people the staff had worked with in relocating. You could see from their stories how many people responded to the efforts of the renewal staff, not only because they were getting help, but also because they were getting attention.

Liabilities

There isn't enough standard, moderately-priced housing for Negroes in Macon. The relocation staff has been able to relocate families successfully so far, but the task is becoming more difficult. In its estimate of housing available to displaced families, the Urban Renewal Department reported 420 rental units to middle income white families; 100 rental units to middle income Nonwhite families; 375 sales units to middle income white families; but only 70 sales units to middle income Nonwhite families in Macon.

There has been no organization of or participation by the residents of the renewal areas in the urban renewal program or plans. At the same time, the residents have misunderstood the program, and the job of relocation has been difficult and time-consuming. Also, there is no 222(d)3 housing in Macon. I think if the people in the renewal neighborhoods had taken part in the renewal program, the job of relocation would have been easier. Also, the need for moderately priced housing might have been pointed out better; 221(d)3 housing might have come into the program.

Finally, the relocation workers felt unprepared for their work; they had to learn on the job. David Lucas, the relocation officer I talked to, said he wished there were a state organization of relocation workers who could get together, discuss their problems, and share solutions. One thing he said he had to learn was to stop and talk to people in the renewal area as he saw them on the street. Then they would be more receptive when he came to their homes.

Related problems

The anti-poverty program in Bibb County has been slow in getting started and even slower in setting up the most important part of the anti-poverty program, the neighborhood centers. Dave Lucas says if the neighborhood centers had been operating and had provided child care services, his~~s~~ staff would have been able to get many more people to attend the adult classes. But as it was, there was no way for these people to take care of their children while they were attending class.

Finally, there's the school desegregation problem. Things have been moving very slowly. The Board of Education, a self-perpetuating and autonomous body, is now acting under a court order.

CREATIVE APPROACHES TO TUTORING

For Use In The Y.E.S. Summer Program, 1966

Lowell Dodge

More copies available from:

Youth Educational Services
Post Office Box 1168
Durham, North Carolina 27702

INTRODUCTION

Tutors everywhere are fed up with conventional tutoring materials. The materials being used in many tutoring programs fail to make a connection with the tutee. Materials which tutors have judged inadequate in this respect include school textbooks, SRA materials, published workbooks (even those with pictures), and with some students anything that appears on a printed page.

This paper attempts to suggest some fresh alternatives. Some of the approaches listed on the following pages have already been tried with some success by tutors in North Carolina. Maybe none of the approaches will work with your particular situation, but perhaps some of them will suggest to you ways in which you may be creative with your student.

We hope that this list will expand during the summer as you develop approaches which you feel are creative. We would appreciate it very much if you could pass on to us ideas for inclusion in revised versions of this paper. Attached to the end of this paper are sheets you can use for this purpose.

I. CRAZY THINGS TO DO DURING A TUTORING SESSION

A. Plugging into your tutee's interests

Students at Brevard College have had excellent luck with this activity. At the beginning of the tutoring session, tell your tutee that he has $50.00 to spend during the tutoring session. Tell him he can spend it on anything he wants. Then take a walk into town or into a shopping area where there are reasonable alternatives, and see what he spends his money on. Have him keep track with a pad and pencil how much money he has left after each purchase. Since this is a fairly good way to learn about your tutee's interests, it may be an activity which you might undertake during one of the first sessions with your tutee. It also provides a chance to discuss with your tutee things such as the difference between necessities and luxuries, techniques of comparative shopping, and the difference between durable goods such as a fishing rod, and perishable goods such as an ice cream cone. Curiously enough some tutors in Brevard found that their students decided to save a portion of their hypothetical $50.00.

B. Imagination Walk

Take a walk with your tutee and make something out of it. Tutors have used casual walks to sharpen the powers of expression and observation of their tutees. Examples:

1. You spot a lonely piece of grass coming up out of a crack in the sidewalk, and you ask your student, "How do you think that blade of grass feels?"

2. You spot an individual in a group or walking along the sidewalk, and ask the tutee to make a guess as to what kind of character the person is. This approach can get interesting if once in a while you can spot a person on the other side of the street whom you know, then ask your student why they think the person is the way they have described.

3. Get your student to use his senses effectively and to put into words what these senses mean, such as by having your student compare the difference in moods created first by the smell of a furniture store and second by the smell of a bakery.

4. Some tutors use walks for tutoring reading more effectively than they use workbooks. Reading signs and getting at the meaning behind signs which one encounters in any city has much more immediate pay-off for many students than reading in workbooks.

5. The exchange game. Have your tutee take you to a place he thinks you have never been and then have him tell you why he selected the place. Then you take him to a place you think he has never been and let him know why it is an important place for you.

C. Tutee Map-Making

A good way to learn of your student's concept of his world, and to get him to practice symbolizing on paper something he has in his mind, is to get him to draw a map of things important to him in his neighborhood. You might start, for instance, by having him chart the route from his home to the place where he is being tutored, and to point out things along the way that are important, such as a candy machine, where the cops hang out, location of a friend's house, etc. If need be, you can start out with a grid pattern of the streets or make a project out of filling in a map or extending a map by actually footing it about town. Tutors who wish to extend their students' concept of the world about them can then work with their student on showing how other points of interest outside of the immediate neighborhood in the city relate to the part the student knows best. Then expand from city to state, etc. One tutor went so far as to take a far away place which had aroused the interest of the student, locate it on the map, and plan the details of a trip to the place including going to a travel agent and picking up brochures, investigating plane fares, boat fares, and even visiting stores to shop for clothing which would be appropriate for the location.

D. Make Deals With Your Tutee

Examples:

1. "You bring some magazine or book about something you think I know nothing about, and I'll bring in something you know nothing about." One tutor who tried this brought in something about whales only to find out that her tutee had brought in a book about snakes. They both learned from each other during that session.

2. Have your tutee bring to the tutoring session five words which he thinks you will not know in exchange for five words you select which you think the tutee might not know. You may be surprised at the outcome.

The general theory behind making deals is that it involves both you and your student on an equal footing in an activity which enables you both to learn more about each other.

II. IDEAS FOR NEW MATERIALS AND NEW TECHNIQUES FOR TUTORING SESSIONS

A. Use Comic Books

The following story illustrates the point behind using comics:

> A group of ninth-grade boys refused to read in English class. When asked why, they unanimously concurred that the books they were reading were "phoney". What follows is a dialogue between a teacher and a class on this point.[1]
>
> Teacher: What do you mean "phoney"?
> Class: Corny.
> Teacher: What does "corny" mean?
> Class: (no response)
> Teacher: Can you give me an example of what isn't "corny"? Say in a T.V. program perhaps?
> Class: "Naked City".
> Teacher: Why isn't "Naked City" corny or phoney?
> Class: Well, one Sunday you see a kid with his mother walking to church, and the next day he gets into trouble.
> Teacher: Why isn't that phoney?
> Class: Because he isn't all bad or all good. He isn't one-way.
> Teacher: Are you saying then, that a one-way character is phoney?
> Class: Yeah!.........If you'd give the kids in this school the choice, they'd all read comic books.
> Teacher: Why?
> Class: They're a lot more fun.
> Teacher: But I thought you said one-way characters were "phoney". I never heard of Batman doing anything nasty.
> Class: The big difference is we know the comic books are going to be phoney, and that's why they're fun. But the stuff you give us in school you tell us isn't phoney and it always is.

B. Have your tutees create their own materials. The SWAP Approach:

The Student Woodlawn Area Project in Chicago has its tutees talk in a more or less unsupervised atmosphere into a tape recorder, asking them to describe interesting incidents in their lives. SWAP then types up the stories and mimeographs them. These materials are on topics of interest to the tutees, but most important they are in the language of the tutees. Youth Educational Services has a series of these SWAP stories available to all projects to serve as an example of the way in which this approach can work.

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[1] From English Journal, Volumn 54, No. 4, April 1965, "Phoney Literature" by Gerald Weinstein and Mario Fantini

C. The Dear Abby Gimmick

If you are working with a girl or a group of girls, try this: Take letters written into the love-lorn experts, such as Ann Landers, Dear Abby, and the rest, from frustrated teenagers. Give only the letters themselves to the tutees, then have them compose their own answers. This is often the way to get girls into the mood for some expository writing. Many times the girls will outdo the experts with their answers. You might have different girls compete with each other for the best answer, or compare the answers of the girls to the answers provided by the experts. If the answers your girls give are not perfect, that is fine. Then you can work on expression, punctuation, grammar, spelling, etc.

D. The Hiptionary

Your tutoring efforts should be an attempt to add to, rather than replace the language your tutee uses. There is a major movement afoot in American education to respect the dialects of American minority groups and to build on them rather than condemning them as incorrect.

A simple project which tutors can undertake in line with this thinking, suggested by Frank Riessman, is setting up a hiptionary in a systematic fashion. Everytime your tutee uses one of his "rich and colorful words" put it on a card, then work with him in discovering in the dictionary synonyms from formal English. The effects are several. First of all, the process of putting together the hiptionary attaches a new importance to the tutee's own language. Second of all, it is a subtle way of exposing your tutee to a great many new "English" word definitions for the "hip" words your tutee may have been using for quite a while. Tutors who have used this approach find that their students have a lot of fun using their new-found "big words".

E. Develop Your Own Vignettes

The vignette must zero in on the language and experience of your tutee. You might even illustrate it with drawings or photographs. Here is an example:[2]

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[2] From English Journal, Volumn 54, No. 4, April 1965, "Phoney Literature" by Gerald Weinstein and Mario Fantini

E continued. Sample Vignette:

THE DANCE

Jimmy had spent about an hour in front of the mirror getting ready for this dance. He was wearing his best suit, a smart three-buttoned slim job. Even so, he still didn't feel right. He was kind of jumpy.

The auditorium wasn't too crowded, but Mary Ann was there. She looked real great with that pink lace dress and those pink high-heels.

All of the boys were standing together at one end and the girls were at the other.

"Hey, Jimmy!" Frank shouted, "You're looking pretty cool. Why don't you grab a chick and start swinging?"

"I would, man, but I don't want to wear out my dancin' shoes."

"Well, why do you have dancin' shoes if you're not going to use them?"

"Look who's talking. I don't see you spinning around the floor with anyone."

"Oh, man, I wouldn't waste my time with any of these babes. They're from nowhere."

"Sure, sure, I know."

All the while he was talking, Jimmy kept watching Mary Ann out of the corner of his eyes. She was dancing with another girl. The boys were still gathered in one corner, laughing and shouting wise remarks to the girls across the floor. Not one was dancing with a girl.

"If only I had enough guts to ask her to dance," Jimmy said to himself. "But it would be real rough. I'd have to walk across that big floor with everybody looking bug-eyed at me. The guys would sure make some fuss about it. And then suppose she didn't want to dance with me after I asked her? I'd feel so low-down I'd have to crawl out of here. Darn, I don't know what to do!"

He thought of himself dancing with her.....holding her real close in his arms. He became more shaky than ever.

"Maybe," he thought, "if I just walked over real cool and said, 'Let's dance, baby,' she wouldn't have a chance to say no."

Before he had a chance to move, Tommy and Neil grabbed him by the arms. They pulled him over to the rest of the boys.

"C'mon, Jimmy, we're all going over to Marshall Street..... This thing here is just too square, man."

Jimmy found himself strolling out of the school with the boys. "Whew," he told himself, "where am I going? I didn't get all dressed up just to hang on the corner. But.....I guess I can't go back now. Mary Ann,.....you're a doll. Well.....maybe next time."

Questions for discussion

Why didn't Jimmy dance with Mary Ann? If Jimmy wanted to stay at the dance, why did he leave with the boys? Do you believe that Frank really didn't want to waste his time with the girls? Where do you think this dance took place? In an elementary, junior high, senior high, or college? Why? Do you think Jimmy will dance with Mary Ann next time? Why?

Vocabulary development

Several words in this story might form the basis of a hiptionary such as cool, square, bug-eyed, "from nowhere", etc.

F. Role-Playing

Role-playing connects with the "physical learning style" of poor children. When these children translate into action something that is written in a story or included in a discussion it takes on much more meaning for them. They become much more articulate about a situation after it has been translated into a series of physical acts. The beauty of role-playing is that you don't have to be any kind of a professional to pull it off; the benefits of role-playing stem primarily from the discussion which follows the role-play, and one aspect of that discussion usually centers around ways in which the role-play might have been more authentic or more skillfully done. If you feel just a bit uneasy about undertaking a role-play, as many of us do, just dive into one head first. You will be amazed how much fun it is.

G. Educational Games: Role-Playing Real Life

Youth Educational Services is presently working with a series of life-games developed by James Coleman, a Johns Hopkins University sociologist. Four of these games are Career, High School, The Great Game of Legislature, and Consumer. The games, which are in use at the North Carolina Advancement School, tend to captivate the students for long periods of time. They thrust the students into real-life situations such as deciding what kind of college to go to (in the "Career" game). Points are assigned for various alternatives, and students who select the alternatives which are the most appropriate for their own situation get the most points.

Tutors interested in exploring the possibility of using these games should contact Lowell Dodge. Difficulties we will have to overcome in using these games in tutoring are:

1. The games will carry over a series of from five to fifteen tutoring sessions,and, therefore, assume a consistency in tutor and tutee attendance.
2. The games work most effectively with groups. Therefore, tutors having just one student will have to join with other tutors to make the games work well.
3. The games are still in the experimental stage. Tutors planning to use them will need to spend considerable time in advance mastering the ideas behind the games and plotting the specific techniques of applying the games to their particular situation.

H. Reading Games and Math Games

Youth Educational Services now has available short compendiums of both reading and math games designed to make these subjects more interesting to tutor. Please write to the Y.E.S. office in Durham for these materials. Also available is a series of reading tests (short word-recognition tests) which will help you in determining the reading level of your student, if you must use tests.

I. Pittsburg Action-Housing Tutor Guide

Y.E.S. now has available an ingenious guide for tutors devised in Pittsburg which outlines close to 100 techniques for learning from everyday situations. Write Y.E.S. if you would like examples of this approach. One example is as follows:

Purpose: Teaching Children to Stop to Think

Talk with students about the function of a radio aside from playing records by groups like The Rolling Stones. Have students realize the radio is helpful during an emergency. Was there ever an emergency that caused them to think and act quickly? Have them tell you what they would do in the following emergencies:

1. If you discovered a fire in school.
2. If you were washing dishes in a restaurant and dropped a plate on the floor.
3. If you saw a car parked on a hill beginning to move slightly because the brake was loose.
4. If your best friend asked to copy your answers on an arithmetic test.
5. If you found a pocketbook containing a $10 bill.

J. Books with Negroes in them

Youth Educational Services has collected a cross-section of the newer books available written about Negroes, Negro History, or containing pictures of Negroes. There are not enough copies to go around for every project, but Y.E.S. plans to loan its present supply out on a first-come first-served basis. Many of these materials are very inexpensive. We suggest that you have anybody wishing to contribute to the Summer Program assist by purchasing some of these materials. A two-page summary listing titles, publishers, publishers' addresses, and prices is available on request from Youth Educational Services.

K. Frank Riessman

Writings by Frank Riessman available from the Y.E.S. office are full of ideas for activities in tutoring. Some of these are mentioned in this paper, but there are many more. If you are interested, write to Y.E.S. and request Riessman's "Tutoring the Disadvantaged Child" and "The Culturally Deprived Child, A New View".

Mail to: Lowell Dodge
Youth Educational Services
Post Office Box 1168
Durham, North Carolina 27702

CREATIVE TUTORING TECHNIQUES

You can help Y.E.S. add to the ideas in this paper by writing up new techniques which have worked well for you in tutoring:

1. What new technique or approach did you try?

2. Why do you think it worked well?

3. Do you have any special recommendations for other tutors who might wish to try it out?

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ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND FREEDOM FOR THE NEGRO AND RELATED FEDERAL PROGRAMS

ONE MAN - ONE VOTE

This report is being distributed by:

THE VIRGINIA STUDENTS' CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

V.S.C.R.C. Publication #3
July, 1965

PREFACE

This report is published by the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee. The purposes of the report are:

1. To provide V. S. C. R. C.'s staff and field workers with a reference source to use in implementing various federal programs that are available for the poor of Virginia.

2. To briefly discuss the causes of the lack of job opportunities and the high unemployment rate among Negroes and the "other Americans."

3. To briefly discuss some of the major weaknesses of the present federal programs.

4. To propose and briefly discuss some other solutions.

5. To serve as a guideline for future reports.

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Nothing even vaguely resembling a "master plan" has been set in motion to eliminate the twin problems of racial inequality and technological unemployment. Because current government programs do not cope with the economic revolution, deepening structural unemployment frustrates the efforts of Negroes to enter the job market even when discriminatory barriers are eliminated. Thus, even if existing apprenticeship openings were fully integrated, Negro unemployment rates would remain intolerably high. Neither "equal opportunity" nor "preferential treatment" can solve the problem of Negro unemployment within the framework of a private economy which has failed to generate jobs over the past decade. To accep this framework is necessarily to accept a form of economic tokenism which benefits relatively few Negroes, and not those most in need. The Economics of Equality - Tom Kahn

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND FREEDOM FOR THE NEGRO AND RELATED FEDERAL PROGRAMS

INTRODUCTION

Secretary of Labor Wirtz has stated that there are three causes for a lack of job opportunities and high unemployment among Negroes and other minority groups. They are:

1. The shortage of jobs for all Americans.
2. The fact that members of minority groups are undoubtedly less qualified.
3. The continuation of discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups.[1]

While the unemployment rate of the United States has recently fallen below 5 percent, this is still a very high rate during "prosperous" times and a much higher rate than found in other industrial countries. Some authorities feel that the unemployment rate is much higher, for many people have become discouraged and have stopped looking for jobs. High unemployment is something new in a prosperous and booming economy. Even though the causes of a lack of job opportunities is still debated, many people believe there are two major causes. These causes are:

1. Changes in the structure of the American population.
2. Changes in the structure of the American labor force.

The first of these changes is called demographic, that is, a change in the pattern of population distribution. The American population is becoming both younger and older. "The school age group (5 to 17) has increased twice as rapidly, since 1950 as the total population."[2] As the population becomes younger, this means that each year a rapidly rising number of young are entering the labor market, while at the same time new jobs for many of these young people are not being created, for automation is destroying many of these jobs. In 1963, one million more people passed their sixteenth birthday, than did so in 1962. In addition to the rapidly rising number of young people seeking employment, the teenagers not only lack previous job experience, but also many of them will lack adequate education needed for the expanding job catagories. "Of the 26 million young people entering the labor force in the decade of the 1960's, 7.5 million or fully 29 percent will have left school before graduating and of these 2.5 million will have dropped out before completing the eighth grade."[3] The lack of job opportunities for teenagers is made lucid by the rising rate of unemployment among this age group. While the overall rate of unemployment was over 5 percent during the sixties, the unemployment rate for teenagers rose to nearly 15 percent in early 1960's and for Negro teenagers the rate was nearly 30 percent.[4]

The second factor which in creating a scarcity of certain kinds of jobs is the Cybernation Revolution. Cybernation is brought about by combining self-operating machine which does man's work and the computer which does the planning of the work and directing of the machine for man. In the Industrial Revolution, man's muscle power was replaced by the machine in many jobs. In the Cybernation Revolution, not only is the muscle power of man replaced by the power of the machine, but also his nervous system. Similar to Agricultural Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, the Cybernation Revolution is changing the economic and social systems of society.[5]

It is not known how many jobs are being destroyed by this new technology, but it does seem certain that while the new machines are not taking away the jobs of everyone, cybernation is destroying blue-collor jobs--jobs where people work with there hands as farmers, miners, factory and construction workers. Each year the percent of blue-collar jobs to the total number of jobs is decreasing while the percent of white-collar and service jobs to the total number is increasing. For example, in 1953 the percent of blue-collar jobs to the total was just over 40 percent, but by 1962 was approximately 35 percent of the total. During the same period, 1953-1962 white-collar jobs increased from around 38 percent to around 42 percent.[6]

In the past, technology was a positive force which helped the Negro make his greatest economic gains between 1940-1954. During World War II and the post-war boom, the Negroes moved out of law paying agricultural jobs in the South into urban areas of the North and other parts of the nation where they obtained better paying unskilled and semiskilled blue-collar jobs in mining, construction, and manufacturing. Even though the Negro made rapid economic gains, they still remained at the bottom of the economic ladder. Now cybernation is knocking out the "bottom" of the labor force by destroying the unskilled and semiskilled blue-collar jobs and also unskilled service jobs.

Cybernation is creating a new "under-class" of unemployment which consist mainly of Negroes, males 65 and over, young men, farm laborers, those in unskilled occupations and with less than 12 years of schooling. "Because of centuries of discrimination and exploitation, Negroes have been disproportionately concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled (blue-collar) jobs now being obliterated and lack the training demanded by the new skilled jobs.-- It is as if racism, having put the Negro in his economic place, stepped aside to watch technology destroy that place."[7]

As a result of cybernation, an economic crisis is causing a decline in Negroes' relative position in terms of jobs and income. The byproducts of this economic dislocation are increasing segregation in jobs, housing and education. Four trends in the U. S. and Virginia among Negroes are emerging. They are:

1. There is a widening dollar gap between Negroes and whites. The dollar difference between the median income of white and nonwhite families and white and nonwhite individuals is increasing. Negroes are losing in dollar partly with whites.
2. The relative income gap between whites and nonwhites, which closed between 1940-54, has stopped closing and has remained constant over the past ten years.
3. The unemployment gap between whites and Negroes is increasing.
4. The industries and occupations in which Negroes made their gre greatest gains in the past have shown relatively little growth or declined over the past decade. Also Negroes constitute an increasing percentage of all workers in most of the decreasing job catagories.[8]

In Virginia as in the rest of the U.S., there is no doubt that Negroes are less qualified. In 1960, the median school years completed for persons 25 years or older was 10.8 years for whites and 7.2 years for nonwhites in Virginia.[9] Again the Negro has suffered and been exploited from the "separate but equal" facilities, As a result of the past discrimination, the Negro lacks the skills to move into the expanding job catagories.

While states surrounding Virginia have established State Commissions on Human Relations, Virginia has not; therefore, only the federal government can be of assistance in eliminating job discrimination.

In the past few years the federal government has begun to deal with the lack of job opportunities, automation, job discrimination, and poverty. Some of the major programs are:

1. The Area Redevelopment Act.
2. The Manpower Development and Training Act.
3. The Economic Opportunity Act.
4. The Civil Rights Act.
5. The Appalachian Act.

While the federal government has shown a recognition of high unemployment, poverty and discrimination, there are basic weakness is these programs. Some of the specific weaknesses of the individual programs are pointed out later in this report; however, there are many general weaknesses. A few of these are:

1. A failure to recognize the structural changes taking place in the American economy. The past and present economic system of

3. Also the Administration by extolling the self-help doctrine and other middle income beliefs and attitudes ignores certain aspects of the "psychology of poverty." The "poor" are treated only as individuals and not as a group. Until the poor become organized they can not create the political power necessary to bring about the structural changes that have caused them to be poor. However, this would alter the status quo, and not just relieve the guilt feelings of those who have helped create a structure which causes many people to be poor.

   Some of the sources of the "psychology of poverty are:

   a. In any modern industrial society the overall amount of power tends constantly to increase, although the rate of increase may vary. Although even one in the society may secure ownership of additional material goods as a result of technological progress, the additional power tends to be secured only by those persons and social systems with preexistent power. The poor boy with strong internalized drives and skills for success and the large corporation with effective control over technological advances in its field both illustrate the tendency for socially created power of various sorts to attract to itself additional power. But the poor most often have neither the power created through childhood socialization nor that to be secured through attachment to a strong social system in which they have influence. In some countries, the population is predominantly poor, and this populace may have some power through the political process. But, in the United States the poor are an unorganized or ineffectively organized minority, unable even to exert influence in the political sphere. Thus, increments in power tend to attach to those with power, and the balance of power in a country such as the United States tends naturally to tilt against the poor.

   b. The fact of being powerless, but with needs which must be met, leads the poor to be dependent on the organizations, persons, and institutions which can meet these needs. The situation of dependency and powerlessness through internal personality characteristics as well as through social position leads to apathy, hopelessness, conviction of an inability successfully to act, failure to develop the necessary skills, etc.

   c. As a consequence of the self-help doctrine this "psychology of poverty" arouses the anger of the affluent toward the poor. Thus, the affluent can avoid the necessity to alter the social situation of the poor by assuming that the poor are bad and deserve their situation. This additional meaning of poverty makes rigid the dependency aspects of the social situation of the poor, and, to some extent, the poor accept this prevalent view of themselves. However, since the poor are not together in an unambiguously clear social category, they at the same time may reject clearly being placed in such a category subject to the assumption of their dependency and inferiority. For example, persons eligible to live in public housing are not affected only by the convenience, space, and other physical characteristics of their living quarters. A large proportion seem to prefer dilapidated private housing operated by an indifferent landlord to better maintained, less crowded, less expensive quarters in a specific public housing project in which the management is concerned to relate to tenant needs. The meaning of living in such a project may offset the superiority of the physical living arrangements.

d. Over time the dependency relationship of the poor becomes institutionalized and associated habits and traditions and organizations arise in both the affluent community and in the neighborhoods of poverty, maintaining the relationship between them. The poor react in part to the institutionalization itself. For example, "lower class" delinquency does not only stem from the fact that the poor have few and drab job opportunities. There is also the perception that the conforming poor tend to remain indefinitely in low social positions as well as the angry rejection by the adolescent poor of attempts through law enforcement and social agencies to control and manipulate them without altering their situations.[16]

FEDERAL "ANTI-POVERTY" PROGRAMS

The purpose of this section is to briefly outline the major provisions of acts passed by the federal government to deal with high unemployment, automation, and poverty.

THE AR[illegible]DEVELOPMENT ACT

[illegible] Redevelopment Administration---ARA:

- An agency of the U. S. Department of Commerce,
- Makes long-term, low interest loans to properly organized community

groups establishing or expanding industry.

- * Makes grants to communities for up to half the cost of building public facilities needed to attract and to aid new industries. Examples are roads, railroad spurs, dams, reservoirs, waterworks, sewerage systems, navigation channels, libraries.
- * Retrains jobless workers and provides them with subsistence allowances during their training.
- * Gives technical assistance to communities, helping them to survey, catalog, and assess the potential of their resources.
- * Authority expires June 30, 1965, unless renewed by Congress.

To qualify for ARA aid:

- * An URBAN area must have high unemployment--a current unemployment rate of 6% or more; OR, an annual average unemployment rate of 50% greater than the national average rate in three of the preceding four years; OR, 75% greater than the national average in two of the previous three years; OR, double the national rate during the preceding calendar year.
- * A RURAL area must be one of low income and/or high unemployment--an area where farm-family incomes average $1170 or less annually; OR, where all family incomes average $1500 or less annually; OR, an area with a labor force of 15,000 or fewer where there has been persistent unemployment; OR, an area of "low production farming."

To receive ARA aid:

- * A community must have been designated by the ARA as a "redevelopment area"--i.e., as meeting the above qualifications.
- * A community must organize a local redevelopment committee, broadly representative of local groups such as commerce, industry, agriculture, labor, education, local government, and ethnic groups.
- * An Overall Economic Development Program--OEDP--must be drawn up, and submitted to ARA for approval and financial aid.

The OEDP:

- * Describes the community redevelopment organization.
- * Details and assesses the community's existing resources and facilities.
- * Outlines the plans for improving the community's economy.
- * Explains why ARA aid is necessary; that is, why the community cannot accomplish the proposed plan without ARA assistance.

ARA Loans:

- * Can finance as much as 65% of the total cost of an ARA approved project.
- * Require, in addition, a minimum of 10% investment from public sources and a minimum of 5% from private sources.

* Commercial and industrial loans carry an annual interest rate of 4% and can run as long as 25 years.
* Public facility improvement loans are made at 3½% annually for up to 40 years.

ARA job retraining programs:

* Are intended to attract new industry to labor surplus areas by providing a supply of skilled workers.
* Have included training for semiskilled factory workers, office workers, nurses'aides, farm and construction equipment operators and maintenance men.
* Are similar to programs offered under the Manpower Development and Training Act; maximum training period is 16 weeks.

For further information for Virginia, write or call:

ARA, Office of Area Operations, Appalachian Division Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

For special assistance to minority groups on economic development problems in the Southeast Division, write or call:

Field Coordinator
Southeast Division
Area Redevelopment Administration
305 Bona Allen Building
135 Luckie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia[17]

Over 75 counties and other areas in Mississippi were listed by the U. S. Department of Labor in 1963 as eligible for ARA programs--many of them because of the low incomes of Negro families. Despite this fact, there were no ARA training programs in Mississippi in 1961. In all, only about 160 Negroes in the entire South were trained under the ARA, even though Negroes make up a very high percentage of the unemployed in the South. Part of the problem with the ARA in the South is that its programs must be approved by the State concerned before loans can be made. This makes it difficult if not impossible for Negro communities to benefit from ARA programs; and, as a result, the ARA has had no real importance in the South for Negroes.

"The major thing wrong with the ARA program is that it is too small. In its first three years, the program trained only 35,000 workers and helped create between 110,000 and 115,000 jobs (according to the U. S. Department of Labor.) There are approximately 4 million unemployed people in the United States, and perhaps another 4 million unemployed who would seek work if they thought there was any chance of finding it. So you can see that this small government program was not nearly big enough to solve the problem of unemployment."

In June of 1963 the Senate agreed to set aside new funds that the ARA program could continue. But the House refused to agree to this, so the program has been discontinued. It will get no more additional money.[18] However, President Johnson has asked for additional funds.

In Virginia there are no known ARA programs in operation now. There were none during the 1963-64 school year.

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT--MDTA

The Office of Manpower, Automation and Training--OMAT:

- An agency of the Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor.
- Plans and evaluates training programs; programs are administered by state employment service offices and state departments of vocational education.

MDTA training and retraining programs:

- Are conducted only for skills which are in demand within the labor market area.
- Vary in length according to the skill being taught; maximum length is 72 weeks, or 52 weeks if no basic education is included in the trainees' programs.
- Are conducted at no cost to the trainees.
- Include on-the-job-training, operating through the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training with the cooperation of employers and labor unions.

To receive MDTA training:

- A person must be unemployed.
- OR, he may be working below his skill capacity, that is, a job lower than his potential skills would qualify him for, if trained.
- OR, he may be a member of a farm family with less than $1200 annual net family income.
- OR, he may be over 16 years old but not yet 22 and in need of further schooling or occupational training.

Prospective trainees qualify for MDTA programs by:

- First, visiting their local State Employment Service Office.
- Next, being interviewed, tested, and counseled by the local SES to determine interest in, and suitability and aptitude for, job training.

Persons selected for MDTA training:

- Will be assigned to a specific training course.
- Will be expected to maintain satisfactory attendance, and to make satisfactory progress, in the course being taken.

- Will be assisted in finding jobs by the State Employment Service Office upon completion of their course.

Trainees are eligible for training allowances:

- If they are the head of a household, and have at least two years experience in gainful employment.
- OR, if they are between 17 and 22 and are enrolled in a specialized youth training program.
- If they are employed while in training, they may receive a reduced allowance.
- AND, if training facility is not within commuting distance of their residences, they may also receive subsistence and transportation allowances.

For further information write or call:

- Local, or nearest, Employment and Claims Office, State Employment Service
- OR, OMAT regional field directors:

For Virginia:
Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
Vanguard Building
1111 Twentieth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

- OR, write or call:

Deputy Assistant Director
Manpower, Automation, and Training
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.[19]

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT of 1962 sought to retrain 400,000 workers within three years. A bill extending the program and adding 93,000 workers was signed by President Johnson in December, 1963. Even these inadequate figures are misleading. Dan Schulder, of the Manpower Development and Training Agency, told a Washington conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in November, 1963, that one thousand seven hundred ninety-four projects, providing 63,000 jobs, were approved last year. Yet 63,000 jobs is not anywhere near the two million jobs which the Manpower Research Office estimates will be needed each year to offset advances in technology.

He went on to report that

> MDTA programs in the South in the first 8 months of operation have trained only 234 Negroes, according to the

report of the Civil Rights Commission. That figure represents only 11% of the total MDTA trainees, while Negro unemployment in the South is 30%. Further, training has been offered to Negroes in only a few of the occupations provided by the Commission. In the clerical and sales categories, 90% of the Negroes were trained as stenograph-typists. In the service category, such jobs as tailoring, typewriter-repairing were available to most of the Negroes. Others were trained as waiters and waitresses.

Under the original terms of the Act, one-third of the applicants under 25 were rejected on grounds of illiteracy--an added handicap for Southern Negroes, who have a disproportionately high illiteracy rate. Racist state officials are a stumbling block, since the states are responsible for approving the training programs. Mississippi has no program under way because the state refuses to offer assurances that the program would be administered on a nonracial basis. Finally,
the Act states that people cannot be accepted for training without "reasonable expectation of employment"; in the South this provision can be interpreted to mean that since a white man will not want to hire a Negro for any job but a "Negro job" (cleaning, digging), there is not reasonable expectation of employment.

In short, the Federal retraining program is not only inadequate to begin with, but it is also forced to accommodate to the dominant political and economic patterns within the states.[20]

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

I. JOINT FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL PROGRAMS:

* The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), an Executive agency headed by a director reporting directly to the President, will have overall administrative responsibility for programs under the Economic Opportunity Act.
* However, participation at the local level in planning and operating the projects will be encouraged in all programs, required in most.
* Each governor will have 30 days in which to veto proposed Youth Programs and Community Action Programs in his state.
* Governor, by not acting within 30 days, may permit a project to begin.
* Governor may expedite project by giving his approval before the 30 day period is over.

II. YOUTH PROGRAMS:

A The Job Corps:
* Will enroll, in 1965 and 1966, up to 140,000 young men and women, ages 16 to 22, for up to two years service in conservation camps and training centers.
* Camps and centers will emphasize basic education, skill training, and work experience.

- Job Corpsmen will be recruited through U. S. Employment Service offices, schools, churches, settlement houses, public and private welfare agencies, boy' clubs, selective service boards.
- Corpsmen will receive room, board, and travel allowances while in the Corps.
- Upon completion of their terms, they will be paid $50 for each month of satisfactory service.
- OR, Corpsmen may contribute to their dependents $25 per month (to which Government will add another $25), and receive $25 for each month of satisfactory service when separated from the Job Corps,

For information write:
Job Corps, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C.

B The Neighborhood Youth Corps:

- A work training program for unemployed young men and women, ages 16 to 22, in public service projects such as at parks, playgrounds, hospitals, and libraries.
- Examples of work training include nurses', librarians', and teachers' aides; nursery school and playground attendants; hospital orderlies; assistant dietitians; mechanics' helpers: landscape assistants.
- Projects will be developed by state and local governments, and by private, non-profit service and welfare organizations.
- The agency developing the work training project will be responsible for recruiting the young people to work in it.
- Up to 200,000 young people will be enrolled in NYC each year.
- Enrollees will work and live in their own communities.
- They will be paid wages based on local rates for beginners in similar work.
- They will be encouraged to continue or resume their schooling.

Write:
Neighborhood Youth Corps, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

C Work Study Programs:

- Will operate through, and be administered by, colleges and universities.
- Will provide on-campus and off-campus part-time work for deserving students selected by participating schools.

Write:
Commissioner of Education, HEW, Washington, D. C.

III. COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS:

A Urban and Rural Community Action Programs:

- Locally planned, locally administered direct attacks on any poverty-promoting community problem.
- Will require comprehensive community action plans, developed by local community action organizations which may be formed by government agencies, private non-profit agencies such as volunteer or civic groups, or a combination of public and private agencies.

Program Development Grant
administration Grant
Research Grant

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

- * Will emphasize programs designed to produce "a permanent increase in the ability of persons to deal with their problems without further aid."
- * Examples of such programs include job-training, counseling, vocational rehabilitation, remedial education, home management, health improvement, family planning.
- * Federal government will bear up to 90% of the cost during the first two years, 50% thereafter.
- * Communities' contributions may be in cash, facilities, and services.
- * Participants in the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Work Study programs will be available for work on community action projects.

Write:
Community Action, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C.

B Adult Basic Education Programs:

- * For persons with six years or less of schooling.
- * Will teach adults basic reading, writing, and arithmetic, helping them to find and to keep jobs.
- * Will be conducted at local level, under guidance of State Department of Education.
- * Federal government will pay 90% of cost during first two years, 50% thereafter.

Write:
Commissioner of Education, HEW, Washington, D. C.

Bill Hodad
Inspector General

C Voluntary Assistance Programs for Needy Children:

- * Federal government will locate needy children, supply their names to persons who volunteer to give them financial help.
- * No direct federal financial assistance to the children under this program.

IV. PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS:

A Special Program for Poverty in Rural Areas:

- * Grants and Loans to Combat Rural Poverty:
- * Will aid low-income rural families and migrant workers.
- * Will loan up to $2,500 to such families, payable within 15 years, for certain home and farm improvements, if they cannot obtain funds elsewhere.
- * Will provide similar loans for local marketing and purchasing cooperatives.

Write:
Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

B Assistance for Migrant Agricultural Workers and Their Families--Provides grants, loans, and loan guarantees to assist States and localities for special needs in housing, sanitation, education, and the day care of children.

Sid Woolner - 382-6383
Middle Atlantic Region
Mel Cotton - Va 382-6161
Ted Berry CAP

Write:
Community Action, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.

V. OTHER PROVISIONS:

A An Employment and Investment Incentives Program--Provides up to $25,000 for small businesses not eligible under other loan programs. These include: retail and service enterprises employing three or fewer persons, such as luncheonettes, filling stations, drug stores, barber shops, delicatessens, beauty parlors, furniture movers, cleaning shops, etc.

Write:
Nearest Field Office, Small Business Administration.

B Work-Experience Program--Provides funds for projects to help unemployed fathers and other needy persons to gain work experience and job training. Directed primarily toward jobless heads of families in which there are dependent children.

Write:
Commissioner, Welfare Administration, HEW, Washington, D. C.

C Volunteers in Service to America--VISTA:

* A "domestic Peace Corps" whose purpose will be to improve the health, education, and welfare needs of the poor in the United States and its territories.
* Will place special emphasis on aiding the mentally ill and the mentally retarded.
* Volunteers will receive allowances for living, housing, and travel expenses, and pay not to exceed $50 monthly.

Write:
VISTA Volunteers, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C.

For advice and consultation on community action programs write or call: Robert Kirby, Office of the Governor, State House, Richmond, Virginia.[20]

JOB DISCRIMINATION AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

To deal with discrimination the federal government passed the Civil Rights Act, 1964. If enforced, Titles VI and VII should help a great deal in the elimination of blatant discrimination in the use of federal funds and the hiring of workers by employers, employment agencies, and labor unions. However, they will probably be far less effective in the more informal types of discrimination--unwritten agreements by employers to hire only whites, or a few Negroes--which are far more difficult to prove.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT, 1964

Title VI. FEDERAL PROGRAMS - The section would help make sure that Federal funds are not used to underwrite discrimination, in violation of the Constitution, Federal agencies that provide grants, contracts or loans are directed to issue rules and regulations (subject to approval by the President) that would make the benefits of the programs they support equally available to everyone. Among the programs covered are those giving aid: to hospitals, vocational training, impacted school areas, small business, area redevelopment and welfare. VA and FHA loan programs on housing are not affected by the law. They are, however, still subject to the President's Housing Order of 1962.

If an agency operating a Federally-supported program continues to discriminate, the U. S. as a last resort, can cut off funds. But before it can do that, it must hold a hearing and notify Congress 30 days in advance of a cutoff. Presidential approval is required for any general cutoff of funds. And any proposed cutoff would be subject to court review. Even then, the cutoff is limited. If a town discriminated, for instance, only that town would risk losing government aid, not the entire state; and only the particular program that discriminated could be denied funds.[22]

> Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Bill would legislatively outlaw discrimination in all government programs and establish "complete equality of opportunity within the government and by government contractors." This has already been put into operation administrative and by government contractors." This has already been put into operation administratively. Government policies in this area have markedly improved since the Eisenhower Administration. Still, "complete equality of opportunity" doesn't seem to be enough. A Spring 1961 survey showed that although 10.6% of Federal employees were Negro--roughly the Negro proportion of the population--these were heavily concentrated in the lowest grades. In Grades GS-12-18, they held less than 1% of the positions.
>
> Actually, government enforcement of nondiscrimination provisions in its contracts is not likely to increase substantially the job opportunity available in Negro cases. It does not affect the structure of the labor market or of the industries doing business with the government--certainly not as much as government spending policies do.[23]

Title VII. EQUAL EMPLOYMENT - This section prohibits employers, labor unions and employment agencies from discriminating on grounds of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. When it goes into effect in July 1965, it applies first to businesses or unions with 100 or more employees or members; then it scales down after that until it covers those with 25 or more by 1968.

A five-member, bipartisan Equal Employment Opportunity Commission would be established to investigate complaints and try to settle them by persuasion.

If that failed, the Commission could ask the Attorney General to bring suit to enforce non-discrimination.

At least 25 states already have FEPC laws, most of them more comprehensive than this provision. In those states, an individual who suffered discrimination would have to seek redress from the local agency first. The local agency gets 60 days to settle the complaint; 120 days in the first year a new state law is in effect. Then the EEOC gets 30 to 60 days to resolve a dispute.

If the problem still remains, the aggrieved party can file a civil suit. The court can appoint an attorney for the complainant, waive fees and permit the Attorney General to intervene. It can also give the state agency or the EEOC another 60 days to try to settle differences.

As in the section dealing with public accommodations (Title II), the Attorney General can bring suit to end "a pattern or practice" of discrimination. He doesn't have to wait; he can ask for a three judge court; and cases he files are to be handled as quickly as possible.

In cases brought by individuals, the court, besides issuing an injunction against a discriminating employer or union, can also require hiring or reinstatement with or without back pay.[24]

Essential as it is, FEPC runs into many of the obstacles discussed in connection with the integration of government employment. For one thing, FEPC'S effectiveness depends on how much room it has to operate in. If the job market is expanding, then FEPC can bring widespread results. In itself, however, FEPC does not affect the job market. Moreover, FEPC OUTLAWS discrimination at the point of hiring. It cannot deal with past discrimination which has impeded the acquisition of the skills required for the most rapidly expanding job opportunities.

Twenty-five states already have laws against job bias; they cover 41% of the Negro population. If there is any correlation between enforcement of these laws and high Negro employment, it is likely to inverse (major urban centers tend to have politically liberal administrations and high ghetto unemployment rates). Thus the "equal opportunity" principle is only a principle and not a formula for jobs. Even the most rigorously enforced FEPC would be inadequate to this end, as inadequate as "equal opportunity" in apprenticeship programs.

The point here is that the effort to secure apprenticeship openings for Negroes is inevitable conditioned by the total number of apprenticeship openings available. When that number is relatively small, proportional representation for Negroes in the entire population of apprentices can be achieved only at the expense of white workers. It requires an idealized faith in the altruism of insecure white workers to believe for a moment that Negro workers could win their objectives under such circumstances. Labor unions must share the blame for the historical development of discrimination in apprenticeship programs, but the scarcity of apprenticeships results from the state of the national economy-from the changing structure of the work force. For this the labor movement bears little responsibility. Business and government must carry the brunt.

NAACP LABOR SECRETARY Herbert Hill estimated in 1960 that Negroes make up only 1.69% of the total number of apprentices in the economy. This is the result of generations of systematic exclusions of Negroes from skilled trades. The segregationist practices of the craft unions are well-known and among the ugliest chapters in labor history. They are now under fire from the AFL-CIO itself.

However, the struggle against discrimination in apprenticeship programs, though vital, cannot solve the problem of Negro employment. Such discrimination is not a mojor cause of the present high levels of Negro unemployment. As A. Phillip Randolph has pointed out,

> We complain because the building trades have no room for Negroes; but the real trouble now is that these unions are designed for profit through scarcity. If the crafts were open to us, that could not, in the present economy, create more than 40,000 jobs. (Testimony before the Committee on Employment and Manpower, July 25, 1963).[25]

FEDERAL AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS AND THE NEGRO

While many of the federal agricultural programs have been in existence for over thirty years, Negroes in the South and the Nation have not proportionately benefited and have not participated in these programs at the local, state, and national level. This is clearly revealed in A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina by the Southern Regional Council which is being partially reprinted.

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Introduction

This report seeks to give brief but accurate description of the meaning which federal agricultural programs have for Negro farmers in the Deep South. For this purpose, nine rural counties of South Carolina have been studied; these are: Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Calhoun, Clarendon, Hampton, Jasper, Lee, and Williamsburg. Although practices and conditions may differ throughout the South, these particular counties are valid illustrations of prevailing situations within the Black Belt.

The study was based on official records, supplemented by interviews of Negro farmers in each county.

The study had these aims: 1) to determine the degree of Negro employment in programs sponsored by the Department of Agriculture; 2) to discover what exclusion, if any, there was of Negroes from such programs; and 3) to gauge the degree of participation of Negro farmers in the decision-making and advisory committees which help administer federal benefits.

In all but one of the counties selected Negroes constitute more than 50 per cent of the total population. In five of the counties, more than 50 per cent of the farmers are Negro, according to the 1959 Census of Agriculture. In none were Negro farmers less than 39 per cent of the total. Furthermore, each of the counties had a very low Negro voter registration, ranging from a high of 22 per cent to a low of 6 per cent of the total registration.

As background for this study, interviews were held with 20 Negro farmers in each of the nine counties. They were questioned about their attitudes toward the federal programs, toward the people administering them, and about their knowledge and use of these programs. Little of a specific nature came from these interviews, but they did reveal certain consistently held opinions and feelings. The reports of these interviews show a group of persons, representative one can believe of a great many Black Belt Negro farmers, whose chief views toward the federal programs are the following:

(a) Generally, they have a confused picture of the agricultural agencies and of the benefits they administer.
(b) Some were aware of their right to participate in community and county elections, just as many others were not.
(c) Some feel that they have been unfairly treated in crop allotments, but either did not know of their appeal rights or saw no advantage in exercising them.
(d) There was general awareness and resentment about the non-employment of Negroes in agency offices.
(e) Those interviewed who were registered voters seemed to vote freely and without hestitation; of those not registered many indicated a vague but real feeling that voting was the white folks' affair, and that they were not expected to register.
(f) Underlying virtually all interviews was a pervasively expressed feeling of alienation from the rest of the farming community and the agencies of power.

The next five sections of this report are devoted to brief discussions of individual programs administered by the Agriculture Department and of their application in the nine counties. A final section discusses some of the findings.

Farmers Home Administration

The Farmers Home Administration of the U. S. Department of Agriculture administers a program known as the supervised credit system. This program, which dates back through several modifications to 1934, is intended to help small farmers of poor credit standing acquire and sustain family-size farms by providing easy credit and technical assistance. Direct federal loans are made.

The FHA has an office in each agricultural county, headed by a county supervisor. He and his staff, if any, are members of the U. S. Civil Service. In some southern counties, there is an assistance agent, a Negro, to aid in processing loan applications of Negroes. But to insure local control, each application is passed on by a committee of three local farmers, selected by the state FHA director from panels recommended by the county supervisor. Thus, to the small farmer seeking assistance, this committee may be the most important governmental body with which he deals.

Loans are of various kinds: operating, ownership, disaster, water development and soil conservation, rural housing. In all types, the committe considers, without firm guidelines and hardly any administrative review, the applicant's character, reputation, and the economic soundness of the desired loan.

In the nine South Carolina counties studied, no Negro has ever been county supervisor. No Negro has ever held a clerical job in a county FHA office. In official correspondence, the office seldom if ever addresses a Negro farmer as "Mister."

The distribution of loans within each of the counties over the last three years show certain characteristics. As will be noted:

(a) There are great variations, year to year, and county to county, in the proportion of assistance going to Negroes;
(b) Negroes fare relatively well in receiving operating and disaster loans, but fare relatively poorly in receiving ownership and housing loans.

Over the three year period ending June 30, 1962, there were only nine loans under federal programs in the entire nine counties to Negroes for the purpose of enabling them to acquire their own farms. And five of these loans were made in fiscal year 1961. Either to build or improve farm housing there were only 14 loans to Negroes, five of these having been made also in the past fiscal year. Moreover, out of the $1,222,630 advanced by the Farmers Home Administration for farm land acquisition in these counties during this period only $55,550 went to Negro farmers: out of the $1,328,915 advanced for farm housing only $81,955 went to Negroes.

While Negroes have received a fairer share of the operating and emergency loans made by the Agriculture Department, the figures for this three-year period indicate that a group which could reasonably be expected to constitute 75 to 80 per cent of the farmers needing aid received only about one-third of the aid actually given. Of the $,615,240 advanced for operating loans Negroes received $1,241,380; of the $358,330 advanced for emergency loans Negroes received $142,160. No Negro in these counties has ever had a soil conservation loan from the department.

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service agency carries out various programs in the fields of production adjustment, conservation assistance, and price and market stabilization. Included within it are the ASCS state, county, and community farmer committee systems as well as most of the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

In some regions, however, notably in the South, leadership in local ASCS administration has been shared with county agents and other officials of the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Service. But since the Agricultural Extension Service in the South has been from its inception a segregated institution whose policies and operations were carried out by whites, Negro farmers are handicapped by the same pattern in the ASCS operations. In the nine counties covered in this survey, it is apparent that the farmer-committee system has not benefited the Negro farmer specifically of the Negro generally.

The state committee is composed of three to five farmer members appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, plus the state director of the Agricultural Extension Service. County committeemen are elected annually by the farmers of the county, with the county agricultural agent also serving as a committeeman. County committees are under the general supervision of the state committee.

The county ASCS office is the farmer's point of contact in the case of most price-supported commodities. For example, office personnel assist the farmer in the preparation of price support documents and check his eligibility for price support. Each committee employs an office manager, but the committee itself is responsible for all programs, policies, and decisions at the county level. To assist it, community committees of three farmers each are elected annually by local communities within the county.

Today some 90,000 farmers throughout the nation are serving as county or community committeemen. Inquiry at department level indicates that in the entire history of these committees only one Negro has ever served as a county committeeman. That gentleman was from Vermont and is now deceased. Negroes have served as community committeemen in the past, but the only known instances in South Carolina were in Beaufort County and in Jasper County, and that was some time ago. At the present time there seem to be no Negro community committeemen in the state of South Carolina.

The ASCS county committees are vitally important to southern farmers for this reason: in the last analysis, they control the distribution of crop allotments for most of the basic crops. Since those public and private agencies which extend credit to small farmers base their line of credit on the amount of allotted crops, any lack of concern for the small farmer on the part of local committees greatly affects his eligibility for Department of Agriculture loans and all other types of loan. And since the state committee operates in close cooperation with the local committees, the crop allotments directly under the jurisdiction of the state committee are influenced by the policies and attitudes of the local committees. Thus, uless these local committees operate fairly in setting crop allotments, the small Negro farmer suffers a severe economic handicap. True, there is a review committee, consisting of farmers independent of all county and community committees and appointed for various localities by the state committee, to which a farmer can appeal allotment decisions made on the local level. There are, however, no Negroes onany of the review committees currently operating in South Carolina.

Theoretically at least, elections for county and community committeemen are conducted in the best democratic tradition. But many Negro farmers in the counties under study do not participate in these elections. If they did, it could normally be expected that at least some Negro committeemen would have been elected.

Moreover, like the Farmers Home Administration, the local offices of the ASCS could make clerical, blue collar, and supervisory jobs available to Negroes. Yet, in the known instances where Negroes have applied for jobs in the area under survey, they have been turned down; indeed, no Negro has ever been hired for such jobs in these nine counties. In fact, throughout South Carolina, there seem to be no regulations, policies, or procedures established by the state committee (which, as noted above, is appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture) to implement fair employment practices contained in the civil service regulations or in the pledges made by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities.

Cooperative Farm Credit System

The cooperative farm credit system is administered by an independent agency known as the Farm Credit Administration. Its credit facilities play an important role in American agriculture and are closely related to the other sources of credit available to farmers generally.

The three main branches of cooperative credit are: 1) the federal land bank, long-term farm mortgage credit system; 2) the production credit association, a short-term credit system; and 3) banks which finance agricultural cooperatives (this branch, however, plays no role in the nine counties involved in this survey).

Some 370,000 farmers are currently members of the 800 or so Federal Land Bank Associations in this country. Members of each association elect their own board of directors from among their fellow members. In turn, each of the boards of directors select two of their members for appointment to the Federal Farm Credit Board, whose directors are selected by the President to determine policy on a national level. As far as can be ascertained, no Negro has ever served as a member of any of these boards, local, regional, or national.

The production credit associations are organized in more or less the same way as the Federal Land Bank Associations. Despite the fact that many Negroes in the South Carolina counties under study have borrowed through the local production credit association, they have not usually participated in elections for board members or in any policy-making procedures. Nor has any Negro ever been hired as a staff worker for the local association.

Department of Agriculture Extension Service

The Extension Service was established in 1914 to bring better incomes and better living to farm families. The land grant colleges and universities in the agricultural states have long been employed to carry out the purposes and policies of the Extension Service. One half of the extension funds used in South Carolina come from the federal government.

In the South, however, the land grant college was--and largely still is--a segregated institution. In South Carolina, for example, all-white Clemson College has been the main institution used. Any Negro extension or home economics work has been done through the all-Negro state college at Orangeburg and through all-Negro high schools. But a regular reading of South Carolina newspapers suggests that the activities of the Extension Service are primarily devoted to white farmers. There is no breakdown of funds between white and Negro extension work, but all indications are that the Negro farmer is not receiving a fair or adequate share of the funds expended in this field.

In the entire nine counties there are only five Negro men acting as extension service representatives and six Negro women as home demonstration agents. On the other hand, in each of the nine counties there are full staffs of whites acting as extension service personnel. 4-H Club enrollment figures show that three of the counties have no Negro 4-H Club members whatsoever. Because of the shortage of trained Negro extension service agents and the fact that they must cover far more territory and deal with far more people than their white counterparts, it seems fairly obvious that their work cannot begin to compare with the extension work being done in the white communities.

Again, as has been noted previously of other Agriculture Department agencies in this area, secretarial and clerical jobs with the extension service are available. But, again, no Negroes in the nine counties--or, so far as it can be determined, in the entire state of South Carolina--have ever been hired for these jobs.

Rural Areas Development

The newly-established rural area development program seeks to bring about a better balance between farms and industry in economically depressed areas and thereby to create new jobs. At present, the program is being administered by the state and local representatives of the Farmers Home Administration. But, as noted previously, the state and local FHA offices in South Carolina are almost entirely staffed by whites. Thus there is virtually no Negro representation to improve the chances that new jobs created by the program will go to Negroes.

Several projects in South Carolina have already been approved. Yet not one additional Negro operative job has opened up, though it is possible that Negroes may eventually be hired to fill a few menial positions.

The program also calls for the establishment of training schools to teach new skills for new jobs. At the moment, there is no way of determining whether these schools will be segregated or integrated. Nor is it possible to tell whether qualified Negroes will be allowed to participate in all of the training courses offered or just in those for semi-skilled and less remunerative jobs. It is fair to say, however, that there is pressing need for the positive safeguards of Negro rights.

Conclusions

The Negro farmer in these nine South Carolina counties seems not to receive anything like a fair share of funds appropriated for the aid of the small farmer, and receives shockingly little in the way of help for the acquisition of additional farm land to make his farming more viable, or for housing to give him and his family an incentive to stay on the land. The extension service takes no more than a passing interest in his problems.

No agencies of the Department of Agriculture nor of the organizations over which it has general supervision have afforded South Carolina Negroes anything like equal job employment. The only jobs available, besides janitors, have been those within the segregated practices of some of the agencies. There have been no clerical or administrative jobs made available to Negroes in South Carolina. Since the federal government provides virtually all the funds for all of these operations, it could be expected to insist upon the same pledges and practices required of private contractors doing business with the government.

Area redevelopment programs which do not from the outset provide for equal job opportunities for Negroes will only strengthen and perpetuate the present system of inequalities. It is ironic that Negro unemployment and under-employment is counted to determine area eligibility for area redevelop-assistance, while the resulting projects exclude Negroes from any direct job benefits.

Reprinted From: Daily Press, Newport News, Va., April 30, 1965: Drew Pearson, THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND.

There's been a bitter backstage battle in the House Agriculture Committee over the question of putting Negroes on local Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committees.

The battle affects several hundred thousand Negro sharecroppers in the deep South and could jeopardize subsidy payments to tobacco and cotton farmers. Northern Democrats have been willing to go along with these rich subsidy payments for the sake of party harmony. But the civil rights issue has become so important in the North that this support could easily be withdrawn and if so the farm bill would be defeated.

This is one reason the arguments over Negro participation in the Southern Farm Program have been held with no Northern Congressman present.

To avoid leaks, Southern Congressmen met privately with Horace Godfrey, head of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Godfrey is from North Carolina. So is Chairman Cooley of the House Agriculture Committee. Present were Representatives L. H. Fountain and Ross Taylor, also of North Carolina, together with such pillars of Southern agriculture as Thomas G. Abernethy, Miss., "Took" Gathings, Ark., John McMillan, S. C., Paul Jones, Mo.

The debate was hot and heavy.

"Horace, you're turning your back on your own people," complained Cooley to Godfrey, his fellow North Carolinian. "You're going too far. You set quotas for Negroes' jobs, and there's not supposed to be any quotas in filling jobs. It's unconstitutional."

Cooley referred to the fact that Godfrey had sent a directive to all local Agricultural Stabilization Committees directing that the first vacancy on local committees be filled by a Negro; second, that temporary jobs during the summer be filled with Negroes until the percentage of Negroes employed was equal to the percentage of Negro farmers in each Southern state.

His directive followed a tough report by the Civil Rights Commission pointing out that no Negro served on a State Agricultural Committee in the South; and that only 75 Negroes served among 37,000 members of community committees.

There was immediate revolt in the deep South against Godfrey's directive.

"If you think you're going to get a farm bill if you stick to that program," Chairman Cooley told his fellow North Carolinian, "you're just crazy."

Most of those present at the inside meeting were old friends of Horace Godfrey. They had known him a long time. But they found him adamant on the point that Negroes must be given a voice on the local committees which regulate Southern agriculture.

OTHER FEDERAL PROGRAMS

A long existing service has been the 1,900 local public employment offices of state employment services affiliated with the United States Employment Service. The chief purpose of this Federal-state system are to bring together and to match properly workers and jobs and to provide labor markets.

Public employment offices provide many other services to communities, employees, and workers under A.R.A., M.D.T.A., The Vocational Education Act of 1964, the Trade Expansion Act, The Public Works Acceleration Act, and the E.O.A.

The Appalachia Act provides a special program for the economic rehabilitation of the depressed area composing parts of eleven states, stretching from Pennsylvania to Alabama. For an excellent article about this area and the act, as well as the "anti-poverty" war, consult This Is War? by Students For A Democratic Society.

Under Title I of the recently passed Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Virginia should receive around 29 million dollars. In the age group, 5-17, around 17 percent live with families who earn less than $2,000 per year.

The money included in Title I accounts for one billion dollars of the proposed program. The formula employed is simple.

> The number of children between the ages of 5 and 17 from families in which the annual income is less than $2,000 a year is multiplied by one-half the State's average per capita cost for the education of public school children. In Virginia this average cost is $350; therefore, the number of children is multiplied by $175.

Funds are provided additionally as follows:
- Title II--funds for School Library Resources and Instructional Materials--first year, $100 million
- Title III--funds for Supplementary Educational Centers and Services--first year, $100 million
- Title IV--funds for Educational Research and Training; Amendments to the Cooperative Research Act of 1954--first year, $45 million
- Title V--funds for Strengthening State Departments of Education--first-year, $10 million

Under the last four titles, services and materials will be available for non-public schools, but they will be strictly under the control and administration of public school officers at both the state and local levels.[26]

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88-210):

- * Dollar-for-dollar matching grants to states to improve their non-professional vocational education programs.

For information write or call:
Division of Vocational and Technical Education, Office of Education,
Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C.[27]

The Food Stamp Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-525):

- * Distributes food coupons to needy families through state welfare agencies.
- * Participants can exchange coupons at most grocery stores for any food for human consumption except alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and certain imported foods.

For information write or call:
Director, Food Distribution Division, Agricultural Marketing Service,
Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.[28]

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

A suggestion of history is that political and social freedoms tend to become meaningless without economic freedom, even though laws have been enacted which promise political, legal, and social freedom. The Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and even the Thirteenth Amendment to a degree, become meaningless in the South and the rest of the nation for economic freedom was not established during Reconstruction. "The Great Lesson of Reconstruction is that political and social freedom is inseparable from economic freedom."[29]

The American problem and the Negro problem are the same. The elimination of racial injustice will not solve the Negro problem, for like millions of others in the new "under-class," the Negro's problem is one of economics and politics, as well as social. The Negro, who makes up 25 percent of the poor, are suffering not only from discrimination, but from economic structural changes like poor whites. The Negro must gain the political power to change the course of the cybernation revolution from a destroyer to a creator of his economic freedom. This will mean the raising of issues which cut across racial lines and the further creation of new political forces.

Some possible but not mutually exclusive solutions are:

1) To demand massive education and training to qualify Negroes and others in the "under-class" for the expanding.[30]
2) To demand progressive tax reforms at the local, state, and national level.
3) To demand a shorter work week to ease displacement being created by cybernation even though its ability to reabsorb the "under-class"

is not certain.[31]

4) To demand that the federal government enforce and strengthen the Full Employment Act of 1946 which states the responsibility of the federal government to deal with unemployment.
5) To demand a massive increase in the public works program that will create the unskilled and semiskilled jobs for which Negroes and others in the "under-class" are already qualified. America has neglected her social needs. Secretary of Labor Wirtz has estimated that if the United States were to meet its unmet needs in highways, schools and hospitals, there would be a labor shortage instead of high unemployment. However, while millions are unemployed, 15 percent of our plant capacity is unused and over $60 billion is lost each year, the nation refuses to really do something. This demand, like the first, can not be entrusted to the private economy, for they are not the functions of the profit motive, but rather of meeting human and social needs. This program should be based on economic planning with the democratic requirement that the planning be by public bodies for the general welfare.[32]

The demand for a massive federal works program can be a natural rallying point for virtually all the unemployed. Such a program would do what the others cannot--attack class unemployment by providing job opportunities even for unskilled and semiskilled workers; that is, for precisely those who now lack work. Says Mr. Michael,

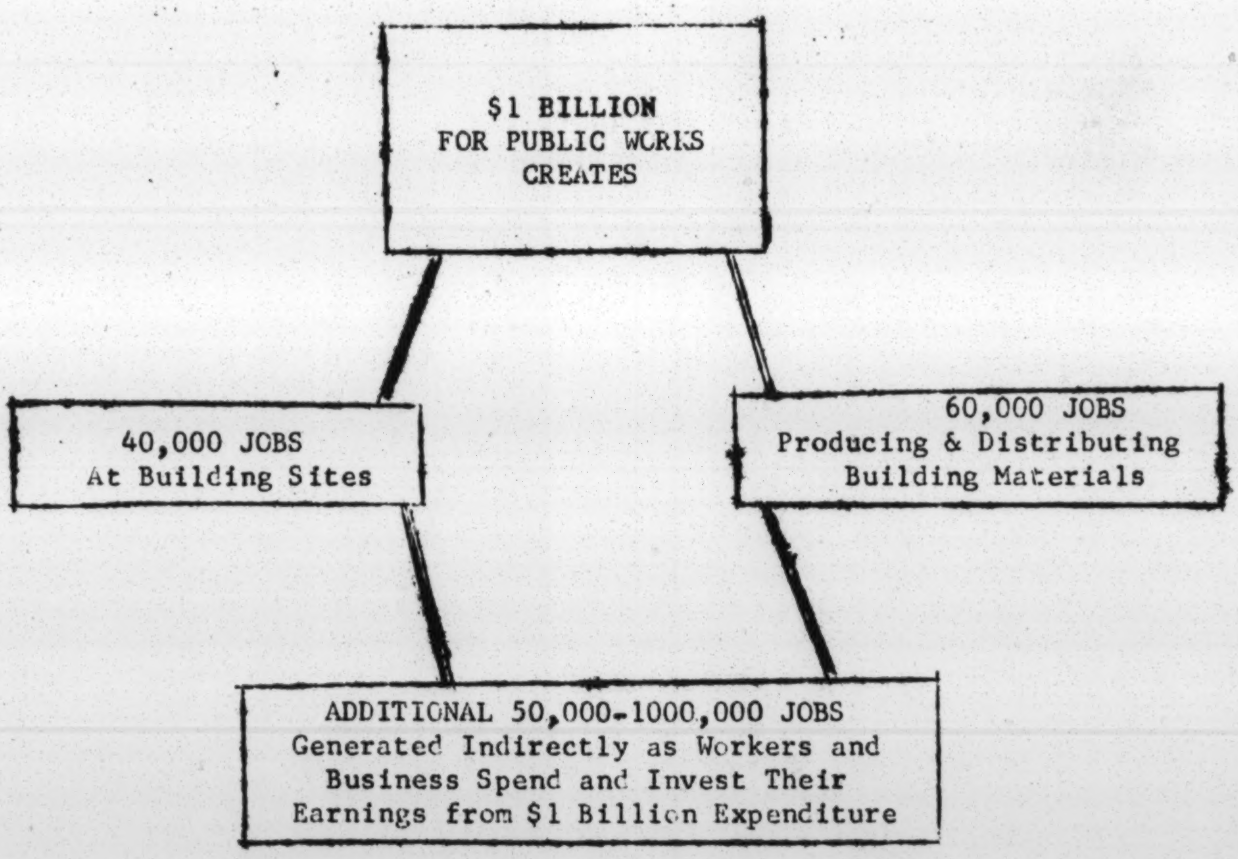
> If our understanding of the direction of cybernation is correct the government will probably be faced for the indefinite future with the need to support part of the population through public works. There is no dearth of public work to be done, and it is not impossible that so much would continue to be needed that an appropriately organized public works program could stimulate the economy to the point that a substantial portion of the work force could be absorbed into the private sector. That is, although the proportion of workers needed for any particular task will be reduced through the use of cybernation, the total number of tasks that need to be done could equal or exceed the absolute number of people available to do them. (Cybernation: The Silent Conquest? Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1962, p. 25.)

The civil rights movement should have a special interest in a massive federal works program because it can provide jobs and additional purchasing power for the unskilled categories in which Negroes are so heavily concentrated. No less important, Negroes will especially benefit from the fruits of public works: slum clearance, school and hospital construction, decongestant highway and road construction, new parks and playgrounds, carefully planned public housing, etc. We can at least begin the rational reorganization of our cities.

Among the leading spokesmen for massive public works has been the American labor movement. Its explanation of how public works creates jobs is worth quoting at length.

> On the basis of Labor Department studies, it is estimated that $1 billion of government outlay for public works directly creates

about 40,000 on-site construction jobs, with approximately 25 percent to 30 percent of the jobs for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. In addition, such investment outlay also directly creates about 60,000 jobs in the production and distribution of building materials and equipment. In all, $1 billion of government investment for public works directly creates about 100,000 jobs. As these workers spend their earnings-and the retailers who deal with them re-spend the money--sales increase and more jobs are created in retail stores, warehouses and companies that produce consumer goods. The improvement in sales and the increased orders for building materials, also boosts business profits and investments. This process of rising sales and business investment creates many jobs indirectly. A government expenditure of $1 billion for public works indirectly creates about 50,000-100,000 jobs--a total of about 150,000-200,000 jobs. An increase of $3 billion in public works outlays, therefore, would create about 450,000-600,000 additional jobs, both directly and indirectly. (Labor Looks at the Nation's Economy: 1963, AFL-CIO, p. 16.)


$1 BILLION
FOR PUBLIC WORKS
CREATES
40,000 JOBS
At Building Sites
60,000 JOBS
Producing & Distributing
Building Materials
ADDITIONAL 50,000-1000,000 JOBS
Generated Indirectly as Workers and
Business Spend and Invest Their
Earnings from $1 Billion Expenditure

Source: AFL-CIO Research Department, based on studies of U.S. Department of Labor.

Some economists object that a public works program would have a "make-work" or "handout" air that would demoralize workers. This need not be true.

It depends upon the value society assigns to the work being performed. Certainly a public works program carried out by the guardians of the status quo--who regard poverty as a moral flaw and people on relief as chiselers--would have the predicted results. But under new political leadership genuinely committed to "getting America moving again," such a program could be cast in radically different terms: not as "make-work," not even mainly as an assault on unemployment, but as a crusade for the physical and social reconstruction, literally the rebuilding, of the nation. If unemployment did not exist, a national face-lifting would still be needed to enable our social services, our very patterns of life, to catch up with twentieth century technology. In a rational and humane society, conscious of its own growing needs, participants in a reconstruction program would have the respect reserved in the past for the financially successful.[33]

FOOTNOTES

Parts of this report are reprinted and this is indicated by "reprint" at the end of the footnote.

1. Tom Kahn, The Economics of Equality, League for Industrial Democracy, New York, 1964, p. 37.

2. Converging Social Trends, Emerging Social Problems, Dept. of H.E.W., Washington, D.C., p. 11.

3. George G. Kirster, "The Manpower Revolution," The Nation, Volume 198, No. 7, (February 10, 1964), p. 141.

4. The Ad Hoc Committee, The Triple Revolution, Santa Barbara, p. 8.

5. Ibid., p. 5.

6. Tom Kahn, op. cit., p. 22.

7. Ibid., Chp. 2.

8. Ibid., Chp. 2 and U.S. Bureau of Census, Characteristics of the Population, Virginia, 1960.

9. U.S. Bureau of Census, Characteristics of the Population, Virginia, 1960.

10. Richard Titmus, "Poverty vs. Inequality: Diagnosis," The Nation, Vol. 200 (February 8, 1965), p. 132.

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12. The Port Huron Statement, Students For A Democratic Society, New York, 1964, pp. 14-15.

13. L.H. Kyserling, Poverty and Deprivation in the U.S., Conference on Economic Progress, Washington, 1962, p. 39.

14. L.H. Kyserling, Tax and the Public Interest, Conference on Economic Progress, Wahington, 1963, pp. 19-20.

15. Ibid., pp. 58-64.

16. W.C. Haggstron, "The Power of the Poor, Students for a Democratic Society, New York, p. 9 (reprint).

17. Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, 1965, p. 5 (reprint).

18. The Poor In America, SNCC, Atlanta, 1965, p. 5 (reprint).

19. Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, op. cit., pp. 2-4 (partial reprint plus other sources).

20. Tom Kahn, op. cit., pp. 37-38 (reprint).

21. Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, op. cit., pp. 2-4 (partial reprint plus other sources).

22. What's In the Civil Rights Act?, The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Washington, p. 2 (reprint).

23. Tom Kahn, op. cit., pp. pp. 38-39 (reprint).

24. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, op. cit., pp. 2-3 (reprint).

25. Tom Kahn, op. cit., pp. 39-40 (reprint).

26. Virginia Journal of Education, March, 1965, pp. 13-14 (reprint).

27. Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, op. cit., p. 10.

28. Ibid.,

29. T. Kahn, op. cit., p. 13.

30. Ibid., p. 51.

31. Ibid., p. 51.

32. Ibid., p. 52-55.

33. Ibid., pp. 52-54 (reprint).

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Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committe
Box 292
Blackstone, Virginia
Phone: (703) 292-4498

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR
VIRGINIA STUDENTS' CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

From Sept. 1, 1965 - May 31, 1966

WAGES		$ 5,000
PART-TIME WORKERS FUND		750
TRANSPORTATION EXPENSES		
Gasoline	1,440	
Service and repairs	675	
Insurance	600	
		2,715
OFFICE EXPENSES		
Rent	405	
Utilities	450	
Supplies	650	
Telephone	900	
Resource material	100	
Payment, mimeograph machine	70	2,575
CONFERENCE FUND		1,000
SPECIAL PROJECTS		
(a) Newspaper		
Offset Press	1,450	
Supplies	600	
(b) Film	7,500	
		9,550
RESERVE FUND		1,200
Total expenses		22,790

EXPLANATION OF BUDGET ITEMS

A. WAGES From September 1, 1965, until May 31, 1966, seven staff members of VSCRC will be working primarily in Nottoway, Lunenburg and Brunswick Counties. They will also work as much as possible in Dinwiddie, Amelia and Powhatan Counties where full-time workers worked this summer. Wages will be $20 per week for each staff member; $560 per month for entire staff.

B. PART-TIME WORKERS FUND This fund is to provide gas and food for part-time workers who cannot provide their own funds. Part-time staff would work on weekend and hollidays to help the staff maintain and develop the existing programs in the six counties that were established this summer. Also, there will be special projects developed, such as voter registration for the part-time staff to work on. The part-time staff will consist of around ten staff members of VSCRC who worked full-time this summer plus additional students that will be recruited from Virginia colleges and campuses.

C. TRANSPORTATION EXPENSES Cars are a necessity in rural counties. Based on our experience this summer we believe that gas will cost us around $160 per month for the four cars we have; service and repairs will run around $75 per month. Insurance premiums for liability insurance will be around $600 per year for the cars for which we will have to provide coverage. Two of the four cars are owned by staff members, one is being loaned and the fourth belongs to VSCRC. The latter was given to VSCRC.

D. OFFICE EXPENSES The central office of VSCRC will be rent-free, as well as the freedom house and office in Amelia Courthouse and the freedom house in Lawrenceville. However, $45 per month rent will have to be paid on the freedom house and research office in Blackstone. Utilities for the above locations should be around $50 per month. Telephone expenses for the above four locations should run around $100 per month. This item, as well as all the items in this section are based on experience of this summer.

Office supplies of mimeograph material, postage, envelopes and other office supplies should be around $70 per month.

Purchase of resource books and subscription to bulletins from various government agencies, such as the U.S. Bureau of Census and Superintendent of Documents will be a minimum of $100 per year.

VSCRC purchased a used A B Dick 435 Mimeograph Machine for $150, and the organization still owes $70 on the machine.

E. CONFERENCE FUND VSCRC will meet monthly at various college campuses in Virginia. Also, we plan to have large winter and spring conferences as were held last year. The conference fund will be used to cover the cost of obtaining speakers, printing and distribution of different research and educational materials, and to pay the expenses of students to attend the conference who cannot afford the cost.

F. SPECIAL PROJECT FUND

1. Newspaper - A great need exists in Southside for a coverage of civil rights news from a positive perspective as all the local papers and the Richmond and Petersburg papers are very negative about civil rights. Amelia County and Powhatan County do not have any kind of newspaper. A small weekly newspaper could fill this gap. Also, there is a need for the citizens (Negro) of the many Southside Counties to develop a means of communication that will help them to develop stronger and more efficient organizations to end discrimination and to end the political and economic conditions from which they suffer. We believe a small newspaper could help provide this basic tool of organization. Also, the offset press would be used to print other material requested by the Negro community, such as church bulletins, meetings of social and civic clubs and other meetings.

2. Film - VSCRC has contacted Mr. Willis Briley, Production Manager, and other personnel of Thomas Craven Film Corporation of New York, New York, about making a film. The basic purpose of the film would be educational. Through this dramatic means of communication we would like to depict the needs and problems of Virginia's Blackbelt. While we have done a great deal of research about the monetary needs and problems of this area, we believe that we need to visualize our research. We believe that the most effective way would be with a film which could help end the myth that Virginia does not have any problems.

We believe that the film would be of basic importance in helping stimulate and arouse people to force Southside counties to restore compulsory education and push such programs in the schools as free or rented textbooks as the students now have to purchase their own textbooks. The film can also serve to point out how laws need to be repealed and passed so that Virginia's Constitution will no longer permit a few to rule and prevent Virginia from having a democratic republic government.

The film would be shown not only on college campuses but shown to various clubs and organizations. Although education is the primary purpose of the film, it would also serve to recruit people and raise funds to aid VSCRC in its role of helping the Negro citizens and poor whites restore democracy in Virginia.

Due to financial reasons the picture would be in black and white with limited inside shots; however, this should not affect its effectiveness. Mr. Briley has assured us that he would do all in his power to keep the cost down. Thomas Craven Film Corporation has made outstanding documentaries which have won awards at the American Film Festival, Cannes and Venice.

G. RESERVE FUND This fund would be used to meet emergency expenditures, such as legal expenses. Money in this fund will also be used to purchase books for Freedom Schools and other needs which may arise.

Vol. I
No. 2

Victoria, Virginia
October, 1965

The New Virginia

Virginia Students'

Civil Rights Committee

NEWSLETTER

NOTTOWAY SCHOOLS DESEGREGATED

On Thursday, Sept. 2, southside Nottoway County opened schools. The opening was as peaceful and quiet as any normal school opening day of past years. But the normalcy had a history-making quality. Into the previously all-white schools entered 151 Negro children for the first time. Not only was this a first, it also was the largest number of Negro children to desegregate schools in the southside area.

This unusual situation came about through a combination of events during the first two weeks of April. On April 6, Rev. David Gordon, a Negro candidate for a Blackstone town council seat, was disqualified on a questionable technicality. And on April 13, the Nottoway School Board released the original freedom-of-choice plan as its answer to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Title VI becoming effective this year forbids racial discrimination in all programs receiving Federal funds and authorizes the withdrawal of federal money where discrimination continues. After the release of the plan the school board made no further action to inform Negro parents of the plan's full meaning.

The county Negroes were indignant at Rev. Gordon's disqualification and scoffingly skeptical of the school board's plan. The Negro community felt it was the school board's duty to desegregate the schools without equivocation and not place Negro parents' necks on a chopping block of economic and physical intimidation, in having to personally make such a choice.

Out of the frustration came a determination and a county-wide meeting on Sunday, May 2, at Springhill Baptist Church in Blackstone. From a capacity crowd under the guidance of Farmville's mighty champion and State NAACP president, Rev. Francis Griffin, also Reverends David Gordon, Robert Craghead, Green-

(continued on page 2)

STUDENT THANKSGIVING PROJECT PLANNED

VSCRC will sponsor a Thanksgiving project for college students to do volunteer work on the southside project.

The project will last from Nov. 24 - Nov. 28. Lodging, and possibly some meals, will be provided in the local community. Students provide their own transportation to southside. Students may work the entire four days or less time, if necessary.

Detailed information on the Thanksgiving project will be provided at the November conference in Lynchburg. Some tentative plans have already been made.

In Nottoway County workers are needed to canvass in Blackstone to get signatures for a petition requesting public sewage for the Negro residential areas. Help is also needed to decorate a float to be entered in the Blackstone Christmas parade by the Nottoway Civic Development Council, a Negro organization. Negroes have never before participated in the parade.

In Lunenburg County, students are needed to leaflet the county to further strengthen the selective buying campaign in Victoria against merchants who refuse to denounce the Klan and who, in some cases, actively support the Klan. Another much- needed job to be done is working with the youth in a recreation program in Victoria. The Negro citizens own a community center but it is little-used due to a lack of people to supervise recreation.

Students with specific skills are also needed. VSCRC staff member, John Washington, wants student assistance in doing some photography work. Students are also needed to assist in secretarial and accounting work.

VSCRC has seven staff members working in Amelia, Brunswick, Lunenburg and Nottoway counties. The central office is located in Victoria. Field offices are located at Blackstone, Lawrenceville, and Amelia Courthouse.

Negroes Respond To Klan With Selective Buying

Since Sept. 8, Negroes in Lunenburg County have conducted a selective buying campaign in Victoria. The demand of the Negroes is quite simple: merchants of Victoria, the site of the first Klan rally in Southside Virginia, should publically denounce the Klan and refuse to support it. The peopla refuse to spend their money at a store whose owner may contribute directly to the support of the Klan. The battle is being led by the Lunenburg Citizenship Organization, a county-wide Negro civic group that was organized in June.

At a mass meeting of Negroes, a committee of five men was elected to represent the Negro community in negotiations. This committee met with members of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce committee, headed by Robert Williams, Victoria town council member, agreed the Chamber would issue a statement denouncing the Klan. The Negro community waited for the promise to be fulfilled, waited for the white man to keep his word. They are still waiting. Instead of denouncing the Klan, the Chamber of Commerce announced that it "opposed extremism in any form," and "did not appreciate being made the middleman between groups."

At a second mass meeting, the Negroes rejected the Chamber of Commerce statement as unsatisfactory and voted to continue the selective buying campaign. Almost the entire Negro community seems to be supporting the campaign. A Negro is rarely seen on the downtown streets of Victoria. One merchant claims that his business has been reduced $400-$500 every week-end. Negro sentiment seems summed up in one of the slogans used on leaflets being distributed: "Negroes unite; don't spend a nickel to support cross-burners and race-haters!"

Klan activity in the area is very evident. One of the five "Klan klaverns" in Virginia is located in Victoria. Three crosses have been burned since the Klan began organizing. When investigating one of the burnings, local law enforcement officials cautioned the Negro land owner: "These civil rights workers could have burned this cross because you don't attend enough of their meetings." The police have offered no further explanation in solving the case.

Nottoway Schools Desegregated (con't)

hill and Miss Nancy Adams, a civil rights worker in Prince Edward County, the Nottoway County Desegregation Committee was formed. Plans were laid for a county-wide information drive on the issue. A committee leader responsible for each magisterial district was appointed. The mimeographing of a thousand fact sheets on the freedom-of-choice plan and the new Federal law were ordered.

Committee members and volunteers, armed with the fact sheets made a day and night canvass of every Negro parent from May 3 to May 21. Each parent was given a thorough explanation of the issues involved and encouraged to enroll their child in white schools. Weekly county-wide meetings were held at various churches throughout the area. On May 14, parents were sent the freedom-of-choice forms by the school board, to be signed and returned by May 21...just one week to make such a momentous decision!

The Nottoway County Desegregation Committee was satisfied of one thing, the Negro community had been well-informed of the issue. It was now the parents' decision.

Around June 1, amid rising tensions and misgivings on all sides, and the arrival of a new group of civil rights workers, the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee, the school board announced 150 Negro pupils had enrolled for previously all-white schools. The announcement was received with a calmness that has been maintained to the present time. The Committee was pleased with the results of a hard job well done. But it found its work had only really begun and moved on for a summer program, which shall be covered in another article.

written by members of the Nottoway School Desegregation Com.

(The Nottoway School Desegregation Committee has changed its name to the Nottoway Civic Development Council and is not only working in school desegregation but in many other areas. If you would like a member of this group to talk and work with you, in your county, please notify VSCRC.)

The Southern (Reprinted from) Vol. 23, No. 7

PATRIOT September, 1965

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

The Accents are Southern

Experiment in Virginia

(By Staff Correspondent)

BLACKSTONE, Va. — It's very much like the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project in miniature—except that the accents of most of the workers are Southern.

This is the 1965 Summer Project of the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee (VSCRC), headquartered in Blackstone and fanning out through six Black Belt counties.

Through the summer, 20 young people worked in the project, 15 of them white, virtually all students in seven Virginia colleges, most of them native Southerners.

Ben Montgomery, chairman of VSCRC and a student last year at Hampton Institute. tells how it came about:

"We began talking at a statewide student conference called by SNCC last fall. We decided we didn't need to go to Mississippi to find work that needed doing. We had problems right here."

The area they chose, Virginia's Black Belt, lies south of Richmond, the state's Fourth Congressional District. Negroes make up 47.9 per cent of the District population and are a majority in 10 of its 18 counties. Last June only 18.6 per cent of those eligible were registered to vote.

Median income for the entire district is $3,532 a year—putting it 405th among the 435 congressional districts in the nation; from one fourth to one third of the Negro families earn less than $1,000 a year. The area is rural, the main crop tobacco.

To the casual observer, however, there is nothing at all like Mississippi's vast flat stretches of cotton fields sprinkled with tiny cabins and then one big mansion where the owner lives. The country here is prettier—hills and greenery and variety.

"The problems are covered up better," explains Lucius "Duke" Edwards, a project worker. "Many people think Virginia Negroes are free just because nobody is shooting at them every few nights."

Edwards says that if Mississippi is the "closed society," Virginia is the "controlled society."

Traditionally, this state has been run from the top by the few. Registration and voting figures are among the lowest in the nation, for white as well as Negro. The government is highly centralized. Real power lies with circuit court judges elected by the legislature; the judges appoint key local officials including those who control schools and welfare.

VIRGINIA STUDENTS
GHTS COMMIT
NOW

—Southern Patriot Photo

DISCUSSING VIRGINIA'S 'CONTROLLED SOCIETY' and what to do about it, some members of the Virginia summer student project gather in front of their Blackstone headquarters, (from left) Howard Romaine, University of Virginia, Lucius "Duke" Edwards, Virginia State College, David Lubs, University of Virginia, and Ben Montgomery, Hampton Institute.

Even local elected officials are beholden to centralized power, because a state compensation board annually fixes their salaries. The whole system was made to order for machine control, which Virginia has long had.

How do a handful of idealistic college students go about tackling such a formidable force to let some fresh air of democracy in?

You start somewhere, these students say—in one county, now six counties, later more. And you work, you have faith—and when you get discouraged you start all over.

The first thing these students did, last winter, was research. No civil rights project in the South has been more carefully prepared for than this one. They collected facts and figures on the area. Then they visited some local people.

Then they talked among themselves. Stanley Wise of the SNCC staff met with them. By summer they were deeply imbued with the SNCC philosophy that an organizer is not a missionary who goes out to help "the people" but a catalyst who helps people help themselves.

"Our job," explains Howard Romaine of the University of Virginia, "is to find out what people want and need and help them organize themselves."

So this summer they spent a lot of time just listening.

Voter registration was an obvious objective, but far from the only one. Crop allotments were a big issue, for there is often evidence of discrimination.

Lack of jobs is a major problem for Negro young people; most of them leave, a Lunenburg County youth told the *Patriot* reporter, because they think they will find a job in the North. They rarely do, so usually come back—and join the Army as a last resort.

And sometimes the problem was just food.

"Let's don't talk about civil rights, honey, let's talk about food," one woman told Anne Romaine (Howard's wife; there were two young married couples on the project). This woman had four children and was really hungry. So that set the students to trying to get surplus food into the county.

SCOPE, the summer organizing project of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, also had workers in this area (they were from out of state), and a Presbyterian group had a tutoring project. They all worked together.

What is the reaction of local Negroes to these white students who come to their homes—not Northern students but white Southerners?

"They just don't believe it," laughed Duke Edwards, himself a Negro. "They ask where they are from, and the kids say

Virginia Project....

Southern Students Organize

(Continued from Page 1)

Staunton or Lynchburg, or somewhere else in Virginia—and they can't believe it."

Trust, of course, does not come overnight, but it is not impossible, and real relationships grew.

As for the white students themselves, they are an inspiring group; full of the contagious joy of those who have found their way out of the sham of the Southern segregated world. Unlike the mavericks of earlier generations, they are beginning to have the numbers that make them know they are part of a real movement.

There is Howard Romaine, native of Louisiana who was studying bio-chemistry when he discovered the sit-ins and Mississippi and the movement and couldn't get his mind on the chemistry anymore ("It bugged me, man, it bugged me.") There is Nan Grogan, cheerleader at a Virginia high school, social leader at Mary Washington College—until she worked in an Atlanta slum on a YWCA project, saw poverty firsthand, found SNCC, went to Mississippi.

And so on down the list—each with his own story, breaking away, finding freedom.

Nan Grogan thinks they feel it all more deeply than many Northern students who come South. She worked in Mississippi last summer and was amazed during the winter when she visited another summer worker in New England and found that his interest in the movement had cooled.

"They went home to be heroes, had dinners given in their honor, all that," she explains. "If you are from the South and work in the movement, you may go home to ostracism and pain. So you think a long time and when you make up your mind you really believe."

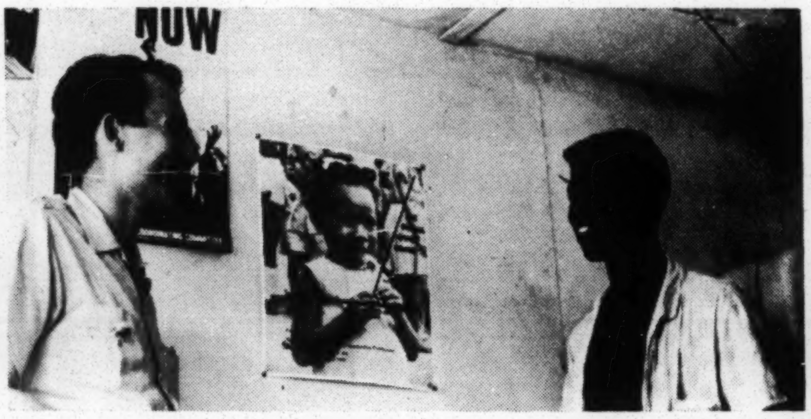
One future objective of the Virginia project will be to organize among the poor white people as well as the Negroes of this impoverished region and to bring them together.

There is also talk of literacy schools, political action to support independent candidates for both local and state offices, and community organizations to make use of anti-poverty programs in a way that makes them really belong to the local people.

The project will continue; some summer workers will stay. Those returning to campuses will be telling their experiences, attempting to bring other searching young people to the wide world of emancipation and social commitment. There will be weekend organizing projects during the year, and hopefully many more on the job next summer.

Here perhaps is the greatest significance of this project: not only Southern black and white students working together, but working in communities close to home and thus bridging the gap that so often separates the intellectual from his fellowman.

(The Virginia student project is not the child of any national organization, so has limited financial resources. You can make a tax exempt donation through the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) P.O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tenn., which is supporting them. Make checks to SSOC, and mark them for VSCRC.)



—Patriot Photo

THE VIRGINIA STUDENTS and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's SCOPE workers jointly set up an office, library and community center in Victoria, Va. Here SCOPE worker Bill Monnie of West Virginia Wesleyan College (left) talks with a local civil rights worker, John Boyd.

HELPING LOCAL PEOPLE learn the mechanics of organizing is part of the Virginia students' work. Here two project workers, Howard Romaine (left) and Bill Towe, show Richard Wallace and Lawrence Fowlks how to run the mimeograph machine.

SUPPORT VSCRC NOW
The Work in Virginia Must Continue !!!

Tear Off And Return to:
Enclosed is my contribution of $ Or,
I pledge $ per month to the Virginia Students for Civil Rights Committee (VSCRS).

Name...

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Contributors to VSCRC receive a subscription to the NEW VIRGINIA. Send to: VSCRS, Box 79, Kenbridge, Va.

FALL CONFERENCE

sponsored by

Virginia College Council of Human Relations

assisted by

Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee

November 5, 6, and 7, 1965

Lynchburg, Virginia

Tentative Agenda

Friday:

5-7 pm	registration and housing assignments, main lobby, Hopwood Hall, Lynchburg College
8 pm	movies and filmstrips on various aspects of the civil rights movement followed by general discussion

Saturday:

morning	panel discussion: "Recent Civil Rights Activity in Southside Virginia"
aftnoon	speeches and discussion on campus reform led by members of Students for Individual Rights from Richmond Professional Institut
	workshops: VCCHR on the campus campus reform student role in civil rights student work in Southside Va. campus-community organizing
night	play presented by Prince Edward County youth drama group

Sunday:

morning	speech; Rev. Robert Combs, executive director, Virginia Council of Human Relations
aftnoon	planning session: student Thanksgiving project urban projects organizing poor white people future for VCCHR and VSCRC

APPLICATION: FALL CONFERENCE

Name ______________________________

College Address ______________________________

Telephone ______________Sex____ Age____Year in school_______

Need housing ________________Do not need housing___________

Send application to Bruce J. Smith, Box 4126, Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, Virginia, (phone: VI7-7431).

Housing will be provided for those who indicate on the application that they will need housing.

Latecomers to the conference should go to main lobby of Hopwood Hall, Lynchburg College to register and receive further instructions.

Lunenburg Negroes Denied Legal Rights in Poverty Program

by Nathaniel Hawthorne

I am writing concerning the community action program that we are trying very hard to get and that we need very badly. We are being blocked by the Board of Supervisors with the way they have been running the county government for years, with a small group of rich Uncle Toms. This is the real story.

At a public meeting held on Aug. 17 which was publicized by radio announcements, distribution of leaflets throughout the county, and canvassing door-to-door of both Negroes and whites, a steering committee was elected to represent the Negro people of the county in planning and administrating a community action program. Three people were elected from each of the seven districts in the county, giving a total of 21 representatives to make up the steering committee.

After writing a series of letters, the committee was able, after being denied the use of county and state meeting facilities, to obtain a Negro school in which to hold a public meeting. Influential white citizens and county officials were written by members of the committee and invited to attend the public meeting.

At the public meeting on Sept. 15, the two speakers from the OEO gave full information on community action programs and stated specifically that poor people had the right to elect their own representatives to plan the program. Of the seven white officials who attended the meeting, most of them stated publically that they were in favor of the program.

At the Sept. meeting of the Lunenburg County Board of Supervisors, the board appointed a committee to investigate the Economic Opportunities Act and to recommend whether the board should sponsor such a program. The steering committee wrote this investigating committee asking that public hearings be held and that the investigating committee meet with the steering committee. No reply to this letter was received.

At the Oct. Board of Supervisors meeting, which three members of the steering committee attended, the Board decided to sponsor a community action program for one year. The Board did not ask for comments or suggestions from the steering committee. The Board immediately appointed two men from each district, one Negro and one white, to serve on a board to head the community action program.

Only after the meeting was adjourned was I allowed to speak. I said I believed the action of the Board was illegal because Negroes had not been allowed the right to select their own representatives. The Board ignored the fact that their committee was non-representative and I said the Negroes would have to take their complaints to state and federal officials.

We of the legitimately elected steering committee feel that the Negroes appointed by the Board are not, by any means, representing the poor Negroes in Lunenburg County. Most of these people have not attended a single meeting on the community action program, a fact that indicates a total lack of interest and concern with the program.

Also, few, if any, of these individuals are in the income bracket of earnings less than $3,000 per year. Three are school teachers which means their minimum yearly income is at least $4,500 and that they are controlled by the school board. One man is a pastor, a school teacher, and assistant principal. Others are independent farmers.

According to 1960 Bureau of the Census statistics, 80.7% of the nonwhite families in the county had a yearly income of less than $3,000. It is obvious that the Negroes selected by the Board do not represent the majority of the Negroes in the county. The rich are being chosen by the power structure to make decisions for poor people about what kinds of programs are needed to alter the lives of the poor. The rich simply are not qualified to know the needs of the poor. Only poor people can fully understand problems of poverty and poor people should be allowed to administer their own program. Poverty in this county is so bad that the School Board requires the Negro children whose parents are on welfare to work for their lunch, yet the Board of Supervisors could only find rich Negroes to appoint.

We of the steering committee know we represent the poor Negroes because we have been elected by the people and we ourselves are poor people. We will do all in our power to see that the voice of the poor is heard and to see that any community action program in this county is democratically administrated by the people it is designed to help. Such administration is evident no where in the county at this time.

WHAT TO THINK AND HOW TO LOOK vs. HOW TO THINK AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

Nearly two hundred students from RPI, other Virginia colleges, and staff and local people working in the Southside project attended a rally at Richmond on Oct. 19. The rally was sponsored by the Students for Individual Rights (SIR), which was organized, in part, to finance the court costs of obtaining a permanent injunction by three RPI students against RPI for refusing them admission because of their long hair and beards. The three students, Salvatore Federico, Robert D. Shoffner, and Norman T. Marshall, all seniors, have been very active on the campus and all have better than a "B" average.

The students marched from the campus to the First Unitarian Church, site of the rally. Reid Cornwell, Chairman of SIR, presided and stated that SIR was organized to protect the rights of all students as well as to help the three RPI students in their court battle. Significant questions were raised by the speakers and Norman Marshall stated it was the first time he had seen RPI students really think about anything. It was pointed out that training institutions, such as the U. S. Army, exist to teach people what to think. Educational institutions should exist to teach people how to think. If an institution becomes more concerned with how students look and how their looks will affect the school "image," rather than the real question of whether students are thinking, then the school may soon start telling students what to think. This is beginning to happen at RPI. One speaker pointed out that RPI professors had been instructed not to discuss sex, politics, or religion in class with freshmen.

Dr. William Gold, pastor of the First Unitarian Church, gave a sermon, "Could Jesus Get Into RPI?" Gold said the real question might be "would Jesus want to get into RPI?"

It was announced at the rally that the American Civil Liberties Union had issued a letter of support for the students. If necessary, the students plan to take their case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The case was heard in the Richmond Circuit Court on Oct.20. 37 students picketed on the RPI campus and marched to the courtroom to hear the case. Judge John W. Knowles stated that he would announce his decision after studying similar cases. The students earlier sought a temporary injunction in the Circuit Court and the state supreme court but lost.

Hopefully, these three RPI students and other members of SIR will be at the November conference in Lynchburg.

(Attorney Howard W. Carwile of Richmond is representing the students. He is donating his services but money is needed to cover court costs. Send donations to: Salvatore Fredrico
SIR
306 N. Harrison Street
Richmond, Va. 23220
Telephone: 358-0872

VIRGINIA STUDENTS' CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE
Box 79
Kenbridge, Virginia

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

12/21/65

Nottoway Civic Development Council: Job and Voter Registration Survey

BACKGROUND INFORMATION SHEET

1) How the survey came about.

Growing out of school desegration and other civil rights activity in Nottoway County last summer, a county-wide organization of Negro leadership and civil rights workers (the NCDC) was formed. In November and early December, Rev. Craghead of Crewe, the new chairman of the group, called meetings which made long-term plans for civil rights activity in the county. Because of the over-riding importance of good jobs to Negroes, improving job opportunities in the area became the focus of interest. Only on the basis of full information about the kinds of jobs now being held and about unusued skills and potential can forceful action be taken; hence the present survey.

A number of possibilities will be open once the survey is completed:

a) Action to obtain a more comprehensive retraining program under poverty or other governmental legislation;

b) Fitting unused skills to jobs in individual cases---especially as more skilled higher-paying jobs become available to Negroes locally;

c) Taking action against discriminating employers, including cooperation with wider regional action against out-of-town employers (e.g. chain-stores).

One great need is to find jobs permitting local people to work closer to their homes.

2) County Organization.

The county, and the NCDC, are organized along Magisterial District or Precinct lines. There are four such districts in Nottoway County, with a Development Council leader from each. The easternmost district, including Blackstone, is Bellefonte; the next district west is Blendon, which includes the village of Nottoway Court House; next northwest is Winningham, including the town of Crewe; and the fartherest west district is Haytakah, which includes Burkeville.

3) Relevant local issues.

a) Local schools: Beginning in September of this year, Negro students (151) are attending formerly all-white schools in the county; no Whites are in Negro schools. White schools get more money and have better facilities than most Negro schools. In Nottoway County, white schools are valued at $1,517,884, Negro schools at $1,385,377, yet there are more Negro children.
In all but two (Foster High and Engleside) Negro schools our children have inadequate frame buildings, outside toilets, inadequate heat, little or no outdoor play equipment. Members of our committee who visited the schools felt conditions in some schools were not only inadequate but unsanitary.
The schools are crowded. Our libraries are insufficient or non-existent.
Sixteen buses carry 996 White pupils per day. Fourteen buses carry 1240 Negro pupils per day.
A source of hardship is the fact that pupils in Virginia are forced to buy their own textbooks--which often cost as much as $21 per child. It is possible that government money might be made available, under suitable pressure or action, to provide money for school-books. If the local School Board could be persuaded to act, the county is entitled to $200,000 under the Elementary and

Secondary School Act (U.S.).

b) Sewage line--Blackstone: No streets in the West End Negro section of Blackst have sewage lines. In November a group of local citizens circulated a petiti to the Town Council (with about 100 names) asking for sewage along Falls, Luk Church, Second, Third, and Nottoway streets. There has been much misundersta ing about the legal requirements and costs, should the town do this. So far a we can foresee, no one will be forced to hook into the line once it is put i Cost to hook-in will run between $25 and $150, unless one wishes toinstall a full bathroom--which of course will run somewhat more. The matter is now bef the Council. Sewage lines exist along all white streets, and are now being laid in the Negro section to the north of town.

4) Voting Rights.

a) Back poll taxes do not have to be paid, and only one year at a time has to be paid ($1.50), unless a person has been registered previously and is behind in making poll tax payments; then he must pay up to two year's back taxes as well as the present year's (ie. maximum of $4.50). Nottoway Courthouse is ope Monday through Friday 9:00 to 4:30 and Saturday 9:00 to 12:00 for payment of taxes, but on Mondays only, 9:00 to 4:30, for registration. If any person has trouble reading or writing, the Registrar is obligated by law to assist him to register. Difficulty in registering, or false information from the Registrar, should be reported immediately to the NCDC.

b) According to the 24th Amendment, no one may be required to pay a poll tax to vote in a federal election. However, since Negro voting power is very much needed at the local (state, county, town) levels, Negroes should be urge to pay their poll taxes so they may vote in all elections. Even the existenc of a growing number of names of Negroes on the roll will act as a lever to secure better conditions. The County Board of Supervisors and the Town Counc are elected. Although it is true that all three local parties (Republican, Democratic, Conservative) are segregationist, some are more so than others; and they will gradually respond if they see Negro voters exercising what lit choice they have. Voting is power to change.

5) Economic Opportunities Act of 1964 (Poverty Program):

Nottoway County is now in process of organizing to obtain funds under the US Po ty program. The Board of Supervisors has appointed fourteen out of twenty-one members of the steering committee of the local Community Action Program (CAP). Of the appointees, six are Negroes, with two more to be appointed. So far the Board has appointed representatives selected by the Negroes themselves (in contrast to Lunenberg County, where the Board rejected democratically selected Negroes). The Committee has yet to meet and propose specific programs. Among the could be a day nursery program, a concern with school drop-outs, regional health clinics, loans to impoverished farm families, provision of school-books.

There is considerable interest in the Negro community in a nursery school for children of working mothers. It will be useful for interviewers to note names of parents (or teachers) who are interested in such a project.

6) Present training program.

Under the Manpower Development Training Act (U.S.) there is now operating in Crewe the Southside Vocational Training School. High school drop-outs and other seeking special training (nurses aides, sewing, auto mechanics, etc.) may obtai information be calling 645-7471.

7) **Fair Employment Practices**

Under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, discrimination in hiring, training promoting, working conditions, and firing because of race, color, religion, sex and national origin is prohibited. Until July, 1966, this applies only to employ of 100 or more persons, but after that it will include employers of 75 persons o more, the next year, employers of 50 or more, and the following employers of 25 or more. Anyone who feels he has been unfairly treated should get in touch with a representative of the NCDC immediately. Names and phone numbers are:

Rev. Robert Craghead, Pres.- - - -645-9106
Rev. David Gordon, Vice-Pres.- - - 292-3654
Mrs. Frank Anderson, Secy- - - - - 292-3124
Mr. Bill Towe, Worker- - - - - - - 292-4498

8) The regular meetings of the Nottoway Civic Development Council is held the second Monday of each month at 8:00 p.m. in the Bethesda Presbyterian Church (Rev. Craghead) near Nottoway Court House. All Negroes in the county are urged to attend.

12/21/65

Nottoway Civic Development Council: Job and Voter Registration Survey

INSTRUCTIONS TO HOME VISITORS

1) Become informed about local issues and their background. Read carefully the information sheets and survey form. You will be listened to more if you have "done your homework."

2) Introduce yourself by identifying whom ypu represent and the purpose of your visi

   a) Most obvious identification is the Nottoway Civic Development Council; if further identification is needed, you can refer to "the group which helped desegrate the schools" and which "got the Christmas float in the Blackstone parade, or you can mention the names of Rev. Craghead (of Crewe) and Rev. Gordon (of Blackstone).

   b) Purpose is to conduct a survey about jobs, dissatisfactions about jobs, skills or tmaining not used, etc. (See information sheets for further explanations.)

3) Throughout your questioning listen for leads or questions from the people you are visiting and pursue them before going on with questions. Suggested sequence of questions:

   a) Present job, dissatisfactions with it, special skills or training (Question 1 or quwstion 2. if person is unemployed). This is a good time to ask about th educational level of the person being questioned.

   b) Name, address, phone, names and ages of other family members living in the home. Please print the names, especially!

   c) Discrimination (Quewtion 3.). Most persons respond No to this question; if so you might ask how far up the ladder they think they could advance in their present work if they were qualified. (Other words or phrases, such as "been denied any job" or "not had a fair chance because of color" are clearer to ma people than "discriminated against".)

   d) Present job, dissatisfactions, skills and training of other family members who have or are seeking employment. (Use the numbers from top of form to distinguish information about husband (1.) from wife (2.) etc. If cramped for space, use an additional form.)

e) Poll tax and registration question. Many people have paid their poll tax but have never registered; some have registered to vote in federal but not state and local elections. If appropriate it will be useful to ask whether already registered persons actually voted; note the answer to the right of the poll tax column.

4) Sugggstions re. conduct of the visit:

a) Encouraging attitudes of self-respect and the ability to think and make choice for oneself is fully as important a goal as compiling information or obtaining registrations. Thus it is important to follow up all questions or leads, and to encourage those being visited to express their feelings, fears and hopes. Take time to visit for a while if they want to do that. Look at them, listen for what they may be feeling or hinting at, and draw them out where appropria: We have much to learn from their experiences.

b) You will need to sense how many questions to ask or in how great a detail. With some, for instance, you may get only the bare facts, such as present job, dissatisfactions or not, name and address; with others you may get detailed information about all family members, their education, ages, interests and possible participation in our work. Where people are openly hostile, do not press for answers; maintaining friendly relations is more important than complete coverage!

c) Sometimes people give you the answer you want to please you, or because they are embarrassed or anxious. Thus "What about your registration to vote?" is more neutral than "And I presume you have also registered?" or even "Are you registered?" Where there are inconsistencies, ask for clarification if you can do so without offense.

5) Additional information. It will be useful to make brief notes regarding economic level of home, general attitude toward civil rights, and additional comments useful in recruitment of workers, assessment of attitudes toward NCDC and its

its present and future activities. In fact, it may be that, more important than any specific questionnaire results, are the new contacts made and the gains in Negro community organization in Nottoway.

6) You will find a tremendous range in education, intelligence, interest and potential among interviewees. Some older Negroes seem quite satisfied in jobs they have held for a long time; thus it seems gratuitous, almost insensitive, to ask if they "wouldn't like a better job"--asking about any dissatisfactions with presen job is probably better. Such a question also implies no ability on our part to obtain a better job for someone. On the other hand we ran across some intelligent Negroes who had apparently thought little about the possibility of "doing better" so far as jobs are concerned. With these, a longer conversation may be very important--including an exploration of possible hidden discriminations in limitations to advancement etc. The younger, more educated Negroes are able to fill out their own questionnaires and should be encouraged to do so.

7) Frequently little is elicited from the "unused skills and training" questions. may be useful to ask older Negroes about previous jobs in which they have learned to operate machines or do special tasks. Also younger Negroes may not think of high school courses (e.g. typing, bookkeeping) as "special training" because the possibility of using it seems remote. But it is precisely such skills as typing that will be needed if and when Negroes move into white-colla jobs in the community.

Job and Voter Registration Survey Form

Phone number ____________________

Precinct ____________________ Address ____________________

1. Name Mr. ____________________

2. Name Miss/Mrs. ____________________

Other members

3. ____________________

4. ____________________

5. ____________________

6. ____________________

7. ____________________

8. ____________________

Other Information

	Age	Educational Level	Registered		Poll Tax Paid		
			All	Federal	63	64	65
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							

Questions

Employed

1. Do you want a better job? ____________________

____

a. What kind of work are you presently doing? ____________________

____

____

b. What kind of job would you like to have? ____________________

____

C. What particular skills do you have that would qualify you for a better job? ______________________________

____

D. What kind of special training have you had that would qualify you for a better job? ______________________________

____

____

Unemployed

2. Do you need a job? ______________________________

a. What kind of job have you held in the past? ______________________________

____

b. What kind of job are you interested in? ______________________________

____

c. What particular skills do you have that would qualify you for a job? ______________________________

____

d. What kind of special training have you had that would qualify you for a job? ______________________________

____

____

3. Have you ever been discriminated against when applying for a job? ______________________________

a. Name of company, person, or employment agency? ______________________________

____

b. Type of company? ______________________________

c. Why do you feel that you were discriminated against? ______________________________

____

____

____

4. Comments or other pertinent information ______________________________

____

Why Should YOU Vote?

DO YOU WANT ?
MORE JOBS ?
BETTER SCHOOLS ?
BETTER ROADS ?

Then . . .

vote vote VOTE!

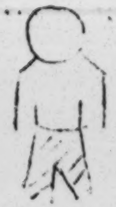
How do you vote ?

1. Pay only one years POLL TAX ($1.50) at the County Treasurer's Office at the Nottoway Courthouse any Monday through Friday from 9:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. or Saturday from 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon.
2. Register at the Nottoway Courthouse on Mondays from 9:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. (Be sure to take your POLL TAX receipt with you. If you have any trouble reading or writing or can not read or write the registrar will help you.)

NOW YOU CAN VOTE IN ALL ELECTIONS !

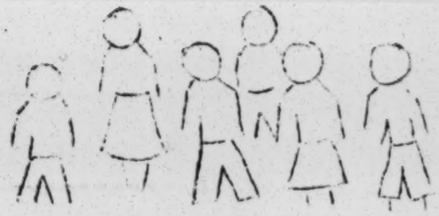
Do you need a ride ? Do you need a babysitter ? Do you have any questions ?

CALL: 292-4498 292-7966 292-4395



One vote can't do much

BUT →



this many can !

over

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION

I hereby make application to be registered to vote in

------------------------------ Precinct

NAME ---

AGE ---

DATE OF BIRTH ---

PLACE OF BIRTH --

RESIDENCE ---

Residence for the one
y ear next preceeding ------------------------------------

OCCUPATION --

Occupation for the one
year next prece eding ------------------------------------

WH ETHER APPLICANT HAS PREVIOUSLY VOTED ------------------

If so, the state, county and precinct in which applicant
vot ed last ---

DATE --

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT ----------------------------------

Vol. I
No. 4

The New Virginia

Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee NEWSLETTER

Victoria, Virginia
December, 1965

NEGRO YOUTH SHOT IN VICTORIA

by Robert Beverly

On Nov. 18, 1965, at 9:15 p.m. a car with two white men in it drove by the Victoria Freedom House several times. The last time it passed, Alfonza Stokes, Kyster Stokes, and I were standing in front of the Freedom House. We saw a shotgun sticking out of the front window on the left side of the car but none of us moved. The car went about 200 feet past the building, stopped, and fired at us.

Alfonza said, "I think he hit me." Just then I looked and the gun was still aimed. We ducked and a second shot was fired, just barely missing us.

The license number of the car had been taken before the shooting because it had been circling the office and it had an out-of state license and white passengers. This information and a description of the passengers were given to the police and the FBI when they came to investigate.

Alfonza was taken to a doctor and treated for a scalp wound. The pellet entered his scalp at the hairline and came out at the top of his head. It was a narrow escape.

The shooting brought a great deal of tension among the Negroes. The Negroes and the whites haven't reached any agreements as of now and that too causes a lot of tension. Some Negroes feel that whites can physically harm them and that nothing will be done about it. Several Negroes have been threatened before and since the shooting many Negroes are arming themselves. Negroes are arming only to defend themselves because no one wants to be shot or even shot at.

The local police say they have two suspects but no arrests have been made. And it's been almost a month since the shooting. Most Negroes feel as though the local police are dragging their feet on this case.

Two nights after Alfonza was shot, another Negro, Edward Glasgow, was shot at when he stopped in a white neighborhood after dark to check his tires. He was not hit. When the whites living around there said they had not heard anything, the police said they couldn't do anything else. The night-riders are still loose and we wonder who will be next.

MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE AT A NOTTOWAY MEETING

by Howard Romaine

It was a Friday night when we arrived at the small Methodist A.M.E. church in Blackstone, Virginia. In our car were Mrs. Mary Fowlkes and Mrs. Ora Clay from the Nottoway Civic Development Council, and Bill and Betsy Towe, VSCRC organizers. A small group of 10-15 people were seated at the front of the church. After we were all seated and had waited a few minutes, one of the deacons opened the meeting with a song, followed by a prayer offered by another member. He said that he was glad to have us and turned the meeting over to our group.

Mrs. Fowlkes began with a short talk on voting. "Some of you are already familiar with the voter registration drive, but we are still working on the problem, trying to reach all of our people to register and vote.

"We should vote to get things done such as better schools, jobs or whatever is most needed where we live."

She then described the new provisions of the voting rights bill, "Prepare to vote in all elections, not Federal only, but all elections. Pay your poll tax of $1.50 and be ready when voting time comes around. You can vote in local elections for mayor and town councilmen, in state elections for governor, senator and delegate, and in national elections for president, vice-president, senator and congressman. Get into politics. It is the business of running your government. It concerns your human dignity,

(continued on page 2)

NOTTOWAY DIALOGUE (cont'd.)

personal freedom and general welfare. Anyone who doesn't read or write well--the registrar is supposed to help you. Anyone who needs transportation, call these numbers..."

Mrs. Fowlkes gave the numbers and concluded, "Remember, if you don't vote,the choice is theirs."

Bill Towe then stepped up and sat down in a chair at the front of the church. "My name is Bill Towe. My wife is Betsy Jean. I'm a civil rights worker. I live on the corner of Falls Street and Amelia Avenue. We're in the county to work with you and to do what you want us to do. Stop in and talk to us anytime.

"Now, we all know that voting is important--but it won't solve all the problems. One problem is that there's a lack of public facilities here in Blackstone. On many, in fact, on most of the streets where Negroes live, there is no sewage. We had a meeting just last week and we made up a petition. We have a hundred names on it now. Would you like to sign it? We're going to have another meeting soon.

"But I wonder what else can be done besides giving a petition to the city manager. Is there anything else we can do?"

Someone suggested that maybe everyone ought to go down to the city council meeting.

"When is it held?"

"Every month. Down at city hall. Every first Thursday."

"Is it open, can people go to the meeting?"

"Yeah, it's supposed to be."

Another man raised his hand. "You know, I think this is a good idea, because we've had petitions before and it didn't do any good. We've got to show them we mean business. One person going down there with a petition in his hand don't mean anything. We've got to have a lot of people there to put pressure on them."

Bill asked again, "Well, if that doesn't work, what else can we do?"

"One thing, we could go out and get everybody registered and vote them out if they didn't do what we wanted. Now, with so few registered, they know we don't have any power. This would give people a reason to register."

"Is there anything else we can do?"

"We know where those councilmen work, what stored they own. We could stop buying there if they didn't work with us."

"They get money from Washington for some of those sewer projects--maybe they would cut off the money if the council doesn't give us an equal share."

"If none of those work we could demonstrate."

The same man who had suggested sitting in on council meetings raised his hand.

"I work for the town. Can Washington do anything about the way we're treated. We work longer hours and get only half the pay."

Bill said,"We'll have to check into it. Is there anything else? Then Mrs. Clay has a few words."

"I just want to say not to let the registrar worry you when you go down to vote. And don't let her fool you. For instance, when you come in, she will say, 'Oh, you want to register for federal elections only.' Then when you tell her no,that you want to register for all elections, she'll say, 'Why did you wait until now to register? Who is it you want to vote for. Why are you people so interested in voting now?' One time we had a group to go in at noon and she demanded, 'What are you people doing down here? Aren't you supposed to be working?'

"The other thing is that the Nottoway Civic Development Council is sponsoring a float for the Christmas parade. It's the first float we've ever had, and we're working on it over at Down's station if anyone wants to come over and help work on it."

The meeting closed with a prayer. We talked for a while afterward, signed petitions and left. On the way home, Mrs. Clay told Bill where they were going on Sunday. Another church, another meeting.

CORRECTION

VSCRC would like to retract a misstatement of fact which appeared in an article entitled, "Negroes Respond to Klan With Selective Buying," in Vol. I, No. 3 of The New Virginia. It was stated that "the Chamber of Commerce committee, headed by Robert Williams, Victoria town council member, agreed the Chamber would issue a statement denouncing the Klan."

Mr. Robert Williams is not a member of the Board of Directors of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce. He did not head nor chair nor at any time be a member of the Chamber of Commerce committee. He is not a member of the Town Council and has made no public statements concerning the Klan or the selective buying campaign. VSCRC regrets making such an error.

-MASS MEETING IN VICTORIA

NOTES + IMPRESSIONS

by Steve Wise

The meeting was held in the community center Friday night. Mr. McCoy Gee led the meeting when it appeared that the president and vice president of Lunenburg Citizenship Organization were absent. Mr. Gee's chairmanship of this meeting, which was called to decided whether to continue the selective buying campaign in Victoria, was significant for two reasons: 1) he spoke in favor of continuing the selective buying campaign, and 2) he allowed everybody to speak. Many people spoke out; there was no suppression of opinion; and the people made their own decisions.

Dr. Winston, chairman of the negotiating committee, reported on a meeting the committee held with the mayor and other town officials. Apparently, the committee had agreed with the power structure to call off the campaign on those stores not displaying Klan posters--This would have meant that only three stores in Victoria would have remained on the list and that the original demand that the merchants publicically denounce the Klan would have gone unmet. Reaction to this report was immediate and negative and none spoke to defend the committee. All spoke in favor of the continuance of the selective buying campaign on all stores. The point stressed most by various speakers was that the Negroes of Lunenburg must stand united if they ever expected to overcome the oppression of the white racists. One speaker maintained that, if Negroes were to give in, they would deserve to lose all chance of freedom. A high school student pointed out the fact that there had been shootings and threats by the Klan and that civil rights workers would be demoralised if the people backed down. Then the discussion turned towards methods of self-defense from maurauding Klansmen and other assorted rednecks. As the meeting went on, an electric feeling of solidarity could be sensed throughout the room. At lengh, it culminated in a unanimous standing vote to continue the selective buying campaign through New Years.

Someone mentioned that lack of transportation forced some Negroes to buy in Victoria. People then volunteered to provide free transportation. Another person said that many people were without credit in Kenbridge, the nearest town. James Gay, a law student at UVA, proposed the establishment of co-ops in the community; this suggestion was greeted with applause. A collection was taken up to sustain the civil rights workers in the county. The meeting ended with freedom songs.

BLACKSTONE NEGROES SPEAK!

by Alfred Booker

During the first week of December, Bill Towe, civil rights worker in Nottoway Coujty, and I canvassed the West End section of Blackstone to tell people about the mass meeting to discuss sewage and other things. I pointed out to the people that the city doesn't segregate the tax dollar but segregates the tax service. Some people pointedout that if the sewage came through, many couldn't afford to hook on to the line. Bill pointed out that if Mr. Charlie paid decent wages more people would be able to hook on. We talked to over 40 people who complained about no Negro policemen on the force, no free textbooks, inadequate dental service for Negroes. They further complained about children having to walk over a mile to the Negro school which is no good frame wooden building with outdoor toilets. Many people expressed great concern and interest.

At the mass meeting the people decided to send a group to town council with a petition and to pressure the council to act on putting sewage service in the Negro community. Mr. Mallory Coleman was chosen as spokesman of the group. The people plan to work with the Nottoway Civic Development Council to lodge these complaints with the governing body so as to tear down the old crumbling wall of Jim Crow.

VSCRC NEEDS YOUR HELP!
SUPPORT THE SOUTHSIDE FREEDOM MOVEMENT!

If every person receiving The New Virginia contributed one dollar, the proceeds would pay the expenses for one county-wide project for the next six months! Make your contribution now for freedom in Southside Virginia!

VSCRC IN SOUTHSIDE

by Sarah Foster and Dorothy Walker

Many people feel that VSCRC is the wasted effort on the part of a few white people to communicate with Negroes. Others feel it is an organization that invites and associates with higher class Negroes, consequently it is out of their league.

We believe that this organization is beneficial to our community for many reasons.

Before VSCRC came to our community many Negroes did not realize the importance of registering to vote. Now they realize that each citizen's vote counts. In canvassing the different communities we've been allowed to assist VSCRC field workers. This has given us the opportunity to become further acquainted with people in the community.

We've been able to talk and associate with the workers without a feeling of inferiority. We feel now that love and friendship can exist between whites and Negroes, and the color of the skin is of no importance.

All opinions are respected, because the members of this organization work with the people, and not for the people. Our opinions have been asked about the structure of the organization which gives us a feeling of belonging. We've been priviledged to attend staff meetings which has proven to be both interesting and educational. Negroes make their own decisions and this organization merely assists in carrying them out.

Members of this organization have explained to the children in the community the importance of a good education, and they have made it possible for them to have access to educational literature.

VSCRC has assisted in starting a selective buying campaign in Lunenburg County, in which Negroes are actively participating.

In working with VSCRC we've had the opportunity to become acquainted with many members of other civil rights organizations.

Wefeel that this organization has made Negroes more conscious of the position they are in and they're now willing to work harder for the cause of equality.

AMELIA POVERTY PROGRAM

by Rives Foster

The anti-poverty group of Amelia County which was formed under the guidance of the white power structure has held up progress. Last spring a group of white people interested in bringing Head Start to the county contacted selected Negroes. This group then formed the board of directors of the anti-poverty program. With great promise this group asked Washington to establish Head Start in the county. But the whites wanted one Head Start to be in the white school and one in the Negro school. Federal officials however did not see it that way and the segregated system collapsed.

However, the Head Start program proceeded with only Negroes taking part in it. Whites did not care to let their children participate and the program was almost stopped by Washington.

This fall a report was given to the school board that in the white school only a quarter of the first graders were prepared for the first grade. It took two months for the report on the Head Start program to be completed and to be presented to the board. Two months is the deadline for government programs to be finished up. Since then the director of the board has quit due to pressure from her own white community. For all practical purposes, the anti-poverty group has ceased to function. One of the Negroes on the board who is not a Tom said that when the state representative of the poverty program came to Amelia, he communicated very little with thedarker portion of the board.

It is unknown whether the anti-poverty board will ever initiate programs. It is hoped that the petition that is presently being circulated will either stir the board to action or get the people to form their own board.

A CHRISTMAS FLOAT

by Mrs. Gwen Anderson

Early this fall, Mrs. Constance Wynn began to talk to the various members of the Nottoway Civic Development Council about the possibility of having a unit in the Christmas parades. The idea was offered at the next NCDC meeting and found a lot of support.

Mrs. Wynn was asked to head a float committee; Bill Towe, civil rights worker, was asked to contact the Blackstone parade director; Mrs. Ora B. Clay was appointed chairman of a fund-raising committee to pay the float expenses; and Mr. John Simmons said he would try anf find a flatbed and tractor.

One week later, at the next meeting, Mrs. Wynn had a model of the proposed float to offer. This plan was approved by the council. Mrs, Clay's committee was busy selling tickets to a dance that featured three door prises; Bill Towe reported our entry had been accepted and Mr. Simmons had located a tractor.

The county responded to the projedt by generously buying tickets to the dance. Of course, without the help and consideration of people like Mr. and Mrs. Merrill Bagley, Mr. Rudolph Harmon and Rev. R, L. Craghead, NCDC president--to mention a few--the success of it would not have been possible. With only ten days promotion, the committee was able to pay the dance expenses and assure themselves of a generous budget for the float.

As we straightened up the hall after the dance, we made plans to go to Richmond and Petersburg the next day to buy the decorations. Two trips later, we felt we had enough materials to start work.

Mr. Lawrence Harris borrowed Mr. Jack Boose flatbed and stored it at Mr. A. C. Downs, Jr.'s new service station. Mr. Mallory Coleman donated lumber and mails. Mr. Willian Stith framed and covered the flat to make it look like the model. Then he cut and installed the backdrop--a six-foot piece of plyboard.

Now, Mrs. Wynn and the civil rights workers started the actual decorations. All through the Thanksgiving holidays, the work went on. Many people who had only intended to stop and look found that they had an idea to offer or could actually help with the decorations or could run an errand. All the names would make a very long list--this was truly a countywide project. An example is Mr Lee Parker who originally loaned his tractor, but expanded that offer to a truck and tractor and drivers.

This float--born of hard work, love and the need of civic expression,-- won second prize in Blackstone in the religious category.

FREEDOM CHRISTMAS

There will be 10-20 volunteer workers in southside during the Christmas holidays working on VSCRC projects. The project, known as Freedom Christmas, is sponsored by the National Student Association (NSA). Between 300 and 600 college students are expected to participate in the south-wide project which will cover seven states (Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana,North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.) Volunteers will urge Negroes to register by door-to-door canvassing, will assist in organizing and publicising local meetings on voter registration, and will help administer voter education projects. They will live with local families and will be required to provide their own expenses and transportation.

PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE

The following material is available upon request from VSCRC:

*"Care and Feeding of Power Structures" by Jack Minnis, SNCC
*"An End To History" by Mario Savio, Berkly Free Speech Mvmt.
*"Jobs, Machines, and People"from Center for Study of Democratic Institutions
*List of films, pamphlets, etc. to use for discussion, fund raising, etc.

TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS

A car is a necessity for workers in largely rural southside counties. We are working one county now without a car. Can you help? Does your campus group need a project? Raise funds to buy a second-hand car for VSCRC work in Southside.

LUNENBURG CRY FOR EQUALITY!

by Nathaniel Hawthorne

Here are a few of the main reasons that I want to see that the low-income Negroes have the right to select their own representation for the Economic Opportunities Act Program in Lunenburg County. I worked with SCOPE and VSCRC on a voter registration drive in Lunenburg County this summer. I have been in almost every Negro home--rich, poor, professional, and nonprofessional. I have talked with Negroes that do not go to church and some of them do not send their children to school. The preachers and school teachers often do not know about these people. There are a lot of Negroes who do not know how to get on the welfare and the white man places the ones that they went on welfare, not the ones that need help.

Poverty is so bad in Lunenburg County that the Negro children have to travel a long route to school on the buses and they have to leave home so early that some of the children do not eat breakfast. The reason for the long bus route is that the Negro buses have to go to schools in both Kenbridge and Victoria and some buseshave to take two loads. The children do not have money to buy a hot lunch, They have peanut butter and jelly sandwiches and they are cold. The children have to ride a long route; they are tired and full of cold and they do not feel like studying.

I am President of the Lunenburg County branch of the NAACP. I worked with SCOPE this summer and am a member of VSCRC Staff. The law calls it civil rights, but I call it human rights. Under the civil rights law and the Economic Opportunity Act, all citizens have the right to select their own representation. Some of the people do not understand that the NAACP speaks for all the Negroes that do not know how to speak or are afraid to speak. I have the authority to speak for them but you should know what this is costing me. I have had my car shot up and have received all kinds of threats. The Ku Klux Klans have come over to the office in broad daylight and wrote my automobile license number down. They will be waiting for me on some lonely road one night.

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VTC rgain
teams r talks at
8 p.m. w sessions expected to continue until midnight or rly this morning.

When sked for a comment on the p gress of the negotiations, Wa ter Bierwagen, international ice president of the transit ion and head of the bargaining team, pointed his thumbs down in a gesture of futility.

No Progress

Before the negotiations broke up for dinner, Archie V. Iddings, president of Richmond Local 1220 said that no progress was being made.

The union said that its bus drivers and maintenance men in Richmond and Norfolk would walk off the job today. All Richmond runs that started before midnight were to be completed assuring some service up until about 6 a.m.

The bus-riding public would not feel the full effect of the strike until the day runs begin shortly before 5 a.m. Operators

Continued on Page 5, Col. 4

Joseph Kennedy Has Mild Attack

PALM BEACH, Fla., Jan. 5 — (AP) — Former Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy, 77, father of the late President, suffered a mild heart attack Wednesday while swimming at his winter home.

He was given the last rites y Msgr. Jeremiah P. O'Ma-
oney, but regained conscious-
ss during the afternoon and
s not hospitalized.

He was said to be resting
fortably late in the after-

ource close to the family
he stroke was not serious
to call in the Kennedy

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Staff Photo

Neg rs S. P. Brewer (left), E. S. Jackson (right) Confer With E. M. Boggs

Bus Strike at a Glance

A strike of VTC bus drivers and maintenance men is scheduled to begin today in Richmond and Norfolk. Page 1.

Department of Public Safety officials here stand ready to handle emergency situations during a strike. Page 1.

Parents will be responsible for getting children to school in the city while a strike is in progress. Page 5.

All VTC buses are scheduled to be off the streets by 5:30 a.m.

Staunton, Augusta Told to Mix Staffs

By Oliver Moore

Times-Dispatch News Bureau

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Jan. 5—In the first court-ordered integration of faculty and administrative staffs in Virginia school systems, Federal District Judge Thomas J. Michie Jr. issued a formula Wednesday for carrying out the faculty desegregation.

In two separate cases brought in behalf of Negro pupils in the Staunton and Augusta county school systems, Judge Michie required that the faculty and administrative staffs in the two systems be integrated. Some degree of faculty desegregation has occurred in at least 46 Virginia school districts.

The formula the judge specified was that "insofar as possible, the percentage of Negro teachers in each school in the system should approximate the percentage of Negro teachers in the entire system for the 1965-66 school session." It was the first time a formula had been set forth in Virginia.

Judge Michie noted that the standard was not absolute but that a guideline was needed to evaluate the steps taken by the school authorities in complying with the court order.

Judge Michie determined that the freedom of choice plan in Augusta county is sound but that the freedom of choice plan in Staunton does not meet the requirements of the 14th Amendment.

"I find no showing of overcrowding so severe as to persuade me to allow the school authorities to delay in adopting complete freedom of choice in Staunton for the 1966-67 school term," Judge Michie said.

In a hearing August 27, Negro plaintiffs argued

Continued on Page 2, C

Safety Department Prepared To Meet Any Strike Crisis

Richmond's Department of Public Safety stood ready last night to meet any crisis that might arise today if Virginia Transit Co. employes go on strike.

With several days of planning behind them and not knowing exactly what to expect, officials seemed not overly concerned and planned to "play it by ear," they said.

A special emergency operations room, inside the city's Safety, Health and Welfare building, will be manned today as a control center for the first time since the building was opened nearly two years ago.

From that nerve center, emergency situations can be pinpointed immediately, efforts to eliminate the situations undertaken and safety agencies that might be affected would be called.

For instance, should a major traffic jam occur at the Boulevard and Broad st., and a fire break out at Monument ave. and the Boulevard, police and Traffic Engineering Bureau personnel would be sped to the scene, nd the Fire Bureau alerted to etour.

"It's really hard to know just at we'll face," Safety Direc- William L. Groth said. 'l just take it as it comes— omes.

t's what the control cen- ere for. We intend to thing in our power to safety of the public ay, such as keeping vehicles running at id Groth.

Groth intimated that he felt the best solution to the problem of an abnormal number of vehicles flooding the city was for the working and shopping public to ride with persons who usually make the trip.

"Our latest figures show a small person-to-auto ratio. I have confidence that people already have made arrangements in many cases to ride with their friends and neighbors."

As the department intensified plans yesterday afternoon, a special meeting was held in the Traffic Engineering Bureau, and subsequently, many businesses in the city were called.

Officials at the businesses were asked to request their em-

Continued on Page 5, Col. 2

Today

Higher Edu-
ow becoming
Virginia.

Hanover School Board

One Novel Is Banned; Others' Fate Unclear

"To Kill a Mockingbird" is dead in Hanover county schools, as far as county school officials are concerned, but the fate of such books as "1984," "Catcher in the Rye" and "Grapes of Wrath" remains in doubt.

The Pulitizer prize-winning book by Harper Lee will not be used in Hanover county schools because in 1960 it was submitted for inclusion on the state aid book list and rejected, said school board Chairman B. W Sadler yesterday.

Under a resolution passed by the county school board Tuesday night, all books taken off the state-approved list must be removed from Hanover schools. The resolution also excludes books that have been rejected for inclusion on the state list Sadler said.

The three other widely
claimed
ta

the school's principal, B. V. Aylor.

Bosher labled George Orwell's
"1984," depicting the despotis
of the regimented society
"very seductive and sugg
piece of literature."

The books "1984," "C
the Rye" and "G
Wrath" have neve
mitted by publis
sion on the state
inger's "Catch
about a prep
Steinbeck's "

Continue

V

Soviet Trawle Sink

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...turing Co., Inc.

Mr. Cone was born in Springhope, N. C. He moved to Richmond as a youth, receiving his education in Richmond schools and at North Carolina State College.

Before retirement, he was a director of Dan River Mills, State-Planters Bank of Commerce and Trusts and Spotless Co.

He was a sponsor of the University of Virginia graduate business school and a member of the Commonwealth Club, the Country Club of Virginia, the Hermitage and Farmington Country Clubs and St. Stephen's Episcopal Church.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Sara Parsons Cone; three daughters, Mrs. Jane Cone Kellner of Carmel Valley, Calif., Mrs. Anne Cone Price of Palm Beach, Fla., and Mrs. Sara Lee Cone Greenhalgh of Potomac, Md.; a brother, Milton Cone of Richmond, and a sister, Mrs. O. B. Baines of Springhope, N. C.

A funeral service will be held at 11 a.m. Friday at Hollywood Cemetery.

Other Deaths

State police also reported two other traffic deaths on Virginia highways.

The victims:

Bobby Carrol Cook, 28, of Hampton.

Gracie Muncy Stanley, 68, of Roanoke.

NEWPORT NEWS — Cook drowned Tuesday after a car he was driving went off state Rt. 168 and plunged into the Newport News city reservoir.

ROANOKE — Gracie Stanley was killed Tuesday when she was struck by a car on state Rt. 625, just west of the Roanoke city limits. Police identified the driver as Joseph Tazewell Jr. of Roanoke.

Picketing Continues At Celanese

NARROWS, Jan. 5—(AP)—...keting by the Roanoke ...ding Trade Council con...d for the second day ...esday at the Celanese ...at ... Giles county. ...keting is ...n con... five

...addling ...est and a tract ...t. 501 to the south. ... .35 of a mile would swell ... town's land size to 1.05 ...quare miles, while increasing its population by an estimated 235 people to 1,027.

The report estimated it would cost the town $37,662 to provide water service into annexed areas. If the town obtained a 50 per cent federal grant for which it is eligible, the cost to the town would be $18,831, the report said.

The big cost would be for sewer services. For providing this service in the Rt. 360 and Rt. 501 areas it would cost $111,030, with the town also eligible for a 50 per cent federal grant on this.

Federal Grants Available

This figure, however, is contingent upon the Forest View improvements which were estimated at $142,200, some $49,700 of which could be obtained through federal grants.

The total cost, then, as forecast by the engineering report, would be $74,346 for water and sewer capital improvements in the annexation area, spread over a five-year period, plus $92,500 for the Forest View sewer work.

The obligation for this much expenditure would create an annual utility fund deficit of $9,413 during a "typical year," based upon present financial conditions. Applying a projected general fund surplus, this deficit would be reduced to $5,289, the report said.

This deficit could be made up through a tax hike, an increase in sewer charges or a combination of the two, the report suggests.

Means of Financing

If accomplished through taxes alone, the tax rate would have to be increased from $1 per $100 of assessed valuation to $1.35, and if it is done through sewer charge increases alone the monthly charge would be jumped from $1.50 to $2.90.

The report foresaw no difficulty for the town in supplying any other normal municipal services to annexed areas—services such as police and fire protection, street maintenance, garbage and trash removal and street lighting.

Council took no action whatsoever on the matter Tuesday night. Individual members received copies of the report for private study and said only they would discuss it at a later date.

Cemetery Gate

Also Tuesday night, council appropriated $250 toward a new gate for the town cemetery, with the cemetery committee expecting to raise the difference of the over-all $425 cost.

The governing body requested ...he State Highway Department ... construct a sidewalk on Cow... rd. eastward from North ... st., a distance of about ... citing the safety of chil... ...ing to a school on Cow... the chief reason for

...rd a request from ... residents that ...rking spaces be ...of their homes. ...esidents said, ...lly filled by ...ame spots ... late af-

A New

Allen Lee Vincent of Arlingto... styled lieutenant of the Am... Nazi party who led a party of ... onto the University of Califo... campus at Berkeley yesterday, wa... handbill he sought to distribute ...nc... ...ist ...e Nazis ... with ...mused indifference b... students and left after an hour, vowing to return today.

Staunton, Augusta Ordered To Integrate School Faculties

Continued From First Page

the respective school systems operate biracial school systems even though they have announced freedom of choice assignment plans.

In the reasoning of the Augusta county decision which was also applied to Staunton, Judge Michie said "it is not enough to open the previously all-whites chools to Negro students who desire to go there while all-Negro schools continue to be maintained as such.

"Inevitably, Negro children will be encouraged to remain in 'their schools,' built for Negroes and maintained for Negroes with Negro teachers and administrative personnel.

"The framework of freedom of choice must be made fair, however, by the integration of teachers and administrative staffs in accordance with the formula I have adopted."

Delay for Staunton

In Staunton, Judge Michie delayed integration of faculty and staff until 1967-68 when the city will enact a geographic assignment plan. In the case of Augusta county, he said there should be "no delay beyond the curent school year.

"The Negro schools in Staunton are being phased out of the school program and I can see no substantial benefit to be derived from forcing the school board to place white teachers in those schools for a one-year period," said Judge Michie.

In the interim 1966-67, Judge Michie said that he will order the Staunton school board to consider Negro teachers, no longer needed in Negro schools as freedom of choice is extended, "to be considered for employment in the predominantly white schools on the same nondiscriminatory basis as white teachers now employed by the school system.

"Unlike Augusta county," Judge Michie continued," Staunton has not progressed beyond the mandatory freedom-of-choice plan for four grades in the current school year." Four more grades would be desegregated for the 1966-67 school term. The year after the city would abandon all Negro schools and assign its students on a geographic basis.

"While I have approved the principle of freedom of choice under constitutional standards, I cannot help but conclude that a simple geographic plan has far more merit from an administrative point of view where a relatively small Negro population creates few practical problems in desegregating," Judge Michie said.

All children were assigned in Augusta county to schools of their choice for the current year.

Of a total of more than 10,000 school children in the county, only slightly more than 500, or 5 per cent, are Negroes. The total school population in Staunton is about 4,600 pupils, of these 600, or approximately 13 per cent, are Negroes.

Judge Michie in the Augusta case dismissed the plaintiffs' contention that freedom of choice is not constitutionally accepted as a final plan of desegregation.

He cited the decision of the Fourth Circuit Court in the Bradley vs. School Board of Richmond case that "imposed discrimination is eliminated as readily by a plan under which each pupil initially assigns himself as he pleases as by a plan under which he is involuntarily assiged on a geographic basis."

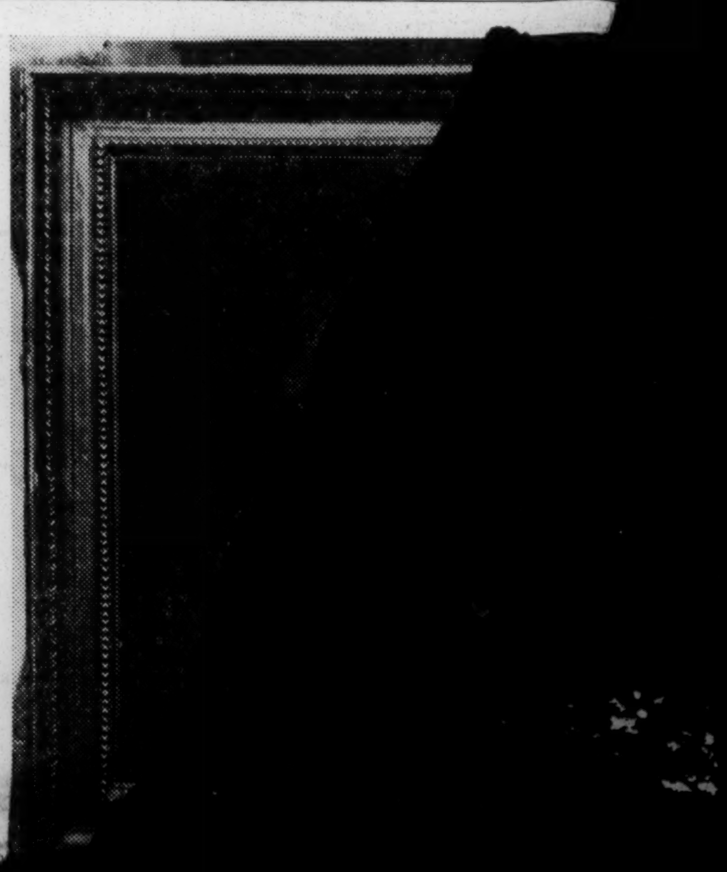
The two cases will be placed on the inactive docket, Judge Michie ruled, until the defendants have taken the steps ordered by the court and the course chosen has been approved as a final plan of desegregation. His orders issued Wednesday are expected to be entered within 10 days.

Warning Issued On Coolant Use

The United States Public Health Service urged the public yesterday not to use small plastic, water-filled novelty items made in Hong Kong that are used for cooling drinks.

"Laboratory examination o... many samples of these nove...ties sold in the United Stat... in recent months has shown t... water inside the balls, whi... often leaks out of the plast... is contaminated in enough ca... to be a potential health h...ard," the health service sai...

A similar announcement ... from the Virginia State H... Department on Decembe... based on preliminary te... the water in the objects ... Health Department's ... tory.



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Application For Financial Aid
For Spring and Summer Projects

submitted by: Virginia Students' Civil
Rights Committee

I. General History and Background of Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee

The Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee (VSCRC) is a group made up predominantly of students and former students from Virginia colleges and universities. VSCRC grew out of an awareness on the part of Virginia students that conditions in certain parts of the state are very similar, in the aspect of racial prejudice and discrimination, to conditions existent in many parts of the deep South.

During the 1964-1965 school year, Negro and white students from twelve Virginia colleges and universities held a series of meetings to make plans for a summer project in the state. At these meetings, in addition to discussing the philosophy and goals of a community organizing project in Virginia's Blackbelt, students presented research papers on aspects of the project, such as job opportunities, freedom schools, community centers, voter registration, and political, social, and economic conditions in the Blackbelt.

These plans were finalized at a work conference sponsored by VSCRC at the University of Virginia in April, 1965. A number of Virginia's civil rights and political leaders and several CORE, SNCC, SSOC, and COFO field secretaries from the Mississippi and other southern civil rights projects were present to advise and lead discussions. At the conference VSCRC distributed a booklet, "A Project for Virginia's Blackbelt," which was used as working paper.

During the summer months of 1965, VSCRC fielded twenty workers in six Virginia counties--Amelia, Brunswick, Dinwiddie, Lunenburg, Nottoway, and Powhatan counties. In two counties, Amelia and Lunenburg, VSCRC and SCOPE coordinated activities. Programs varied sharply from county to county, similar only in the respect that they were instigated and developed at the request and with the support of the local people in the counties. The participation and cooperation of the local people is a direct result, we believe, of our respect for the local people's ability to make the decisions which affect their lives. Essentially, the role we wish to play is to help people to organize around their own needs. Believing as we do in the value of a year-round community organizing project, VSCRC has maintained a staff of seven working full-time throughout the year, continuing the programs which were begun during the summer. These seven staff members include one local person, three students who have dropped out of college to work, two recent college graduates, and two former public school teachers. At the present time the staff is working in Brunswick, Lunenburg, and Nottoway counties. A staff member worked in Amelia County through January.

Despite the relative youth of the organization and its work, there is ample evidence to show that it holds great promise. To our knowledge, this is one of the first community organizing projects in the South that has been initiated, organized and operated by a group of black and white southern students working together in their own state. This is of no small importance. It is a new generation and the beginning of a new era in which Negroes and whites together are demanding a reconstructed and free society. We feel we must bring about a change in the controlled society of Virginia.

II. Progress of Specific Programs

A. Voter Registration--Since June, 1965, more than 1200 people have been registered in the six-county area in which VSCRC has worked. The greatest increase has been in Lunenburg County where Negro registration figures have doubled. An important phase of the voter registration work consisted of organizing marches and rallies which resulted in additional registration days being granted by electoral boards in several counties.

B. Federal Farm Programs--In an effort to educate Negro farmers as to federal farm programs available to them, farmers were canvassed and farmers' meetings were organized. In each of the magisterial districts of three counties farmers nominated and had placed on the ballot candidates for the county Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation committees. This was the first time, in counties where Negroes comprise a majority or near-majority of farmers, that Negroes have been represented on the farm ballot.

C. Federal Poverty Programs--One vital role of VSCRC in this area is that of attempting to insure that these programs are designed and administered by those people who should benefit from them most--Negroes and poor people. People have been organized to prevent the white power structure from arbitrarily selecting middle-class Negroes to serve on the county poverty program boards. Such arbitrary selection in three counties has been countered by mass meetings in which people were democratically elected by Negroes to represent them. In one county, this representative slate was accepted by the power structure. In two other counties, negotiations, spurred by federal OEO investigators, are underway to include the chosen representatives of the Negro community on the county poverty boards. In still another county, Negroes are petitioning to reactivate the already existent but dormant poverty board.

D. Public School Desegregation--Community organizers have held meetings with both parents and students to foster discussion and action on the inadequate educational facilities and standards at both Negro and white schools. People have been and are being organized both to encourage transfer of Negro students to formerly all-white schools and to protest the inadequacy of the freedom-of-choice plan. Follow-up with transferred students is being done by offering tutorial help and by immediate protestation of harassment.

E. Selective Buying Campaigns--At the instigation of local people, the tactic of the selective buying campaign has been used in two counties. In Victoria such a campaign has been underway for six months, the major demand being the hiring of Negroes in white-collar jobs. Negotiations between representatives of the Negro community and the white power structure are still underway. In Lawrenceville, a month-long selective buying campaign resulted in the hiring of Negroes as clerks in retail stores and the appointment of a biracial committee to consider further demands of placement of Negroes on the police force and appointive county governing boards.

F. Filing of Complaints--Information and documentation on the violation of various state election laws has been compiled and furnished to various groups such as the Virginia Council of Human Relation for further action. Violations of the 1965 Voting Rights Act have been compiled and filed with the U. S. Justice Department. Too, violations of Titles II, III, V, and VIII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act have been similarly reported.

G. Newsletter--VSCRC has published five issues of its newsletter, The New Virginia. The newsletter serves several purposes. It heightens a sense of community involvement as local people do much of the writing and the mechanical work involved. Distribution of the newsletter over a six-county area strengthens cross-county lines of communication. The mailing list of 1,000 includes students as well as citizens of southside Virginia. Presently, this serves to keep students informed on the southside project as well as to demonstrate to them the potential effectiveness of a student group. In increasing the effectiveness of the newsletter, we hope to expand our coverage of campus activities, with the compilation of such being handled by full-time students. Lastly, The New Virginia is effective as a means of fund-raising.

H. Campus Programs--In an effort to relate community organizing to students on the campus, VSCRC has developed programs for students. In November 1965 a state-wide student conference was held in Lynchburg under the co-sponsorship of VSCRC and the Virginia Council on Human Relations. More than fifty people, both students from Virginia campuses and Negro citizens of southside Virginia, were involved in a week-end of discussion on the student's relationship to the southside project, campus reform, and community organizing from a campus base. A second conference is planned for March 18, 19, and 20 in Farmville in sponsorship with the Newman Clubs of Virginia. These conferences are designed to serve not only as a stimulus toward fund-raising and recruitment for the spring and summer projects, but also toward the establishment on Virginia campuses of groups dedicated to social action and change.

Throughout the school year students have been encouraged to do volunteer work in southside on week-ends and vacations. VSCRC was a participant in the National Student Association Freedom Christmas project. More than thirty students, both from Virginia and from out-of-state, have worked in a volunteer capacity since September 1965.

During the second semester of this school year, a VSCRC staff member will be campus traveling full-time in the state under the sponsorship of the Southern Student Organizing Committee. Again, such a traveling program is designed to strengthen student ties with the southside project, fund-raise, recruit workers, stimulate conference participation, and aid students in campus reform programs.

I. Research--Since its instigation VSCRC has published eight handbooks related to the southside project. "A Project for Virginia's Blackbelt" outlined the general need for change in the Fourth Congressional District and dealt with the philosophy and goals of community organizing. "Handbook for VSCRC Project in Virginia's Blackbelt" treated the social, political, and economic conditions in Prince Edward, Nottoway, and Amelia counties. Four additional booklets contain similar information on Brunswick, Lunenburg, Dinwiddie, and Powhatan counties. "Federal Farm Programs" discussed the details of the various federal programs available to farmers. "Economic Opportunity and Freedom for the Negro and Related Federal Programs" provides a summary of federal programs that can be utilized in economically deprived areas, a term certainly applicable to much of Virginia's blackbelt. In addition to these research booklets, VSCRC has made available by reprinting material published by other organizations; examples are Jack Minnis' "Care and Feeding of Power Structures;" "An End to History" by Mario Savio; and "Jobs, Machines, and People" by Helstein, Piel, and Theobald.

Another phase of research is the maintenance of a file of clippings from Virginia newspapers dealing with issues related to civil rights in Virginia.

J. Finances--VSCRC has operated the southside project for nine months on a budget of approximately $8,000. It is notable that,with the exception of $3,000 that was received in the form of grants, students raised through personal solicitation, speaking engagements, and concerts all the funds used to support the project. A brochure describing the project and its goals has been designed and used as a fund-raising device.

III. Future Program Development

A. Spring Project--Over an eleven-week period, March 19 through June 4, VSCRC plans to bring into southside counties 40 students as part-time volunteer workers. The emphasis will be primarily on intensive voter registration work in preparation for the crucial July Democratic primary in which Harry F. Byrd, Jr. and A. Willis Robertson will be challenged for their U. S. Senate seats.

For a detailed study of the area, background, and needs of Virginia's Blackbelt and the goals of such a project, refer to "Handbook for a Voter Registration and Education Project in Virginia's Blackbelt" and "Virginia Government Workbook."

The students will be working with staff and local people in Amelia, Lunenburg, Brunswick, Nottoway, and possibly Dinwiddie counties during spring school vacations and on week-ends. We will be using only six to eight students in addition to full-time staff in any one county at a given time. Any number of students exceeding this rate will work with the Fourth Congressional District Voters League in other counties.

Student workers for this period will be recruited through the newsletter, at the spring state-wide conference, and by the full-time Virginia campus traveler. Housing and some meals will be provided in the local communities and students will be expected to provide any other personal expenses. Additional funds necessary to handle the increased manpower in the counties will be raised by four folk concerts on Virginia campuses sponsored by the Southern Student Organizing Committee and VSCRC.

B. Summer Project--VSCRC plans to field 30 full-time workers in southside during the summer months of 1966. Project work in the six counties that were the focus for last summer will be continued. VSCRC plans to expand eastward into Fourth Congressional District counties geographically adjacent to counties now being worked. Strong possible candidate counties with high Negro populations are Surry, Sussex, Greensville, Isle of Wight, and Nansemond counties.

Again, a strong emphasis of the summer project will be voter registration. A greater emphasis will be placed on voter education in preparation for the federal election in November, 1966. As a tool in voter education, we have developed a "Virginia Government Handbook" to be used in educating people as to the political structure of Virginia and the importance of the vote. Night-time classes will be set up in the various magisterial districts of a county in which local people will be trained who will, in turn, train others.

Students will be recruited through the campus traveler program, the spring state-wide conference and smaller seminar sessions during April and May, and by means of the newsletter. Campus groups will be encouraged to raise money through special campus projects to support their student workers in the field. Again, resources from the campus traveler program and the spring folk tour concert will be applied to help finance the summer project. We shall also rely heavily on financial resources within a county in which we work. Experience has proven this to be possible; last summer one county contributed more than half of the total funds expended in that county during the entire summer.

For a detailed study of the area, background, and needs of Virginia's Blackbelt and the goals of such a project, refer to "Handbook for a Voter Registration and Education Project in Virginia's Blackbelt" and "Virginia Government Workbook."

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR
SPRING AND SUMMER PROJECTS OF
THE VIRGINIA STUDENTS' CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

Spring Project (March 20 - June 5, 1966)

A.	WAGES FOR STAFF		$ 925
AA.	PART-TIME WORKERS FUND		300
B.	TRANSPORTATION EXPENSES		
	Gasoline	$ 550	
	Service and repairs	220	770
C.	OFFICE EXPENSES		
	Rent	$ 120	
	Utilities	140	
	Telephone	275	
	Supplies	210	745
D.	MEDICAL		30
E.	SPECIAL PROJECTS		
	Research	$ 70	
	Newsletter	80	150
F.	RESERVE FUND		300
	Total Expenses		$3,220

Summer Project (June 5 - Sept. 3, 1966)

A.	WAGES		$4,680
B.	TRANSPORTATION		
	Gasoline	$1,625	
	Service and repairs	650	2,275
C.	OFFICE EXPENSES		
	Rent	$ 120	
	Utilities	165	
	Telephone	650	
	Office supplies	330	
	Mimeograph machine	400	1,665
D.	MEDICAL		60
E.	SPECIAL PROJECTS		
	Research	$ 100	
	Newsletter	80	
	Film	2,000	2,180
F.	RESERVE FUND		1,000
	Total Expenses		$11,860

Total Expenses For Spring and Summer Projects

Spring Project.	$ 3,220
Summer Project.	11,860
Total for both projects.	$ 15,080

EXPLANATION OF BUDGET ITEMS

A. WAGES

1. Spring- VSCRC now has seven staff members working full time in Brunswick, Lunenburg and Nottoway Counties. Their subsistence wages under the proposed budget will be $12 per week for each staff member; $84 per week for the entire staff; $925 for the entire staff for eleven weeks.

2. Summer- VSCRC plans to have 30 full-time staff members working in the present three counties, plus three or four other counties. Each staff member will receive a subsistence wage of $12 per week; $360 per week for the entire staff; and $4,680 for the entire staff for 13 weeks.

AA. PART-TIME WORKERS FUND

1. Spring- This fund is to provide money for gas and food for part-time workers who can not provide all or only part of their own funds. While students will be encouraged to bring their own funds, this is not always possible. Part-time staff will work on voter registration and education projects during the spring vacations and weekends.

B. TRANSPORTATION

1. Spring- Cars are a necessity in rural counties. The expenses involved in this item, as well as the other items in the budget, are based on our experience of working in Southside since June, 1965. Gasoline will cost us around $50 per month for each of the four cars we now have; $200 per month for four cars; $550 for four cars for eleven weeks.

The cost of servicing and repairing the four cars, including the purchase of such items as tires, will be around $20 per month for each car; $80 per month for four cars; and $220 for eleven weeks for four cars.

2. Summer- We will need to operate a car for every two or three workers in order to avoid wasting a great deal of time of the staff members. Based on the above experienced estimate it will cost us $50 per month for gasoline to operate ten cars; $500 per month for ten cars; and $1625 for thirteen weeks for ten cars. Maintenance and repairs for the 10 cars during thirteen weeks will be $650.

C. OFFICE EXPENSES

!. Spring- The central office of VSCRC which is located in Victoria, Lunenburg County, will be rent free and the staff members in Brunswick and Lunenburg counties live in the community rent-free. Also there is a rent-free office and freedom house at Amelia Courthouse, Amelia County which will be used during the projects. However rent of $40 per month, plus utilities, will be paid on the freedom house and research office located at Blackstone, Nottoway County. This house will also be used to provide office space and lodging for the campus traveler when visiting the project.

Utilities and heat for the above locations will be $50 per month; $140 for eleven weeks.

Telephone expenses for the two telephones in Blackstone and Victoria, plus calls from other locations charged to these phones will be $100 per month; $275 for eleven weeks.

The most expensive item under office expenses will be the operation of a memeograph machine which will be used to mimeograph leaflets announcing mass meetings and various leaflets to be used in voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives in all the counties. Other office supplies will include postage, envelopes and other office supplies. The total expense will be around $70 per month; $210 for eleven weeks.

2. Summer- Most of the expenses in this item will remain fairly stable, particularly rent, for the staff will be living in the community and the above locations will continue to be rent free, except for the freedom house and research office in Blackstone.

In order to maintain security and obtain emergency field reports the cost of telephone service will double to $200 per month; $650 for thirteen weeks. Also office supplies will increase to $100 per month, primarily, as a result of the increased operation of the mimeograph machine and supplies for its operation.

The present mimeograph machine is a A.B.Dick 435 and is fifteen years old. The life of this machine is limited as well as the quality of work it does. With the purchase of a new A.B.Dick 525 not only would better quality work be done, but also it would be more economical in the long run for it would cut down on the wastage of paper and reduce the time required to operate the machine.

D. MEDICAL EXPENSE

1. Spring- Free medical examination and treatment will be provided by several physicians in Petersburg. However, VSCRC will be responsible for the purchase of perscribed drugs. The cost will be around $10 per month and around $30 for eleven weeks.

2. Summer- Expenses will be around $20 per month and $60 for 13 weeks.

E. SPECIAL PROJECTS

1. Spring

a. Research - In addition to the mimeographing of the Handbook for Voter Registration and Education Project in Virginia's Blackbelt, VSCRC plans to publish a handbook about social and economic conditions in the Blackbelt and a detailed study of the structure of Virginia's government, the Byrd Organization, and how the government is primarily run to benefit only the well-to-do. Also there will be a need to do research about various election laws. This research material will be used by the campus traveler in recruiting workers for the spring and summer projects and during orientation sessions.

b. Newsletter - VSCRC publishes a newsletter, The New Virginia, every six weeks. Nearly all the stories are written by local people and college students. At the present time we have a circulation of around a thousand, which includes a large number of local people in the different counties and 400 college students in Virginia. We believe this newsletter provides an excellent means of communication and expression for people working and interested in the movement, in and out of Virginia.

Cost of each edition:

Postage (Bulk rate of 2 7/8¢ each)	28.75
Paper	8.10
Stencils, ink and address labels	4.00
	$40.85
Cost for two editions during 11 weeks	$80.00

2. Summer -

a. Reaearch - Less detailed statistical research about voting strength, social and economic conditions, such as information about results of the lack of adequate health facilities, inferior schools should be prepared for use at the county level. This material should be in a form that can be easily understood, such as by the use of graphs, to point out certain conditions. It should be prepared in such a way that it relates to voter participation.

b. Newsletter - During the summer the staff plans to publish two newsletters.

c. Film - VSCRC hasmade tenative arrangements with Blue Van Films of New York to make a low cost film. The basic purpose of the film would be educational. Through this dramatic means of communication we would be able to depict the needs and problems of Southside and how staff members are trying to organize people to meet their needs and solve their problems. VSCRC has done a great deal of research about Southside but we believe that we need to visualize this material and that the most effective way would be a film.

Large numbers of Virginians living in urban areas are unaware that Negro children still attend one and two-room schools with outdoor toilets. That the parents of these children have to buy textbooks which range from $17 to $30 per child. Needless to say many children never have textbooks. This is just one of the many problems that could be dealt with.

The film would not only be shown on college campuses, but to various clubs and organizations. Although the primary purpose of the film would be educational, it would also serve as a means of recruiting workers and raising funds.

F. RESERVE FUND

For both the spring and summer projects VSCRC would like to have an emergency fund of 10 per cent of the estimated cost of each project. This fund would be used to meet emergency expenses, such as legal expenses.

Handbook for a Voter Registration and Education Project in Virginia's Blackbelt

by Bill Towe

This handbook is distributed by:
THE VIRGINIA STUDENTS CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

Box 79

Kenbridge, Virginia

Handbook for a Voter Registration and Education Project in Virginia's Blackbelt

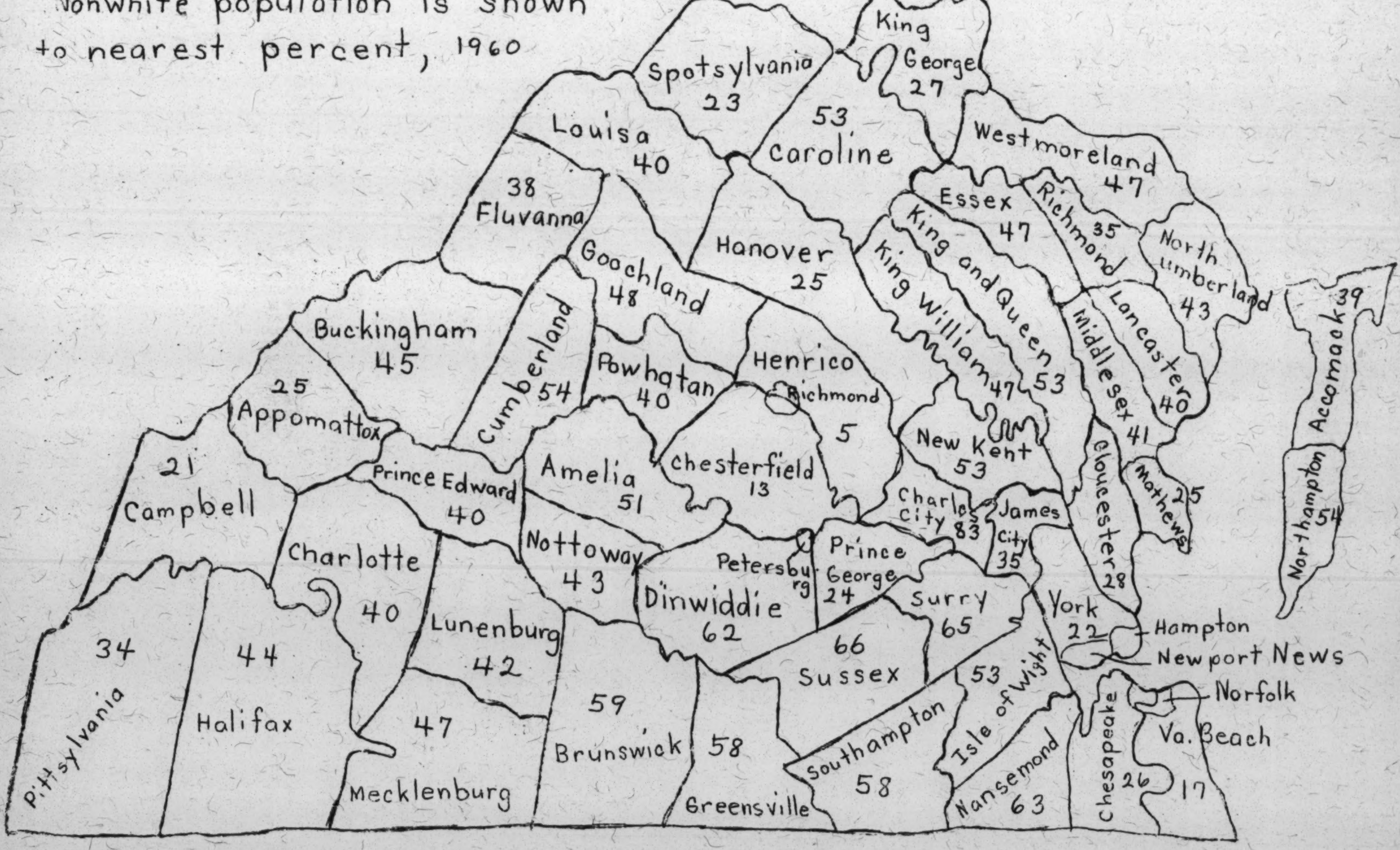
Preface

This handbook is being distributed by the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee. The purposes of this handbook are:

1. To provide V.S.C.R.C.'s staff with a handy source of statistical information about present and potential political strength of Negroes in Virginia's Blackbelt.
2. To provide a reference for developing strategy by V.S.C.R.C.
3. To provide other individuals and organizations working to develop the political power of Negroes in Virginia, particulary in the Blackbelt, a reference and guideline for research.
4. To expose to the general public certain shameful facts about the low voter participation in Virginia.

Virginia's Black Belt

Nonwhite population is shown to nearest percent, 1960



King George 27
Spotsylvania 23
53 Caroline
Louisa 40
Westmoreland 47
38 Fluvanna
Essex 47
Richmond 35
North umberland 43
Hanover 25
Goochland 48
King and Queen 53
King William 47
Accomack 39
Buckingham 45
Cumberland 54
Lancaster 40
Middlesex 41
Henrico
Richmond
5
Powhatan 40
25 Appomattox
Chesterfield 13
New Kent 53
Gloucester 28
Mathews 25
Northampton 54
21 Campbell
Prince Edward 40
Amelia 51
Charles City 83
James City 35
Nottoway 43
Petersburg
Prince George 24
Charlotte 40
Dinwiddie 62
Surry 65
York 22
Hampton
Newport News
34 Pittsylvania
44 Halifax
Lunenburg 42
66 Sussex
53 Isle of Wight
Norfolk
47 Mecklenburg
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Introduction

The Blackbelt begins in Virginia and in a crescent shape stretches to eastern Texas. In the Blackbelt the Negro comprises a majority or near majority of the population of most of the counties and, increasingly, most of the cities of this region. This area of the South has black, fertile soil and since the time of slavery the Negro has been tied to the economy of this section. As the mechanization of farm work and the creation of agribusiness(the mechanized corporate farm) continues to increase and create economic dislocation, the Negroes living in the Blackbelt have had, and still are having, to bear the brunt of this economic dislocation. This is true whether they remained on the farm or moved to the ghettos in the urban South or North. As in the past the Blackbelt continues to fail to provide economic freedom for the Negro, as well as for many whites. It is also in this region that the Negro suffers the most blatant violations of their legal, political and social rights..

Proposed Area for Projects

Virginia's Blackbelt consists of two sections of the state, commonly refered to as Southside and Tidewater.

> South of the James, fanning out toward the Piedmont and along the North Carolina border is an area known as Southside. North to the Potomac and inland to the Fall Line lies Tidewater Virginia. On the other side of the Chesapeake Bay are the two counties of the Eastern shore.
> ...The status quo, possibly better described as status quo ante, has shaped the areas ideologies. A rigid caste system is maintained, the traditional way of doing things is thought best, and alien persons as well as ideas are somewhat suspect.
> ...In many respects Southside and Tidewater, the center of colonial Virginia, have changed little since the early eighteenth century. (Robbins L. Gates, The Making of Massive Resistance, pp. 2-5)

Since June, 1965, V.S.C.R.C. has been working in the Fourth Congressional District which is located in Southside and encompasses more of the Blackbelt than any other congressional district in Virginia. V.S.C.R.C. plans to continue working in the Fourth during its Spring Project and Summer Project with the long range goal of expanding into other areas of the Blackbelt outside the Fourth and possibly into Appalachia.

Background and Need

Virginia's Blackbelt has given relatively greater support to the Byrd organization than any other area of Virginia. "The Byrd organization stands for one-partyism, economic and social status quo, and white supremacy. In the minds of black-belt whites, the first two precepts are inexorably linked with the third and the third is essential to their way of life." (Ibid, p. 24)

In early September, 1965, the United Klans of America, Inc., began to reactivate and organize Klaverns in Virginia's Blackbelt. This drive was primarily directed by the North Carolina Klan which is considered to be the best organized state group in the nation. From September to December 4, 1965, the Klan held thirty-seven rallies, several of which drew crowds of over 2,000 and have announced plans to build a headquarters-auditorium building near Richmond. Until the power of the white reactionaries is overcome in the Blackbelt, there will be little success in bringing about any real liberalization and structural changes necessary to end the political and economic exploitation that abound in Virginia, particularly in the Blackbelt.

Low Voter Participation and Domination by One Party at the State Level

> "The Byrd machine owes its existence both to competent management and to a restricted electorate. A smaller proportion of Virginia's potential electorate votes for governor than does that of any other state of the South. On the average, over the years 1925-45, only 11.5 per cent of those 21 and over have voted in Virginia Democratic primaries. Smallness of voter turnout alone does not necessarily ease the job of controlling the outcome of elections; campaigns for the favor of small electorates may be fought quite as bitterly as those for large electorates. Under the conditions prevailing in Virginia, however, the small number of voters definitely contributes to the manageability of elections. ...
>
> Turnout at the polls is so small that the Byrd organization has had to win support of only from five to seven per cent of the adult population to nominate its candidate for the governor in the Democratic primary; its candidate usually has more votes than are necessary. Approximate percentages of the adult population supporting the winning organization candidate in recent gubernatorial primaries have been as follows:

1925	8.6
1929	8.1
1933	8.5
1937	11.2
1941	6.7
1945	6.2

> By contrast Mississippi is a hotbed of democracy. Over a similar period, its Democratic nominees for governor won the votes from 12.4 to 16.4 per cent of all adults. When one allows for the nonvoting Negroes of Mississippi, the interest of white Mississippians in public affairs dwarfs that of white Virginians." (V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics, p. 20)

Since V. O. Key completed his classic study in the late 1940's, there has been no appreciable increase in voter participation. On November 2, 1965, only 21-22% of the approximate 2,500,000 Virginians of voting age voted in the state election for Governor. The total number of votes was a new high for a gubernatorial election which was previously set in the 1957 election. The winner of the gubernatorial election was Mills E. Godwin, a Democrat endorsed by the Byrd organization and from Virginia's Blackbelt as was the previous governor. Godwin received around 48% of the total vote. This means that the governor was elected by about 10% of the eligible voters. In the Fourth, only about 19-20% of the eligible voters voted in the 1965 gubernatorial election.

In the same election in 1965, there were contests for 62 of the 100-member House of Delegate seats and contests for 13 of the 40-member Senate seats. In this election for members of the Virginia General Assembly, 50 Republicans challenged Democrats for seats in the House of Delegates and 12 Republicans challenged Democrats for seats in the Senate. Republicans increased their strength by electing 13 members to the House and four in the Senate. Even with this increase, the Republicans still had only 12.2 per cent of representatives in the 140-member General Assembly. Virginia is still dominated by the one-party system.

In the Blackbelt there were fewer contests for seats to the General Assembly and the area remained completely dominated by one party. Of the 15 House of Delegate districts which are located in the Blackbelt and have a Negro population of 30 per cent or more, only three Republicans and one independent challenged the 17 Democratic candidates who represent this region. At the state level, there were contests for 62 per cent of the House seats, but in the Blackbelt there were contestw for only 23.5 per cent of the seats. None of the challengers were elected, so the Blackbelt continued to be represented only by Democrats in the House. (See Table X)

Of the five Senatorial districts which are located in the Blackbelt and have a Negro population of 30 per cent or more, only one independent challenged the six Democratic candidates who represent this region in the Senate. At the state level there were contests for 32.5 per cent of the Senate seats, but there were contests for only 14.3 per cent of the Senatorial seats in the Blackbelt. Again, the Democrats maintained complete control and the Blackbelt remained represented by only one party. (See Table XI)

The total votes cast in the July 1965 Democratic primary are not available, but the per cent of eligible voters who voted was probably far below the voter turnout in the November gubernatorial election for two reasons. First, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Mills E. Godwin, was unopposed, a fact which greatly reduced interest in the primary election. Secondly, there were less contests for seats in the General Assembly in the July primary election. There were contests for one-half of the House of Delegate seats and one-third of the Senate seats. Thus, automatic party nomination went to 32 Democrats in the House and 19 Senators. Some of the above-mentioned 51 Democratic candidates to the 140-member General Assembly faced Republican opposition in the November 1965 election. However, for a large number of the 51 Democratic candidates, particularly those from the Blackbelt, no opposition in the Democratic primary in July meant automatic election to the General Assembly in November, as they had no Reoublican opposition in the November election.

Of the 17 delegates who represent the Blackbelt, there were contests for seven seats, 41 per cent of the total number, in the Democratic primary, which was below the state figure of 50 per cent. For the seven Senate seats in the Blackbelt, there were contests for four seats, 43 per cent, which was above the state figure of about one-third. Of the 24 legislators who represent the Blackbelt, eight gained a seat to the House of Delegates and three to the Senate without facing opposition in the July primary or the November election. Of the ten legislators from the Blackbelt who had opposition in the July primary, only three faced opposition in the November election.

Low Voter Participation at the Federal Level

Voter participation has remained low not only in state and local elections. Low voter participation also holds true for federal elections, as is shown in Tables I and II. In 1964, only Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina had a lower voter turnout in the Presidential election than Virginia. Only 41 per cent of the voting age population voted in the Presidential election in 1964, which resulted in the entire state's being covered by the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The voter turnout in congressional elections is also far below the national turnout. Voter participation in the Fourth Congressional District has been below the Virginia turnout, as well as below the national figure, with the exception being the 1964 Presidential election. The high participation of the Fourth, by Virginia standards, in 1964 was primarily due to two factors. First, there was a large white reactionary vote against civil rights and for Goldwater. Secondly, S. W. Tucker, a Negro lawyer and NAACP attorney, opposed the incumbent, W. M. Abbitt, a conservative Democrat. Tucker's candidacy helped to increase Negro registration and turnout.

Table I: Voter Participation Figures in Presidential Elections for the United States, Virginia and the Fourth Congressional District (vote as a percent of the civilian voting age population)

Year	United States	Virginia	Fourth
1964	62.0%	41.0%	42.7%
1960	63.8%	33.4%	30.4%
1956	60.1%	33.5%	29.5%
1952	62.0%	31.7%	26.6%
1944	56.3%	23.9%	
1936	57.5%	22.3%	
1928	52.5%	23.6%	
1920	44.2%	19.1%	

Sources: Report of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation 1963, Congressional District Data Book (88th Congress); Current Population Report, Series P. 23, No. 14

Table II: Voter Participation Figures in Congressional Elections for the United States, Virginia and the Fourth Congressional District(vote as a percent of the civilian population of voting age)

Year	United States	Virginia	Fourth
1964		36.0%	37.1%
1962	48.9%	19.4%	15.5%
1960	59.4%	27.7%	20.0%
1958	43.4%	22.9%	22.4%
1956	56.6%	36.8%	26.7%
1954	42.2%	18.1%	7.6%
1952	58.2%	23.6%	12.4%

Sources: Report of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation 1963; Congressional District Data Book(88th Congress)

Low Voter Registration

An obvious but effective way to keep the electorate small and easier to manage is to keep large numbers of the electorate from registering to vote. The Byrd organization has been successful in achieving these goals, for not only has voter turnout remained low, but also the number of registered voters has remained low.

Until the ratification of the Twenty-fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which removed payment of the poll tax for federal elections, the percent of registered voters remained a minority of the eligible voters. From 1958 until March, 1964, the percent of registered voters remained relatively stable at around 42 percent as shown in Table III. When the payment of the poll tax was removed as a requirement to vote in federal elections, total registration increased 7.9 percent in six months. Even with this dramatic increase only 50.9 percent of the eligible voters were registered. A large number of the persons who registered in 1964 did not pay their poll taxes and registered to vote in federal elections only. Since payment of the poll tax is still required for local and state elections, only a minority of the eligible voters were registered for state and local elections.

In March, 1964, only Mississippi and Alabama had a smaller percent of the eligible Negroes registered to vote than Virginia in which only 27.7 percent were registered. In less than six months during 1964, Negro registration increased to 36.3 percent. This percent is based on figures supplied by the Virginia State Board of Elections as of October, 1964. Some other estimates state a higher percent. The Negro voting age population is decreasing relatively to the total voting age population. It decreased from 18.9 percent in 1960 to 17.8 percent by 1964. Therefore gains in Negro registration are partially offset by the relative decrease in population and increases in white registration. For example Negro registration increased 13.3 percent from 1960 to 1965, but the percent of registered Negroes of all registered voters at the state level increased from 10.2 percent to 12.7 percent during the same period of time, a gain of only 2.5 percent.

In the Fourth Congressional District total voter registration of 53.5 percent is above the state figure of 50.9 percent(in 1965 Virginia's Congressional Districts were redistricted and figures are based on the new district). The higher registration of the Fourth is due to the fact that 64.7 percent of the eligible whites are registered compared to 54.0 percent of whites at the state level. Negro registration of 35.2 percent is slightly below the state figure of 36.3 percent.

When the Fourth was redistricted in 1965, the percent of the Negro voting age population decreased from 42.8 percent to 37.9 percent.

Table III

Voting Age and Registration Figures by Race for Virginia

Year	Total Voting Age Population		White Voting Age				Nonwhite Voting Age				
	Total	%Reg.	Total		Registered		Total		Registered		% of All Reg. Voters
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
[1]1958	2,222,228	42.1	1,799,399	80.8	852,483	47.9	422,889	19.2	92,172	21.8	10.8
[2]1960	2,312,887	41.8	1,876,167	81.1	866,774	46.2	436,720	18.9	100,499	23.0	10.4
[3]1964 (Mar.)	2,541,000	43.0	2,089,000	82.2	966,774	46.3	452,037	17.8	125,214	27.7	12.1
[4]1964 (Oct.)	2,541,000	50.9	2,089,000	82.2	1,130,075	54.0	452,037	17.8	163,904	36.3	12.7

(1) Sources: Southern Regional Council, The Negro and The Ballot

(2) Sources: U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report I, Voting

(3) Sources: For voting age population: Current Population Report, Series P.-23, No. 14
For nonwhite statistics: Southern Regional Council
White statistics were based on estimates

(4) Sources: In addition to sources used for (3), figures were obtained from the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Registration and Voting Statistics, March 1965. Since the later report did not give the number of registered voters in Richmond, the 1960 Richmond total plus an estimated increase was used to determine the total of registered voters

Table IV: Voting Age Population and Registration by Race for Virginia and the Fourth District, 1960, 1965

1960[1]

Region	Percent of Voting Age Population		Percent of Voting Age Population Registered	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Virginia	81.1	18.9	46.2	23.0
Fourth	57.2	42.8	54.8	18.6

1965[2]

Region	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Virginia	82.2	17.8	54.0	36.3
Fourth	62.1	37.9	64.7	35.2

Sources: United States Commission on Civil Rights, Report I, Voting, 1960; Registration and Voting Statistics, 1964.

1. Before redistricting.
2. After redistricting.

Potential Power of the Negro Voter in the Blackbelt

Negroes possess great potential political power at every level of government throughout the Blackbelt. In the past legal, economic, educational, and psychological barriers have made it difficult to develop this power. In spite of these barriers, this strength has been and is being developed, but still only about one third of the eligible Negroes are registered in the Blackbelt. The development of this political power in the Blackbelt would not only affect the political structure of this region, but the entire state of Virginia.

Potential Power at the Local Level

At the local level of government, Negroes have their greatest potential political power. The chief governing body of each county is the Board of Supervisors. The number of supervisors is based on the number of magisterial districts in each county. The qualified voters of each district elects a supervisor from their district for a four year term. Negroes make up a majority of the voting age population in 44 magisterial districts in the Blackbelt of which 27 are in the Fourth. At the present time there are only two Negroes serving on Boards of Supervisors, one in the Fourth and Eighth each. There are 36 magisterial districts in which Negroes make up 40-49 percent of the voting age population of which 14 are in the Fourth(see Tables V and VI--the percentages of the voting age population for the magisterial districts are approximate.

Table V: Potential Voting Strength of Negroes at Magisterial District Level in Virginia's Blackbelt by Congressional Districts, 1960[1]

District	Number of Districts Where the Negro Holds 60% or More of the Voting Age Population	50-59%	40-49%	30-39%
Fourth	7	20	14	14
Eighth	6	5	9	10
Fifth	2	2	6	6
Seventh			2	
First		2	5	3
Total	15	29	36	33

Sources: United States Bureau of Census, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 4F, Virginia 1960; United States Commission on Civil Rights, Registration and Voting Statistics, 1965

[1] Voter age population and total population figures are based on the 1960 United States Census. Unless otherwise stated the jurisdictions mentioned are arranged by the Congressional districts as redistricted in 1965.

Table VI: Population And Voting Age Population By Congressional Districts, Magesterial Districts Of Counties, And By Race, For Virginia's Blackbelt, 1960.

4th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	District	Total Population	Total White Popu-lation	Total Nonwhite Popu-lation		Total Non-white Voting Age Populatio	
		#	#	#	%	#	% of Total VAP
Amelia		7,815	3,806	4,009	51.3	1,924	46.0
	Giles	3,817	2,249	1,568	40.5		
	Jackson	1,928	707	1,221	63.4		
	Leigh	2,070	850	1,220	60.0		
Appomattox		9,148	6,818	2,330	25.5	1,142	21.2
	Clover Hill	2,540	2,061	479	13.5		
	Southside	3,794	3,148	646	17.0		
	Stonewall	2,814	1,609	1,205	42.8		
Buckingham		10,877	6,015	4,862	44.7	2,208	36.9
	Curlsville	2,467	1,404	1,063	42.9		
	Francisco	809	487	322	39.8		
	James River	1,441	806	635	44.0		
	Marshall	3,125	1,512	1,613	51.6		
	Maysville	1,651	1,163	488	29.6		
	Slate River	1,384	643	741	53.5		
Cumberland		6,360	2,910	3,450	54.2	1,647	47.5
	Hamilton	1,765	794	971	55.0		
	Madison	2,263	850	1,413	62.4		
	Randolph	2,332	1,266	1,066	45.7		
Dinwiddie*		22,183	8,499	13,684	61.7	8,587	62.2
	Darvills	2,097	937	1,160	55.3		
	Namozzise	12,644	4,906	7,738	61.1		
	Rowanty	4,582	1,568	3,014	65.8		
	Sapony	2,860	1,088	1,772	62.0		

Table VI: 4th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT(continued)

County	District	Total Population	Total White Population	Total Nonwhite Population		Total Nonwhite Voting Age Population	
		#	#	#	%	#	% of Total VAP
Greensville		16,155	7,281	8,874	54.9	3,885	46.3
	Belfield	8,028	3,612	4,415	55.0		
	Hicksford	5,735	2,850	2,885	50.3		
	Zion	2,392	819	1,573	65.8		
Isle of Wight		17,164	8,133	9,031	52.6	4,317	46.4
	Hardy	5,093	1,747	3,346	65.8		
	Newport	6,889	3,629	3,260	47.3		
	Windsor	5,182	2,757	2,425	46.8		
Lunenburg		12,523	7,233	5,290	42.2	2,534	35.5
	Brown's Store	3,371	1,749	1,622	46.7		
	Columbia Grove	1,089	377	712	65.4		
	Lewiston	944	575	369	39.0		
	Loch Leven	1,412	597	815	57.7		
	Pleasant Grove	1,499	908	591	39.4		
	Plymouth	3,104	2,344	760	25.2		
	Rehoboth	1,104	683	421	38.1		
Nansemond		31,336	11,584	19,782	63.1	9,806	58.0
	Chuckatuck	7,069	3,340	3,729	52.7		
	Cypress	7,414	1,121	6,293	84.9		
	Holy Neck	8,055	3,613	4,442	55.1		
	Sleepy Hole	4,508	2,053	2,455	54.5		
	Whaleyville	4,320	1,457	2,863	66.4		
Nottoway		15,315	8,664	6,477	42.8	3,458	38.3
	Bellefonte	5,860	3,356	2,504	42.7		
	Blendon	1,671	855	786	47.0		
	Haytokah	3,201	1,407	1,794	56.0		
	Winningham	4,409	3,016	1,393	31.6		
Powhatan		6,747	4,071	2,676	39.7	1,563	39.7
	Hugenot	2,067	1,379	688	33.3		
	Macon	1,810	859	951	52.5		
	Spencer	2,870	1,833	1,037	36.1		

Table VI: 4th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT(continued)

County	District	Total Population	Total White Population	Total Nonwhite Population		Total Non-white Voting Age Population	
		#	#	#	%	#	% of Total VAP
Prince Edward		14,121	8,488	5,633	39.9	2,896	36.1
	Buffalo	868	489	379	43.7		
	Farmville	6,146	4,561	1,585	25.8		
	Hampden	2,243	1,291	951	42.7		
	Leigh	958	515	443	46.2		
	Lockett	1,746	805	941	53.9		
	Prospect	2,160	827	1,333	61.7		
Southampton		27,195	11,536	15,659	57.6	7,435	50.7
	Berlin & Ivor	3,159	1,173	1,986	62.9		
	Boykins	3,012	1,072	1,940	64.4		
	Capron	2,185	631	1,554	71.1		
	Drewryville	2,336	857	1,479	63.4		
	Franklin	9,979	5,041	4,965	49.8		
	Jerusalem	2,753	1,831	1,922	51.0		
	Newsoms	2,771	958	1,813	65.5		
Surry		6,620	2,196	4,024	64.7	1,842	55.5
	Blackwater	1,802	588	1,214	67.4		
	Cobham	2,567	953	1,614	62.8		
	Guilford	1,851	655	1,196	64.9		
Sussex		12,411	4,186	8,225	66.3	3,706	58.2
	Courthouse	1,636	501	1,135	69.4		
	Henry	2,156	562	1,594	74.0		
	Newville	982	252	730	74.3		
	Stoney Creek	2,455	741	1,713	69.8		
	Wakefield	2,184	948	1,236	65.5		
	Waverly	2,998	1,182	1,815	60.6		
Independent Cities							
Chesapeake		77,800	57,692	20,108	25.8	10,657	23.5
Colonial Heights		11,623	11,602	21	00.2	17	00.1
Franklin		7,650	3,667	3,983	53.6	2,111	49.0
Hopewell		19,479	16,343	3,136	16.7	1,549	14.9
Petersburg		36,419	18,209	18,210	47.3	9,821	43.9
Suffolk		12,178	7,636	4,542	37.4	2,769	34.4

Table VI: 4th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT(continued)

Sources; Ibid.

* Voting age population figures for Dinwiddie County are overestimated since 4,837 Negroes were inmates of an institution in 1960.

8th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	District	Total Population	Total White Population	Total Nonwhite Population		Total Non-white Voting Age Populatio	
		#	#	#	%	#	% of Total VAP
Caroline		12,725	6,037	6,688	52.6	3,210	45.8
	Bowling Green	4,364	2,333	2,031	46.5		
	Madison	3,802	1,793	2,009	52.8		
	Port Royal	1,812	1,061	749	41.3		
	Reedy Church	2,747	850	1,879	69.1		
Charles City		5,492	917	4,575	83.3	2,126	78.5
	Chickahominy	778	279	499	64.0		
	Harrison	2,572	324	2,248	87.4		
	Tyler	2,142	314	1,828	85.3		
Essex		6,690	3,509	3,181	47.6	1,665	42.6
	Central	3,238	1,908	1,330	41.1		
	Occupacia	1,785	605	1,180	66.1		
	Rappahannock	1,667	996	671	40.3		
Goochland		9,206	4,773	4,433	48.2	2,312	42.6
	Byrd	2,158	1,006	1,152	53.4		
	Dover	3,423	2,098	1,325	38.7		
	Lickinghole	3,625	1,669	1,956	54.0		

Table VI: 8th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT(continued)

County	District	Total Population	Total White Population	Total Nonwhite Population		Total Nonwhite Voting Age Population	
		#	#	#	%	#	% of Total VAP
King and Queen		5,889	2,759	3,130	53.1	1,617	48.2
	Buena Vista	2,272	1,313	959	42.2		
	Newtown	2,366	927	1,439	60.8		
	Stevensville	1,251	519	732	58.5		
King William		7,563	3,999	3,564	47.1	1,864	42.8
	Acquinton	2,075	955	1,120	54.0		
	Mangohick	1,499	454	1,045	69.7		
	West Point	3,989	2,590	1,399	35.1		
Lancaster		9,164	5,535	3,629	39.7	1,978	35.4
	Mantua	1,723	650	1,073	62.3		
	White Chapel	2,110	1,185	925	43.0		
	White Stone	5,341	3,700	1,641	30.7		
Louisa		12,959	7,793	5,166	39.9	2,482	33.5
	Cuckoo	2,283	1,039	1,244	54.5		
	Green Spring	2,258	1,464	749	35.2		
	Jackson	2,429	1,590	839	34.5		
	Louisa	3,505	2,070	1,435	40.9		
	Mineral	2,484	1,630	854	34.4		
New Kent		4,504	2,126	2,378	52.8	1,229	48.1
	Black Creek	1,065	586	479	45.0		
	Cumberland	1,304	613	691	53.0		
	St. Peters	930	287	643	69.1		
	Weir Creek	1,205	640	565	46.9		

Table VI: 8th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT(continued)

County	District	Total Population	Total White Population	Total Nonwhite Population		Total Non-white Voting Age Population	
		#	#	#	%	#	% of Total VAP
Northumberland		10,185	5,840	4,345	42.7	2,123	34.9
	Fairfield	3,551	2,077	1,474	41.5		
	Heathsville	995	473	522	52.5		
	Lottsburg	2,798	1,917	881	31.5		
	Wicomico	2,841	1,373	1,468	51.7		
Westmoreland		11,042	5,872	5,170	46.8	2,352	38.0
	Cople	4,626	1,849	2,777	31.5		
	Montross	2,458	1,284	1,174	47.8		
	Washington	3,958	2,739	1,219	30.8		

1st CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	District	Total Population	Total White Population	Total Nonwhite Population		Total Non-white Voting Age Population	
James City		11,539	7,439	4,100	35.0	2,056	29.7
	Jamestown	8,330	5,603	2,727	32.7		
	Powhatan	2,198	1,171	1,027	46.7		
	Stonehouse	1,011	665	346	34.2		
Middlesex		6,319	3,700	2,619	41.4	1,363	34.5
	Jamaica	1,076	447	629	58.5		
	Pine Top	2,449	1,820	679	27.2		
	Saluda	2,744	1,433	1,311	47.8		
Northampton		16,966	7,778	9,188	54.2	4,786	47.3
	Capeville	7,123	3,611	3,512	49.3		
	Eastville	3,851	1,356	2,495	64.8		
	Franktown	5,992	2,811	3,181	53.0		

Table VI: 1st CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT(continued)

County	District	Total Population	Total White Population	Total Nonwhite Population		Total Nonwhite Voting Age Population	
		#	#	#	%	#	% of Total VAP
Accomack		30,635	18,779	11,856	38.7	6,142	31.8
	Atlantic	6,095	3,273	2,822	46.3		
	Lee	9,020	5,501	3,519	39.0		
	Metompkin	5,796	3,531	2,265	39.1		
	Pungoteague	6,254	3,068	3,186	50.9		
	The Islands	3,470	3,406	64	01.8		

5th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Brunswick		17,779	7,348	10,431	58.7	4,734	50.5
	Meherrin	3,352	1,679	1,673	49.9		
	Powellton	1,950	700	1,250	64.1		
	Red Oak	3,783	1,663	2,120	56.0		
	Sturgeon	3,047	969	2,078	68.2		
	Totaro	5,674	2,337	3,310	58.8		
Charlotte		13,368	8,037	5,331	39.8	2,500	33.3
	Bacon	3,117	1,786	1,331	42.7		
	Central	1,681	1,013	668	39.7		
	Madison	2,549	1,277	1,272	49.9		
	Midway	1,111	672	439	39.0		
	Roanoke	2,387	1,541	845	35.4		
	Walton	2,523	1,748	775	30.7		
Mecklenburg		31,428	16,717	14,711	46.8	6,624	38.7
	Bluestone	2,018	1,074	944	46.8		
	Boydton	3,520	1,636	1,884	53.5		
	Buckhorn	2,777	1,168	1,609	57.9		
	Chase City	6,471	3,847	2,624	40.6		
	Clarksville	4,900	3,283	1,617	33.0		
	La Crosse	4,204	1,923	2,281	54.3		
	Palmer Springs	1,448	273	1,175	81.1		
	South Hill	6,090	3,513	2,577	42.3		

Table VI: 7th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	District	Total Population	Total White Population	Total Nonwhite Population		Total Nonwhite Voting Age Population	
		#	#	#	%	#	% of Total VAP
Fluvanna		7,227	4,502	2,725	37.7	1,378	33.1
	Columbia	1,232	597	635	51.5		
	Cunningham	1,837	1,565	272	14.8		
	Fork Union	2,599	1,254	1,342	51.6		
	Palmyra	1,559	1,086	473	30.3		

Sources: Same as Table V.

The chief administrative officers in each county are: commonwealth attorney, treasurer, commissioner of revenue, clerk of the circuit court and sheriff. These officers are elected by popular vote in each county for a term of four years except for the clerk who serves for eight years. The above officers are usually more important in the local Byrd organization than the Board of Supervisors for two reasons. First, the administrative officers' salaries and expenses are fixed within a minimum by the Board of Compensation. The Board of Compensation members are appointed by the Governor and carefully controlled by the organization. Since they control the salaries and expenses of these locally elected officials, the organization is usually assured the political "cooperation" of these administrative officers. Secondly, the Board of Supervisors in the counties, and consequently the local electorate, do not appoint members to various boards, such as school, welfare, electoral boards, but a Circuit Court Judge who presides over two or more counties. The Circuit Court Judge has far more appointive powers in local government than does the Board of Supervisors, a fact which makes it easier for the organization to control local government. The Circuit Court Judges are elected by the General Assembly.

Negroes make up a majority of the voting age population in seven counties, of which five are in the Fourth; 40-49 percent of the voting age population in eleven counties of which 3 are in the Fourth. However, no Negroes are serving in any of the above administrative offices(see Tables VI and VII). In the independent cities in which most of the above administrative officers plus a Town Council are elected. Negroes have considerable strength in Petersburg, 43.9 percent of the voting age population. In Franklin the percentage is 49.0; in Richmond, 37.2 percent; in Suffolk, 34.4 percent; in Newport News, 32.2 percent. There are also many incorporated towns and cities in the Blackbelt counties that have a large Negro population, but are not independent cities. These towns and cities are part of the county but elect Town Councils. Their population by races can be obtained from the United States Census.

Table VII: Potential Voting Strength of Negroes at the County Level in Virginia's Blackbelt, by Congressional District, 1960

District	Number of Counties Where the Negro Holds 60% or More of the Voting Age Population	50-59%	40-49%	30-39%
Fourth	1	4	3	5
Eighth	1		6	4
Fifth		1	1	5
First			1	2
Seventh				1
Total	2	5	11	17

Sources: Same as sources for Table V.

Potential Power at the State Level

While the potential strength of the Negroes in the Blackbelt at the state level is less than the strength at the local level, Negroes still have considerable powers as shown in Tables VIII [illegible] XI. Negroes have 30 percent or more of the eligible voters in 15 districts in the Blackbelt which are represented by 17 delegates in the 100-member House of Delegates. In three of these districts, Negroes have 50 percent or more of the potential voters; in three more of these districts, 40-49 percent. In the 40-member Senate Negroes make up 30 percent or more of the voting age population in five districts represented by six senators. In two senatorial districts Negroes make up 40-49 percent of the voting age population, but in no district do they have a majority.

Table VIII: Potential Voting Strength of Negroes in the House of Delegates in Virginia's Blackbelt, 1960

Total Number of Districts	Total Number of Delegates	Districts with 50-59%[1]	40-49%	30-39%
15	17	3	3	9

Sources: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Registration and Voting Statistics 1965; Code of Virginia, 1964, Additional Supplement

[1] i.e., number of districts where the Negro holds 50-59% of the voting age population

Table IX: Potential Voting Strength of Negroes in the State Senate in Virginia's Blackbelt, 1960

Total Number of Districts	Total Number of Senators	Districts with 40-49%[1]	30-39%
5	6	2	3

Sources: Same as for Table VIII.

[1] i.e., number of districts where the Negro holds 40-49% of the voting age population

Table X: Voter Registration Statistics for House of Delegates Districts by Race, 1964

Dist.	No. of Reps.	Counties and Independent Cities	White Voting Age Population[1]				Nonwhite Voting Age Population[1]				
			Total		Registered[2]		Total		Registered[2]		% of all Registered Voters
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
7	1	Amelia	2,261	54.0	2,447	100+	1,924	46.0	888	46.2	26.6
		Lunenburg	4,611	64.5	2,821	61.2	2,534	35.5	660	26.1	18.9
		Nottoway	5,564	61.7	4,020	72.3	3,458	38.3	1,320	38.2	24.7
		Total of 7th	12,436	61.0	9,288	74.7	7,961	39.0	2,868	36.0	22.4
14	1	Brunswick	4,637	49.5	3,671	79.1	4,734	50.5	914	19.3	19.9
		Dinwiddie[3]	5,212	37.8	3,241	62.0	8,587	62.2	1,284	15.0	28.4
		Total of 14th	9,849	42.5	6,912	70.2	13,321	57.5	2,198	16.5	24.1
22	1	Charlotte	5,014	66.7	4,514	90.0	2,500	33.3	808	32.3	15.2
		Cumberland	1,819	52.5	2,000	100+	1,647	47.5	759	46.1	27.5
		Prince Edward	5,125	63.9	3,085	60.2	2,896	36.1	1,112	38.4	26.5
		Total of 22nd	11,958	62.9	9,599	80.3	7,043	37.1	2,679	38.0	21.8
29	1	Fluvanna	2,790	66.9	1,366	49.0	1,378	33.1	222	16.1	14.0
		Goochland	3,121	57.4	1,627	52.1	2,312	42.6	514	22.2	24.0
		Louisa	4,917	66.5	2,844	57.8	2,482	33.5	1,279	51.5	31.0
		Powhatan	2,376	60.3	1,820	76.6	1,563	39.7	867	55.5	32.3
		Total of 29th	13,204	63.1	7,657	57.7	7,735	36.9	2,882	37.3	27.5
33	1	Greensville	4,499	53.7	3,467	77.1	3,885	46.3	1,890	48.7	35.3
		Surry	1,479	44.5	1,621	100+	1,842	55.5	1,140	61.9	41.3
		Sussex	2,662	41.8	2,536	95.3	3,706	58.2	1,354	36.5	34.8
		Total of 33rd	8,640	47.8	7,624	88.0	9,433	52.2	4,384	46.4	26.5
38	1	Isle of Wight	4,991	53.6	4,241	85.0	4,317	46.4	1,893	43.9	30.9
		Southampton	7,239	49.3	4,575	63.2	7,435	50.7	2,045	27.5	30.9
		Franklin[4]	2,200	51.0	1,752	79.6	2,111	49.0	899	42.6	33.9
		Total of 38th	14,430	51.0	10,568	73.2	13,863	49.0	4,837	34.9	31.4

Table X(continued)

Dist.	No. of Reps.	Counties and Independent Cities	White Voting Age Population[1]				Nonwhite Voting Age Population				
			Total		Registered[2]		Total		Registered		% of all Registered Voters
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
47	1	Nansemond	6,965	42.0	4,104	58.9	9,806	58.0	2,792	28.5	40.5
		Suffolk	5,272	65.6	2,799	52.7	2,769	34.4	817	29.5	22.6
		Total of 47th	12,237	49.3	6,883	56.2	12,575	50.7	3,609	28.6	34.4
51	1	Petersburg	12,528	56.1	6,353	50.7	9,821	43.9	3,919	39.9	38.2
2	1	Accomack	13,148	68.2	5,698	43.3	6,142	31.8	979	16.0	14.7
		Northampton	5,340	52.7	2,325	43.5	4,786	47.3	810	16.9	25.8
		Total of 2nd	18,488	62.8	8,023	43.3	10,928	37.2	1,789	16.4	18.2
19	1	Caroline	3,793	54.2	2,602	68.6	3,210	45.8	1,601	49.9	38.1
		King George	3,200	76.0	1,841	57.5	1,009	24.0	1,513	50.8	45.1
		Essex	2,241	57.4	1,640	73.2	1,665	42.6	667	40.1	28.9
		King and Queen	1,735	51.8	1,156	66.6	1,617	48.2	780	48.2	40.3
		Total of 19th	10,969	59.4	7,239	66.0	7,501	40.6	4,561	60.8	38.7
31	1	Gloucester	5,341	73.9	3,873	72.5	1,882	26.1	1,172	62.3	23.2
		Mathews	3,809	78.2	2,218	58.2	1,062	21.8	326	30.7	12.8
		New Kent	1,325	51.9	1,185	89.4	1,229	48.1	501	40.8	29.7
		Charles City	582	21.5	490	84.2	2,126	78.5	943	44.4	65.8
		Middlesex	2,586	65.5	1,684	65.0	1,363	34.5	538	39.5	24.2
		Total of 31st	13,643	65.7	9,450	69.3	7,662	34.3	3,480	45.4	27.0
34	1	Halifax	11,377	62.7	6,155	54.1	6,769	37.3	1,700	25.1	21.6
		South Boston	2,639	74.0	1,975	74.8	969	26.0	540	55.7	21.5
		Total of 34th	14,016	64.4	8,130	58.0	7,738	35.6	2,240	28.9	21.6
39	1	Northumberland	3,965	65.1	3,376	85.1	2,123	34.9	1,021	48.1	23.2
		Westmoreland	3,836	62.0	3,320	86.8	2,352	38.0	441	18.8	11.7
		Lancaster	3,613	64.6	3,078	85.2	1,978	35.4	1,229	62.1	28.5
		Richmond	2,713	70.6	1,644	60.6	1,132	29.4	353	31.2	17.7
		Total of 39th	14,127	65.1	11,418	80.8	7,585	34.9	3,044	40.1	21.0
45	1	Mecklenburg	10,474	61.3	4,670	44.6	6,624	38.7	620	9.4	11.7
40	3	Newport News	44,258	67.8	25,489	57.6	20,974	32.2	8,307	39.6	24.6

Sources: U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Registration and Voting Statistics 1965; Code of Virginia 1964, Additional Supplement

1. Voting Age Population statistics are from 1960 Census. Since the voting age population has increased, the percent of registered voters will tend to be overestimated.

2. The number of registered voters is based on figures furnished by the Virginia State Board of Elections as an estimate of registration as of October, 1964.

3. Negro voting age population for Dinwiddie and, consequently, the 14th District are overestimated since 4,837 Negroes are inmates of an institution there.

4. Figures for Franklin, except for the number of registered voters, are based on figures and estimates from the Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia, 1963

Table XI: Voter Registration Statistics of the State Senatorial Districts in Virginia's Blackbelt by Race, 1964

Dist.	No. of Sens.	Counties and Independent Cities	White Voting Age Population[1]				Nonwhite Voting Age Population[1]				
			Total		Registered[2]		Total		Registered[2]		% of all Registered Voters
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
4	1	Halifax	11,377	62.7	6,155	54.1	6,769	37.3	1,700	25.1	21.6
		Charlotte	5,014	66.7	4,514	90.0	2,500	33.3	808	32.2	15.2
		Prince Edward	5,125	63.9	3,085	60.2	2,896	36.1	1,112	38.4	26.5
		Lunenburg	4,611	64.5	2,821	61.2	2,534	35.5	660	26.1	24.7
		Nottoway	5,564	61.7	4,020	72.3	3,458	38.3	1,320	38.2	24.7
		South Boston	2,639	74.0	1,975	74.8	969	26.0	540	55.7	21.5
		Total of 4th	33,330	63.5	22,570	67.0	19,126	36.5	6,140	32.1	21.4
5	1	Isle of Wight	4,991	53.6	4,241	85.0	4,317	46.4	1,893	43.9	30.9
		Nansemond	6,965	42.0	4,104	58.9	9,806	58.0	2,792	28.5	40.4
		Southampton	7,239	49.3	4,575	63.2	7,435	50.7	2,045	27.5	30.9
		Suffolk	5,272	65.6	2,779	52.7	2,769	34.4	817	29.5	22.7
		Franklin[3]	2,200	51.0	1,752	79.6	2,111	49.0	899	42.6	33.9
		Total of 5th	26,667	50.2	17,451	65.4	26,438	49.8	8,446	31.9	32.6
6	1	Greensville	4,499	53.7	3,467	77.1	3,885	46.3	1,890	48.7	35.3
		James City	4,845	70.3	2,688	55.5	2,056	29.7	960	46.7	.26.3
		Prince George	8,860	74.9	3,343	37.7	2,420	25.1	986	40.7	22.8
		Surry	1,479	44.5	1,621	100+	1,842	55.5	1,140	61.9	41.3
		Sussex	2,662	41.8	2,536	95.3	3,706	58.2	1,354	36.5	34.8
		Hopewell	8,854	85.1	5,600	63.3	1,549	14.9	750	48.4	11.8
		Williamsburg	3,509	85.8	1,632	46.5	583	14.2	384	65.9	19.1
		Total of 6th	34,708	68.4	20,887	60.2	16,041	31.6	7,464	46.5	26.3
7	1	Brunswick	4,637	49.5	3,671	79.1	4,734	50.5	914	19.3	19.9
		Dinwiddie[4]	5,212	37.8	3,241	62.2	8,587	62.2	1,284	15.0	28.4
		Mecklenburg	10,474	61.3	4,670	44.6	6,624	38.7	620	9.4	11.7
		Petersburg	12,528	56.1	6,353	50.7	9,821	43.9	3,919	39.9	38.2
		Total of 7th	32,851	52.5	17,935	54.6	29,766	47.5	6,737	22.6	27.3
30	2	Richmond	90,508	62.8	51,362	56.7	53,719	37.2	15,641	29.1	23.3

Sources: Same as for Table X

1. Voting Age Population statistics are from the 1960 Census. Since the voting age population has increased, the percent of registered voters will tend to be somewhat overstated.

2. The number of registered voters is based on figures furnished by the Virginia State Board of Elections as an estimate of registration as of October, 1964.

3. Figures for the cities of Chesapeake and Franklin, except for the number of registered voters, are based on figures and estimates from the Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia, 1963.

4. Voting age population figures for Dinwiddie County are overestimated since 4,837 Negroes were inmates of an institution there in 1960.

Potential Power at the Federal Level

At the federal levels Negroes have less power than at the local and state levels. Only in the Fourth Congressional District do Negroes make up 30 percent or more of the voting age population. In the Fourth Negroes make up 37.9 percent of the eligible voters. Before the Fourth was redistricted in 1965, Negroes made up 42.8 percent of the eligible voters. The First, Second, Third, Fifth and Eighth Congressional Districts lie either totally or partially in the Blackbelt, and in each of these districts, Negroes make up from 20-30 percent of the voting age population. The Eighth District includes more of the Blackbelt counties with a high Negro population than any other congressional district in Virginia except for the Fourth.

The Negro Vote

The best measure of the Negro vote in the Blackbelt in a recent election would be the 1964 federal elections in the Fourth Congressional District. As previously stated, S. W. Tucker, a Negro and NAACP attorney, challenged the incumbent, W. M. Abbitt. In this contest Tucker received around 25,000 votes to Abbitt's 50,000.

The Negro vote is generally credited with swinging Virginia back into the Democratic column in the 1964 presidential elections. For the previous three presidential elections Virginia had gone Republican. The 1965 victory of Governor Godwin came about partially as a result of the switch of Negro voters from the Republican to the Democratic party in in the gubernatorial elections.

Table XII: Voter Registration Statistics of Virginia's Fourth Congressional District by Race, 1964

Area	Total Population (all ages)	White Voting Age Population				Nonwhite Voting Age Population				
		Total[1]		Registered[2]		Total[1]		Registered[2]		% of all Registered Voters
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Amelia	7,858	2,261	54.0	2,447	100+	1,924	46.0	888	46.2	26.6
Appomattox	9,796	4,245	78.8	4,041	95.2	1,142	21.1	505	44.2	12.5
Buckingham	10,665	3,776	63.1	1,700	45.0	2,208	36.9	825	37.4	32.7
Cumberland	6,424	1,819	52.5	2,000	100+	1,647	47.5	759	46.1	27.5
Dinwiddie[4]	23,474	5,212	37.8	3,241	62.2	8,587	62.2	1,284	15.0	28.4
Greensville	16,500	4,499	53.7	3,467	77.1	3,885	46.3	1,890	48.7	35.3
Isle of Wight	18,177	4,991	53.6	4,241	85.0	4,317	46.4	1,893	43.9	30.9
Lunenburg	13,181	4,611	64.5	2,821	61.2	2,534	35.5	660	26.1	18.9
Nansemond	33,645	6,965	42.0	4,104	58.9	9,806	58.0	2,792	28.5	40.4
Nottoway	15,315	5,564	61.7	4,020	73.3	3,458	38.3	1,320	38.2	24.7
Powhatan	7,616	2,376	60.3	1,820	76.6	1,563	39.7	876	55.5	32.3
Prince Edward	13,732	5,125	63.9	3,085	60.2	2,896	36.1	1,112	38.4	26.5
Prince George	24,807	8,860	78.5	3,343	37.7	2,420	21.5	986	40.7	22.8
Southampton	20,362	7,239	49.3	4,575	63.2	7,435	50.7	2,045	27.5	30.9
Surry	6,171	1,479	44.5	1,621	100+	1,842	55.5	1,140	61.9	41.3
Sussex	12,437	2,662	41.8	2,536	95.3	3,706	58.2	1,354	36.5	34.8
Independent Cities										
Chesapeake[3]	77,800	34,615	76.5	21,514	62.2	10,657	23.5	3,672	34.5	14.6
Colonial Hghts	11,623	6,049	99.9	4,337	71.7	17	.1	0	0	0
Franklin[3]	7,650	2,200	51.0	1,752	79.6	2,111	49.0	899	42.6	33.9
Hopewell	19,479	8,854	85.1	5,600	63.3	1,549	14.9	750	48.4	11.8
Petersburg	36,419	12,528	56.1	6,353	50.7	9,821	43.9	3,919	39.9	38.2
Suffolk	12,178	5,272	65.6	2,779	52.7	2,769	34.4	817	29.5	22.7
Total	405,309	141,202	62.1	91,397	64.7	86,294	37.9	30,377	35.2	24.9

Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Registration and Voting Statistics

1. Voting Age Population statistics are from the 1960 Census. Since the voting age population has increased, the percent of registered voters will tend to be overestimated.

2. The number of registered voters is based on figures furnished by the Virginia State Board of Elections as an estimate of registration as of October, 1964.

3. Figures for Franklin, except for the number of registered voters, are based on figures and estimates from the Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia, 1963.

4. Total Negro voting age population for Dinwiddie and, consequently, for the 7th District are overestimated since 4,837 Negroes are inmates of an institution there.

5. The number of registered voters for Richmond is based on the 1961 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report No. 1, Voting

Voter Registration and Education Projects

One of the obvious, but essential, steps to end the low voter registration and participation in Virginia will be to develop projects to increase registration and voter turnout. However, a large electorate will not necessarily guarantee a challenge to the status quo, particularly to the political structure that permits the Byrd organization or future organizations to control the local government. Registration and get-out-the-vote drives should be accompanied by voter education projects and the development of local leaders by community organizers.

Goals and Methods

As stated and shown previously Negroes possess great potential political power at every level of government throughout the Blackbelt and, consequently, in the entire state. This power is being developed but still only around one-third of the eligible Negroes are registered and only a very few have been elected to public office in the counties and independent cities of the Fourth and in other congressional districts located in the Blackbelt.

The goals of V.S.C.R.C. are threefold:

1. Increase voter registration and turnout of the Negro population by 20-25 percent or more in the counties where V.S.C.R.C. is working and plans to expand,
2. organize and conduct voter education classes,
3. and develop local leaders.

By recruiting students to work during the spring holidays and weekends, by recruiting new community organizers to work full-time during the summer, and by the work of the present community organizers who are now working full-time, V.S.C.R.C. believes the above goals can be achieved. Several factors will be in our favor in achieving this first goal.

1. The 1965 Voting Rights Act has suspended literacy tests. In the Blackbelt where Negroes have greatly suffered from segregated and inferior schools. The completion of an application has been a great barrier for a large portion of the population. In the Fourth the median years of school completed for Negroes 25 years of age or more is 6.0 years and 39.3 percent had completed less than 5 years of school in 1960. It will be much easier to register these people now.
2. The 24th Amendment has removed payment of poll tax for federal elections. The 1965 Voting Rights Act requires payment of only one year's poll tax, $1.50, forty-five days before local and state elections. Possibly the courts will remove the poll tax for all elections. Virginia is one of the four states that still requires payment of the poll tax. Before the Voting Rights Act was passed, Virginia required the consecutive payment of three years poll tax, $4.50 plus interest, six months before an election, in

order to be able to register. The payment of nearly \$5.00 was an economic burden to many Negroes. In the Fourth the median income of Negroe families was \$2,095, and from one-third to one-fourth of the families in the different counties earned less than \$1,000 per year in 1959. It will be much easier to register people now that this economic burden has been removed or lowered.

3. In addition to the removing of legal and economic barriers to registration, a change in the psychological attitude of the voter is important in Virginia. The voter must feel that it is not useless to vote. The Negro constituency is becoming aware of the power of the vote, and is instilled with the belief that things can be changed. The 1966 elections offer an opportunity to change things in Virginia. In 1966 not only will Virginia's ten Congressmen be up for re-election but also both of its U.S. Senators. It seems very likely that moderates and/or liberals will oppose Virginia's two very conservative U.S. Senators in the July, 1966 Democratic primary. It also appears that the case will be the same in the congressional races. There will also be the possibility of strong Republican in the November elections for some of the above seats. In addition, there will be local elections for many Town Councils. With the Negro's increasing knowledge of his power at the ballot box, and with the increasing interest in the forthcoming elections, the psychological attitude should be far more conducive to voter participation than it has been in the past.

As community organizers V.S.C.R.C. believes that the method or methods of conducting voter drives should be determined by the local people. While we should provide local people with various resources such as voting statistics, legal information, and material on how to conduct drives, local people should make the final decision as to how they will manage their drive. Then we should work with the local people in implementing their decision and helping to provide the resources.

Along with these drives there is a need for voter education projects to create an electorate that will understand the political structure of the state and not depend upon top-down decisions as to how to vote. Also there is a need to understand how Virginia's government has been so structured as to facilitate control of the government by the Byrd organization, or future organizations; how this prohibits the people from democratically controlling the government; and the means by which the people can change this structure if they wish.

As one means of achieving this goal in voter education, V.S.C.R.C. has prepared a workbook, Virginia Government Workbook, to be used in voter education classes. Again, while we should provide resources, people and materia to initiate this project, local people should participate in organizing and setting up classes.

There is a need to further develop existing and new local leaders who will organize and teach voter education classes after the initial classes have been established, and eventually provide more democratic alternatives in the structure and management of local and state government by seeking public office.

This goal can be achieved best by community organizers who live, work and develop local people, as well as themselves, on a full-time basis.

January 18, 1966

Miss Nancy M. Hubbard
Secretary for SCORR
Ohio Wesleyan University
Delaware, Ohio 43015

Dear Miss Hubbard:

We are in the process of putting together a list of summer-work-projects possibilities for student volunteers. We will send you all the particulars concerning this at an early date.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerley,

Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization Planning

AU:rh

OHIO WESLEYAN
UNIVERSITY

DELAWARE, OHIO 43015

PV
please
Answer

December 30, 1965

Southern Regional Council
Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Exec. Director
63 Auburn Avenue N.J.
Atlanta,3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Would you please send us the available information concerning your summer projects. We are making a group presentation on opportunities for civil rights work, so some extra brochures would be very helpful.

Thank you

Sincerely,

Nancy M. Hubbard (#144)
Secretary for SCORR
Ohio Wesleyan
Delaware, Ohio

Mississippi...1-19-66

Dear Brother Al,

Thanks for the word concerning the possibility of student workers for a summer program. We are interested in this program, but do not yet have our ideas formulated....so, when I come over on the 2nd of February I'd like for us to have a bit of time to talk. Want to see you anyway...we haven't talked for over four months now. Maybe you'll be around on the night of the first.

Trust that all goes well with you. This is a hectic time in Mississippi. Hope that means that pains being suffered are growing pains and that fruits are to come later. Just returned from the University where I had a good meeting with some of the faculty.

Snow is in Mississippi.

Les Dunbar called this morning. Perhaps you know about our attempt to get some funds for the distribution of Silver's book, Mississippi: the Closed Society. Les has come through and we'll be trying to get 2,000 copies of it in the public school libaries and other outlets.

Negro policemen do not solve any of the problems...at least in Mississippi this seems to have been a mistake in almost every instance. I witnessed a terrible case of brutality last week... two Negro cops and a drunk Negro....anybody with a full pint of whisky down in less than 30 minutes can't fight backenough for extreme force to be necessary.

Behave.

Ken

Ken Dean

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

20 January 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al Ulmer:

We have two projects in planning stage which will use students -- tutoring Negro students and a voter education project. In the first of these we think local students will be available. In the voter education project we probably will need help in recruiting workers. At this stage we cannot answer the question as to the number needed. In February plans should be shaping up so this answer can be given you.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director

NRG:cit

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A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

II

The West Jacksonville Association For A Better Community

A None Profit Civic Oganization

805 Line Street Jacksonville, Florida 32209 Telephone 355-3210 (Area Code 904)

February 5, 1966

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MRS. CONSTANCE HIXON

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulmer,

In regard to your letter of January 25th, we are very much interested and appreciate your thinking of our organization.

Already, we have started making plans. I trust proposed project will meet with your approval.

1. Community Poverty Survey and Increased Youth Recreation

   a. Door to door survey in three communities.

   b. Questionnaire will consist of the following:

   Number in family, educational level of parent, age of parent, number of school age children, school dropouts(why?), unmarried mothers, handicapped persons in family, parents income, number on welfare/on social security, if registered to vote, skills parent may have, if any.., if are they employed in that status, health status, visual condition of street, condition of house and if not working...would you like to work.

   This would also include a meeting with some Negro businessmen and a number of their employees, especially those in the Restaurant business. At this meeting, the proper way of meeting and serving the public along with other important subjects would be discussed.

   A group conference would be arranged with the Mayor, the Health

A Community Takes A Giant Step - In Unity I Find Strength To Opportunity

Slums Do Not Make People-People Make Slums

The West Jacksonville Association For A Better Community

A None Profit Civic Oganization

805 Line Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32209
Telephone 355-3210 (Area Code 904)

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MRS. CONSTANCE HIXON

Officer and other city officials including Economic Opportunity Office officials. Also, a tour of the city jail, the Zoo, the art Museum and a visit to one of the city council meetings.

2. Increased Youth Recreation

   a. Six neighborhoods have been selected for this kind of activity. A soft ball team to be organized in each including males and females. Other types of recreation along with physical fitness programs depending on the desires of the group upon arrival.

   b. A talent show or happy hour will be had in each selected neighborhood along with discussions on the value of staying in school.

About twenty to thirty students would be needed for this project along with those we will recruit ourselves in this area. If this number is not available, we will accept any number.

If students are willing to live with(in the homes of) community citizens, (let us say two at a home), room and board I feel could be provided. If this is not in your accord, then we will make other arrangements.

If project is accepted, please let us know at your earliest convenience in order that we may go forward with definite plans. Also, let me know expected arrival Jax time of students and contemplated time they are to remain here. In your doing so, I could begin now arranging time off job to personally supervise program.

Also, a number of citizens are interested, to know more about the credit union.

Thanking you very kindly.

Sincerely,

Robert L. C. Williams

Robert L. C. Williams

A C H R

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

February 16, 1966

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Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

To date I have only one response from local people for student volunteers this summer. The East Alabama Chapter wants 8-10 students for a door-to-door campaign on information, etc., regarding school desegregation; some of these students would also work in their Head Start project. They could furnish rooms and presumably board, but would have no funds.

Although we have heard nothing definite from anyone else, I know we could place from 10-30 students either with other local chapters or other local organizations. You could assume that most of those students would be provided room and board. And off hand, I would guess most of them would be working on school desegregation, voter education and/or Title VI compliance surveys.

I will give this a special plug in our February bulletin, so I might know more by the first of March.

Could you let me know at once, if you know, approximately how long a student would be available to the local group?

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

BV:llr

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

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ENFIELD 445-3245
ENFIELD 445-3246

AREA CODE 919

February 17, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Altanta 3, Georgia

Dear Al:

I found your letter here when I returned from the Middle West last week. It seems to me that you have several very fine ideas upon which to work. The Poverty Committees of nearby counties are talking of Neighborhood Youth Corps and hordes of homemakers and Practical Nurse Corps beginning March first. What success they may have for recruiting I do no know, as for us the likely young people who might wish to work on your project are either in college or in the army. Those coming out of high school may offer us some hope. I shall be glad to keep looking if you still have room in your project.

In regard to the Rehabilitation Project, I would say that if any of those people who were driven off that famous project near Columbus, Georgia are available someone of them might make a very good person. If Tuskegee Institute could direct you to some retired Farm Demonstration Agent, he might be of value as a director of the project.

Thanking you for sharing the ideas with me and extending every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Judson

W. Judson King

WJK:a

VIRGINIA STUDENTS' CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE
Box 79
Kenbridge, Virginia

February 21, 1966

Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

I am writing in answer to your letter of January 25 concerning summer projects for student volunteers.

VSCRC is planning an expanded community organizing project in the Fourth Congressional District of Virginia. Bill Towe is presently working up a detailed description of the summer project, the primary concern of which will be voter registration and political education. Within the next two weeks the project will be presented to SRC in the form of a proposal for funding.

Student volunteers will be needed to canvass on a door-to-door basis to register the Negro voting-age population. Extensive follow-up with registered voters is planned in the form of political education classes. Bill has developed a workbook on Virginia government which volunteers will use to train local people. The trainees, in turn, will be equipped to use the workbook themselves in conducting political education classes. Bill plans to soon start working on a second booklet to be used in showing how the Byrd machine is tied in with the industrial complex in Virginia and how the machine subverts democratic government.

We estimate that the maximum number of volunteers we can handle for the summer program would be 40. We will provide housing in the local community and some, but not all, meals.

We plan to begin the voter registration program in early March, bringing students down during spring vacation. It is crucial that extensive voter registration be done well in advance of the July state Democratic primary in which Harry Byrd, Jr. and Pat Jennings will be running for the Senate seat.

If we know of students who must have an honorarium in order to work in southside this summer, should we have them contact you? I hope I have provided the information necessary for you to begin recruiting. Many thanks.

For a New South,

Nan

Nan Grogan
VSCRC

March 11, 1966

Mr. Robert Williams
West Jacksonville Association
for Better Community
805 Line Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Williams:

I apologize for the delay in answering your letter. Your suggestions of work projects for student volunteers were good. I think we could definitely commit ourselves to paying some sort of an honorarium to five students. Ten would be a possibility, especially if you could find a church or an organization in Jacksonville to contribute to the honorarium. If you could let me know soon how many students you can get from Jacksonville, I can then begin recruiting any additional people you wouldnneed.

In regard to the credit union, I am attempting to get Mr. William Shields to go to Jacksonville for a week or two to work with you on this. Mr. Shields has a great knowledge of credit unions and I'm sure would be of assistance to you. If he is not available there might be some delay in finding a qualified person for this.

I will be able to come down in April in the event I am unable to find someone else before then.

Again, I am sorry I did not answer your letter more promptly.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU:rh

325 College Street
Lynchburg, Virginia
May 27, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

I was so pleased to receive your letter informing me of the $150 Honorarium to work with V.S.C.R.C. It will be of great assistance to me, relieving me of some financial obligations.

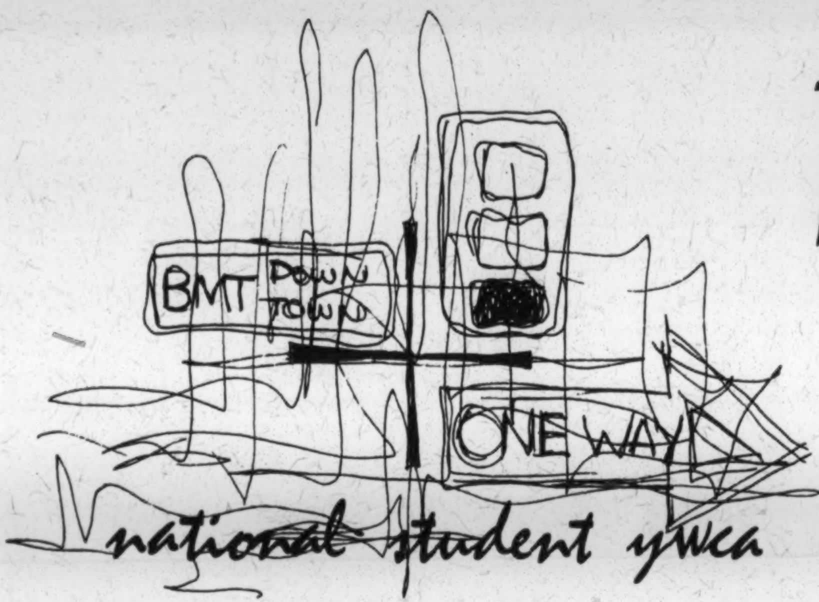
I plan to talk with Nan some more about what they wish for me to do exactly in working on the news letter. When I find out more about it I will write you; also I plan to correspond with you throughout the summer as the project unfolds.

I think the newsletter has many potentialities, and I only hope that I will be able to do a good job on it this summer. I know several of the people on the Southside project, and I am looking forward to the chance to work with them.

Again I thank you for accepting my application, and I will try my best to meet the challenges offered by the project in Southside Virginia. I will keep in touch.

Sincerely,
Carol Edwards
Carol Edwards

A.U.



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- *live with a group of students from across the country sharing in the life of New York's lower East Side*
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The NEW YORK CITY PROJECT 1966 is one of volunteer service wherein the individual has an opportunity to contribute to the lives of others through giving of himself, his time and his energy. MEMBERS ARE PAID A STIPEND FOR THEIR WORK, WHICH USUALLY COVERS AT LEAST PROJECT FEES PLUS ROOM AND BOARD.

Weekly seminars will be conducted by the Center for New York City Affairs of the New School for Social Research. Field trips will be arranged in connection with the seminars.

A resident counselor will help the group supplement the seminars with whatever else is of interest to them in New York.

The NEW YORK CITY PROJECT is open to men and women students who have completed at least one year of college. The dates are June 22 - August 19, 1966. The cost is $10 registration and $90 program fee. Room and board come to approximately $25 per week.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION AND APPLICATIONS, WRITE TO:

Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple
National Student YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022

YWCA

SUMMER PROJECTS 1966

INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS

Location	Type of Program	Cost	Where to Write
MEXICO	Assist with YWCA projects in various sections of Mexico City. Learn about life and culture of the people and participate in student activities. Visits to other parts of Mexico en route to and from the United States. Dates: To be announced. (Women)	Between $500 and $600	Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple National Student YWCA 600 Lexington Avenue New York, N.Y. 10022
GREECE AND YUGOSLAVIA	Participate in project arranged by Athens YWCA. Seminar with YMCA group and local students on Greek life and culture. Visits to other parts of Greece and into Yugoslavia where there will be contact with student groups. Dates: June 23 - August 16. (Women)	About $1100	Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple National Student YWCA 600 Lexington Avenue New York, N.Y. 10022
USSR	The YMCA-YWCA group will be on program arranged especially by the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR. Plans include more than a week at a student camp, visits to several of the Soviet Republics, and a maximum opportunity to meet and talk with students. Dates: To be announced. (Coed)	About $1450	Mr. Richard A. Stirling National Student Council of YMCAs 291 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10007
INDIA	Plans tentative for YWCA student seminar in South India with group of Indian women students to explore cultural differences and similarities and the challenges confronting all women in the modern world. Visits in homes and colleges in both North and South India. Dates: To be announced. (Women)	To be determined	Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple National Student YWCA 600 Lexington Avenue New York, N.Y. 10022
JAPAN	Plans tentative for YWCA staff, young university faculty or staff and YWCA advisers to meet counterparts in Japan and possibly nearby Asian countries. Seminar on role of professionally-trained women in automated society. Dates: To be announced. (Women)	About $1000	Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple National Student YWCA 600 Lexington Avenue New York, N.Y. 10022

NATIONAL PROJECTS

Location	Type of Program	Cost	Where to Write
CITY PROJECT IN NEW YORK	Students work in community settlements or in urban renewal programs. Learn about the privations of the urban slums but also about the agencies seeking to improve conditions. Group will live together. Seminar program arranged by Center for New York City Affairs. Credit may be arranged. Dates: About June 25 - August 19. (Coed)	$100 fee plus rm. and bd. (earnings usually cover expenses)	Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple National Student YWCA 600 Lexington Avenue New York, N.Y. 10022
WASHINGTON, D.C.	Students hold jobs with Congressmen, in government agencies, or with private organizations. Participate in active seminar program including lectures, direct experience with government officials and field trips. Group lives together in center of Washington. College credit may be arranged. Dates: June 15 - August 26. (Coed)	$110 fees plus rm. and bd. (earnings usually cover expenses)	Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple National Student YWCA 600 Lexington Avenue New York, N.Y. 10022
NEW YORK LEADERSHIP TRAINING SCHOOL	Leadership development for undergraduates with Christian concerns. Courses in Social Ethics, Christian Faith and program skills given at Union Theological Seminary where group is housed. Academic requirements for admission. College credit available. Dates: July 1 - August 12. (Coed)	Approx. $350	Miss Gloria Metzger National Student YWCA 600 Lexington Avenue New York, N.Y. 10022

REGIONAL PROJECTS

Location	Type of Program	Cost	Where to Write
RURAL WEST VIRGINIA	Help a small rural community develop its own Community Action Committee and help motivate the children to continue formal education and gain personal skills. (Coed)	Registration fee	Miss Theodora Ninesteel Middle Atlantic Student YWCA 3601 Locust Street Philadelphia, Pa. 19104
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO	Work as camp counselor in community YWCA with girls of multiracial backgrounds. One week of orientation, four weeks camping, and one week of study of the Southwest, especially the Pueblo Indians. (Women)	$85 for registration, rm. and bd.	Miss Eula Redenbaugh Rocky Mountain Student YWCA 1269 Topeka Avenue Topeka, Kansas 66612
BOSTON, MASS.	A small group of students will live and work together in Roxbury, the inner-city ghetto of Boston. Students obtain own jobs at prevailing wages. Study of Christian community and its embodiment in urban community. (Coed)	$25 reg. fee, rm. and bd. $15 a week	Student Christian Movement in New England 1145 Massachusetts Avenue Cambridge, Mass. 02138

The Community Organizational Project

(As I see it - March 8th)

The original goal of surveying the South's efforts at self-help and community organization type programs has been at least generally speaking acheived. I have visited ~~and have knowledge of~~ groups concerned with everything from cleaning up a block to marketing okra cooperatively, to picketing slum property to operating a credit union to self-help housing. Much that I have seen is not being done well enough to merit copying. I am impressed as never before with the massive range of skills the civil rights movement needs to recruit in order to solve the almost seemingly endless problems confronting us as southerners.

Our idea of supplying consultants to local groups upon request I continue to think of as being basically sound. Finding the people is another matter, at least finding highly skilled men who will go to a community for two or three weeks to work on a specific issue has thus far been difficult. There are several small successes here that makes me think it can be done however, at least on a small scale.

The hiring of people from within communities to do full-time work is to me the most exciting thing we have talked about yet. It can work and I think pay real dividends over two or three years especially where assistance can be given the persons. I'd like to concentrate both time and money on this part of the program.

Where to go from here is now the question. I would like to tentatively propose the following course;

Select two communities in which I would work a majority of time - one urban and one rural. I suggest Atlanta and (Wilcox? County.) Maybe S.C.

Strive to achieve success in a program that could be "exported" to various communities afterwards. I suggest Issue-oriented community organization at a neighborhood level employing three to five local organizers with the goal of bringing the groups together to act on a common problem.

And for the rural project - an emphasis on self-help housing and establishment of local means of employment and credit.

I think that perhaps after six months or a year work in either situation, especially the rural one, there would be a base to leave and then an evaluation of this way of working would be in order.

~~I think that~~ There would continue to be an effort at finding skilled help for groups on a consultant basis even if I spend a majority of my time on two projects.

To me this seems the most realistic at present. If I try to serve the South I think I'll get swalloed up by the immensity of the problems confronting us. I would like to periodically do the "tour" of projects over the South and learn what new is happening, and to report this news and relay the methods that are showing to be successful.

When I started working in Vine City, I had high hopes: I hoped to get a group of teen-agers tehether and get them to actively fight for the changes they saw necessary in Vine City. In this I failed. There was a brief flurry of activity, which I described in the last report - a flurry which soon subsided.

Why it did is something which has been troubling me, and which I can't entirely explain. Partly, it was a serious mistake to send a white into Vine City to start a new program. SNCC really is right when they say that whites can't be the leaders in the movement - at least not the ones who lead the demonstrations, who run for office, who are the spokesmen. When they are such leaders, they do reinforce the pattern of Negro inferiority. But when you start working with a group of people who have no experience in organizing, I suppose you do have to assume a certain leadership role.

You also need somebody who will push and prod, who wil get others to do things. Every once in a while, I found myself acting like this, and I was very uncomfortable. I felt I was once again the white master tellin g the slaves what to do.

When we did have some action, I was the leader. The only one with experience, I had to be, and my denials could not reverse this fact. I wasn't the one who spoke over television, but it was I who answered the city officials lies when we met together. And I was very uncomfortable in this role. I knew it wasn't right. Finally, I told several of the guys I was working with exactly what I was thinking. I let them know that they would have to be the initiators, and that all I would do was support them. After that, everything died - proof that I was doing too much myself.

So what is left? Will there be any fruits from these ten weeks? Atlanta when I leave it will be the same as Atlanta when I came. Except for a few people, it won't have known I was here.

My daily activities in Vine City were standing on the corners, drinking wine in the alleys, going swimming ~~in~~ at Washington Park, or watching Calvin repair a car - just what everybody else did. It got so that people began to ask me why I didn't get myself a job.

I felt more comfortable in Vine City than almost any other neighborhood I've livedin. If I did succeed at all, it was in forming some good relationships. The winos could accept me because I wasn't above them; I drand with them (and enjoyed it). And passing time on the corner, too, was pleasant. But where does it all lead? I learned something from Vine City, but I doubt I was getting paid to furhter my own education.

Because among other things, I do believe in integration, I feel there is a role for whites in the civil rights movement. It must be a small role; what SNCC says really is right - that Negroes look up to whites too much and any success a white civil rights leader accomplishes people will feel he accomplished because he was white. The main task of whites really does lie in the white communities, where they (we) can accomplish more.

I wonder about your program, Al. For a very specific goal, such as working on a particular election, or working in a particular freedom school for ten weeks, I think it is good. But to expect someone to ~~gx~~ start a movement in a month and a half and then leave it if he does is wrong. If you are taking somebody on to organize ~~ix~~ pretty much on his own, it must be a Negro (if in a Negro community), and you must offer him the opportunity yo continue work there after ten weeks if he has something going.

I deeply regret that I didn't decide from the beginning to work full time in Cabbage Town. I think I could have gotten something started there. Instead, what did I accomplish in Vine City? Maybe for a few guys, the experience they had in the small fight we had will lead to something in five years from now. Maybe. For the rest, a few dozen people got to know me, a white, as an individual. For some the relationship was important, perhaps important enough to affect their lives.

As I said, in particular cases, a ten week program can be good. It can help an organization which needs volunteers for a specific activity.

But what did I accomplish? How much is a few deep relationships worth? Or a white really integrating himself into a small part of Vine City? Or the possibility that five years from now, one of these teen-agers will use this summer's experience to organize a movement? Is all this worth very much?

I don't know.

203 Ice Street
Troy, Alabama 36081
August 10, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

I am very sorry that I did not see you before I left Atlanta Friday. There are many things that I am sure you would be interested in hearing about.

I have submitted to Mr. Watters some written work that might be of interest to you. There are others that I am still working on.

I am enclosing a summarized report of the project.

Thank you very much for hiring me. I have learned quite a bit and have had some unforgettable experiences.

Sincerely yours,

Jerrilyn McGhee

Lula Jerrilyn McGhee

Enclosure

REPORT

DATE: August 10, 1966

TO: Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

RE: Project-Lightning

FROM: Lula Jerrilyn McGhee

Project Sponsored by: Southern Regional Council

In Charge of Project: Lula Jerrilyn McGhee

Length of Project: June 13th-August 5th, 1966

Nature of Project:

Project-Lightning was planned to provide a person who would supervise children's group activities in one of Atlanta's low-income ghettoes and report on living conditions in the area.

Funds Appropriated for Equipment: Twenty-five dollars ($25)

Equipment Bought:

1	Volleyball Set (net, props, and ball)
1	Croquet Set (4 mallets, 4 balls, 2 stakes, 4 arches)
1	Plastic Jump Rope
1	Bingo Set
1	Twister Game
1	Baseball
1	Baseball Bat
1	First-Aid Kit
1	Playground Ball

Activities Included in Project:

Playground games

Tours of Metropolitan Atlanta sponsored by the city of Atlanta's recreation committee

Visits to Chastain Park's "Theater Under the Stars" sponsored by Economic Opportunity of Atlanta

Sunday School at Mt. Gilead Baptist Church (in Lightning)

Activities sponsored by the teen club ("Lightning Cyclones A-Go-Go") such as:

Taking the younger children to see the July 2nd parade downtown

Hot Dog Sales

Dances

Club meetings with the Foundation Club

Honorarium: Two hundred fifty dollars ($250)

Amount of Honorarium Paid (at this time): One hundred fifty dollars ($150)

Additional Remarks:

The playground equipment was left with Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, President of the "Foundation Club " (the adult club for the improvement of the area) and her father on Thurmond Street, to be distributed daily and supervised by them.

Signed,

Jerrilyn McGhee

RELEASE

For and in consideration of one dollar, the receipt and sufficiency of which is hereby acknowledged, the undersigned hereby releases and quitclaims and forever discharges the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc., a non-profit corporation, organized and chartered under the laws of the State of Georgia, its directors, officers, servants and employees, agents, successors in interest, assigns, and all other persons, firms or corporations liable or who might become liable due to and because of the participation of ____, a minor, in a summer project in the deep South in 1965, sponsored, directed and organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc., from any and all claims, demands, damages, actions, causes of action, or suits of any kind or nature whatsoever, and particularly on account of all injuries to persons or property, or both, which may result or arise out of the said participation in and connection with the hereinbefore mentioned summer project.

The undersigned executes this release with full knowledge of the hazards and dangers necessarily involved and incidental to working and participating with the summer project.

These recitals are intended to be covenants.

The undersigned hereby agrees and covenants to this release being pleaded in bar to any claim, action or cause of action which the undersigned may have or shall ever have against the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc.

This ____________ day of __________________, 1965.

____

Signed, sealed and delivered
in the presence of:

____
Witness

____
Notary Public

PREPARATORY READING LIST FOR SCOPE VOLUNTEERS

REQUIRED READING

1. The Souls of Black Folk, W.E.B. DuBois, Greenwich, Conn.: Premier Americana, Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1918, (PB)
2. Freedom Road, Howard Fast, New York: Pocketbook, 1944, (PB) (Novel on Reconstruction)
3. Southern Politics in State and Nation, V.O. Key, Jr., New York: A.A. Knopf, Vintage Book, 1949, (PB)
4. The People That Walk in Darkness, J.W. Schulte Nordholt, N.Y. Ballantine Books, 1962(PB). (Negro History)
5. How to Win, AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO Building, 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C., (PB). (handbook on political organization, voter registration, etc.)

STRONGLY RECOMMENDED

1. The Mind of the South, W.J.Cash, New York: A.A. Knopf, Vintage Book, 1941, (PB). (Southern attitudes)
2. Black Reconstruction, W.E.B. DuBois, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935.
3. Other America, Michael Harrington, Mecmillan, 1962, (Poverty in America.)
4. Discrimination, Wallace, Mendelson, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1963, (PB). (Based on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report).
5. The Movement, Text by Lorraine Hansberry, prepared with the cooperation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 8½ Raymond St., Atlanta, 1964, (PB). (Superby Documentary of a struggle for equality.)
6. Killers of the Dream, Lillian Smith, Norton and Co., Revised and enlarged edition, 1961.
7. Strength to Love, Martin Luther King, Jr., New York: Harper & Row, 1964.
8. Black Boy, Richard Wright, New York: Harper, 1945, (PB) (An autobiography)

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

1. The Strange Career of Jim Crow, C.Vann Woodward, Oxford University Press (A Galaxy Book), 1957, (PB)
2. The Negro Revolt, Lous Lomax, New York: Harper and Brothers 1962.
3. The Negro Politician- His Success and Failure, Edward T. Clayton, Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1964.
4. The Negro in America, Arnold Rose, Boston: Beacon Press, 1944, (PB) (A condensation of Gunnar Mydal's An American Dilemma)
5. The Southern Heritage, James McBride Dabbs, New York: A.A. Knopf, 1958.
6. Before the Mayflower, Lerone Bennett, Johnson Publishing Co.

(Continue-Page 2)

1962. (A history of the Negro in America 1916-1962)

7. Life and Writing of Frederick Douglass, edited by Philip Foner, International Press, 1950-52). (Four volumes: Early years, 1817-49; Pre-Civil War decade, 1850-60; The Civil War, 1861-65; and Reconstwuction and after).

8. Blues for Mister Charlie, James Baldwin, Dial Press, 1964, (PB). Fire Next Time, James Baldwin, Dial Press, 1964

9. Freedom Ride, James Peck, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962.

Is this the type of assistance they are ready + willing to give?

PA

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

a national federation of cooperatives

***Jerry Voorhis**, president and executive director*

Chicago, Illinois

December 29, 1965

AU.

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

Your recent letter to Hal Charles was referred to my attention.

We believe, Al, that you could be of real help to us in this situation. The Cooperative League has had many requests for help along these lines in the South. We have suggested to these people that they contact their County Agricultural Agent, the State Agricultural Extension Division, the Farmers Home Administration, or other appropriate governmental agencies.

We have always asked these people to let us know if they had difficulty in getting help. We have not heard from them either way -- whether they obtained help or if they didn't.

The group of farmers in Perry County in Marion, Alabama certainly need the counsel and aid of the State Agricultural Extension Division. The first step to get this help would be their County Agricultural Agent. We are sure the Department of Agriculture in Washington, D. C. has considerable information on these types of associations and operations, marketing methods, and problems.

We would very much appreciate having you follow-up on this situation and see if these people are able to get the kind of technical counsel and assistance they need.

It was indeed a pleasure to make your personal acquaintance at the Ford Foundation dinner meeting in Washington. We particularly enjoyed the very excellent report that you gave on your personal cooperative activities in your area. We hope that there will be additional meetings of this group.

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605 *312-922-0667*

***Harold Hamil**, chairman of the board* • ***Bowman Doss**, vice president-vice chairman*

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005 *202-628-8765*

Mr. Al Ulmer Page #2 December 29, 1965

We are also hopeful that we may gain a closer personal acquaintance with your organization and its program. If you have any folders or brochures describing the program and activities of the Southern Regional Counsel, Inc. we would appreciate receiving some.

Thank you for writing to us relative to the farmers of Perry County. We would appreciate hearing from you about them at a later date.

With kindest personal regards,

Very sincerely,
The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

Chuck

B. F. IHLENFELDT, Administrator
Economic Opportunity Program

BFI:Fvp

CC - Hal Charles

MEMO to Al Ulmer

Send 'em a big batch of SRC material to show some thing of what we think & do!

Dismal letter.

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LOU CLARK – ATLANTA DISTRICT OFFICE – 1769 CHESHIRE BRIDGE ROAD N.E. – ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324 – PHONE: 873-3030

January 26, 1966

The Reverend J. Martin England
P. O. Box 10201
Federal Station
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. England:

We have been asked to help provide some answers to a complicated series of problems.

I would appreciate any assistance you could give in the following matter.

Approximately ninety-five (95) families in Wilcox County, Alabama, have been "put off the land" since Spring of 1964. Recently SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) workers assisted a group of approximately fifty families in making application to OEO for grants of up to $1500 under Title III (B), which applies to seasonally employed agricultural workers. Thirty acres has been obtained and plans are being made for the construction of fifty (50) homes. It is hoped that loans from the Farmers Home Administration can be made available to supplement the $1500 OEO grants.

The problem is that in order to qualify for FHA the ability to repay must be in evidence. All these people are at present unemployed. To show FHA evidence of repayment ability, tentative plans to rent 600 acres have been made. Peas, squash, and cucumbers (300 acres) will be planted, a committed market has been secured. It is hoped 100 families can be included. Another problem is how best to farm 600 acres collectively, with 100 farmers heretofore independent or share-cropper farmers. People with cooperative experience and organizational skills are badly needed.

If you have suggestions for the group or know of persons skilled in cooperative planning, please let me or Mr. Dan Harrell, SCLC County-Project Director (P.O. Box 511, Camden, Alabama) know immediately.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization Planning

AU:rh

Saluda Dam Road
Greenville, South Carolina
January 28, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization Planning
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

The Reverend J. Martin England has conscientiously scrutinized the contents of your letter. Because of my experience in a related endeavor, he has asked me to answer your query in the light of our mutual feelings.

We commend your associates and you for the proposed undertaking under consideration. Although it is indeed a mammoth project, it is our thinking and certainly, our hope, that it will ultimately blossom forth and ripen into full fruition as a model worthy of emulation.

Please feel free to call upon me for any assistance I may be prepared to offer.

The attached pages seek to serve as guidelines and to raise questions likely to be attached.

With sincere good wishes, I am

Most cordially,

R. W. Anderson
phone: (Area Code 803) 239-2142

CC: Dan Harrell
J. Martin England

Enclosures (2)

PROBABLE GUIDELINES
for Wilcox County, Alabama

1. The project as planned resembles one that would fall under the category of a workable Co-op endeavor. Close and careful screening of participating parties would not necessarily be attached since all of them fall within the realm of the impoverished and survive under kindred backgrounds and attainments. In the absence of a co-op, a well established community organization under direct supervision of a Board of Directors composed of able, interested and fair-minded people (including a percentage of participating families) would also serve the purpose.

2. A percentage of the working capital would necessarily be allocated for central control by the organization. Such money to be used for wholesale purchases, other community necessities, emergency spendings and ultimately for depositors' dividends.

3. Farm families may be broken down into small operating units (10 each unit) according to their ability and experience in the varied occupational skills and job requirements as they will appear. Such an arrangement would, of course, be spelled out in a general assembly, family by family and posted conspicuously.

4. All available agricultural services would be invited to function in order to implement the cause. Agencies should include (1) Agricultural Extension Service, (2) Soil Conservation Service, (3) Farmers Home Administration, (4) Vocational Agriculture and (5) our recently established Community Action Program. With the multiple services involved, there will be a guarantee of the usefulness of the land for the purpose for which anticipated, aid in correcting any deficiencies by proper draining, irrigating, terracing, making chemical tests of the soil, determining and recommending the type and quantity of fertilizer, seeds, the treatment of fungus and insects. Certainly, the Community Action Program is prepared to supplement any prevailing educational service with basic fundamentals included in their tutorial emphasis in the poverty program. Participating farm families may also qualify for pay while enrolled in training for skills incidental to the project. Still others may qualify for pay to assist in training and coordinating the teaching process. Since there is no back-ground measuring rod to assure potential productivity, the F.H.A. is certain to require the kind of grass-root assistance as set forth in the foregoing, together with * expert project leadership on a permanent basis prior to floating a loan.

   * Expert guidance and coordinating personnel could, no doubt, be secured as an independent component under the Community Action Program with compensatory backing.

5. An air-tight rental arrangement is compelling in acquisition of the 600 acres of land for the first, year. The contract should provide for first option to lease the same tract of land for a term of years at the termination of the one year rental period. Thus, any one with bounty notions is dispelled from capitalizing on any successful element of the project.

6. A collective enterprise would offer a minimum of strife and discontent. Once a community project is reduced to individual plots requiring individual attention, community interest and fellowship are likewise reduced. There are many positive human hopes and aspirations that would emanate out of and in connection with organized living and social attachment. This does not mean, by any stretch of the imagination, that participants are to be colonized, away from the outside world.

Probable Guidelines for Wilcox County, Alabama

7. With a grant of aid from sponsoring agencies, the organization and training of the people to be aided, the cooperation of related services and the competence of a supervisory staff, helpful operation should follow.

One other facet that connot be ignored is the education of the outside public to accept a contingent of citizens in a setting for the expressed purpose of helping themselves to meet minimum standards. Outside interference is both dangerous and usually is contrary to established routines.

By: R. W. Anderson

QUESTIONS
for Wilcox County, Alabama

1. If 300 acres are to be planted in three crops for 50 farm families constituting 6 acres per family, what other allocations are available for unit gardens, the family cow, pork and poultry? These were not mentioned as components of good farm practices. Of course, same may be implemented on a community-wide basis to be shared as the need arises.

2. Is the remaining 300 acres available for full cultivation?

3. An additional 50 families to be included in the project would necessarily depend upon the answer to question #2 (a six acre spread, at best, is indeed small for a family).

4. Frankly, a 100 family project, fundamentally experimental, is a tremendous undertaking, especially where the clientele is not accustomed to community settings requiring equitable participation and where re-direction of the person is a must. Have you considered delaying expansion? The questions of rivalry in performance or competitive shiftlessness are ever present.....the questions of family loads and net returns for varying family units as measured by family sizes are sore spots.

5. Truck farming should also include seasonable crops on a diversified pattern (others than mentioned in Al Ulmer's letter) so as to accomplish full scale seasonable income. Have other crops following early harvests been considered?

6. What provisions are foreseeable for the upkeep and maintenance of the families once they negotiate for home ownership until they reap and sell the crops in the making? Public assistance is usually unavailable where ownership exists. Are there available sponsors who would present themselves as friends to a most worthy and promising undertaking?

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PROGRAM IN ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

January 31, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Director, Community Organization Planning
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

This is one where I simply have to throw my hands in the air and admit honestly, "I haven't the slightest idea!" The story which you tell is a moving one, and so I wish that I were full of bright ideas about getting help to these people. But I am too ignorant about rural cooperatives to be of any assistance.

My inclination, if I were in your spot, would be to call two people and ask them where to turn for help. The first would be one of the Cooperative League people whom we met that night in Washington; why not go right to the top and see what advice is available from the Chicago office? The second would be Ben Neufeld, Executive Director of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, in Washington, D.C. (Telephone: 202, NO 7-3979). Neufeld may not have the information which you need, but he should know where to turn for it.

Good luck!

Sincerely,

Jack

John R. Coleman
Associate Director

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA
a national federation of cooperatives
Jerry Voorhis, president and executive director
Chicago, Illinois

February 10, 1966

PA ✓
AU

Mr. Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization Planning
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

We were pleased to hear from you in regard to the people in Wilcox County and their specific problem. Due to my absence from the office, a reply to your letter was delayed.

The basic plan for these people in Wilcox County to farm 600 acres of land is an excellent one and we certainly hope it will be successful and are interested in helping them get the proper type of technical assistance they will need to get properly organized and established in their cooperative endeavor.

There has been considerable experience with groups of this nature in such undertakings and the Department of Agriculture and various extension divisions have people with the specific talents, knowledge, and abilities that are needed. Do you know whether-or-not this group has attempted to get help from the Connty Agent and from the State Agricultural Extension Division? I am assuming that help has not been forthcoming for them. We are writing to Mr. Robert G. Lewis, the Administrator of Rural Community Development Services in the United States Department of Agriculture and we are asking him to see to it that this group gets the help which it needs. We are enclosing a copy of our letter to Mr. Lewis. Please keep us informed of the developments on this, as we are very much interested in knowing whether-or-not this group will receive the proper help and guidance which it needs.

Thank you for writing to us -- we will certainly look forward to hearing from you about the progress on this group in Wilcox County.

Very sincerely,
The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

Chuck

B. F. IHLENFELDT, Administrator
Economic Opportunity Program

BFI:Fvp

GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605 *312-922-0667*
***Harold Hamil**, chairman of the board* • ***Bowman Doss**, vice president-vice chairman*
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005 *202-628-8765*

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA
a national federation of cooperatives
Jerry Voorhis, president and executive director
Chicago, Illinois

February 10, 1966

Mr. Robert G. Lewis, Administrator
United States Department of Agriculture
Rural Community Development Service
Washington, D. C. 20250

Dear Bob:

Thank you very much for having your office follow-up in regard to the cooperative in Greensboro, Alabama, which George Cerny called to your attention.

Bob, we would very much appreciate the help of your department in getting proper cooperative, organizational help to a group of 95 families in Wilcox County, Alabama. These people have "been put off the land." They have applied to O.E.O. for grants of up to $1,500 under title 3-B. They have obtained land, plan to construct 50 homes with the aid of loans from the Farmers' Home Administration to supplement the $1,500 O.E.O. Grant.

To qualify for FHA and prove their ability to repay loans, this group has tentative plans to rent 600 acres of land to raise peas, squash, and cucumbers. They hope to include 100 families in this project.

Their problem is how to best farm 600 acres collectively. With 100 families heretofore independent or sharecropper farmers, people with cooperative experience and organizational skills are badly needed. This help has not been available to them.

Bob, we would very much appreciate it if you could have one of your field representatives in Alabama see to it that qualified people give this group the counsel, advice, and organizational help that they will need.

Thank you very much for your kind attention to this.

Very sincerely,
The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

Roy Sellers

B. F. IHLENFELDT, Administrator
Economic Opportunity Program

BFI:Fvp

CC - Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605 *312-922-0667*
Harold Hamil, chairman of the board • *Bowman Doss, vice president-vice chairman*
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005 *202-628-8765*

Politics - Negro

The Huntsville Times WEDNESDAY, FEB. 16, 1966

Negroes Seek Hale, Wilcox Offices

By JACK NELSON
The Los Angeles Times

ATLANTA — At least six Negroes are candidates for public offices in two Alabama counties where registration by federal examiners has given Negroes voting majorities.

The prospect of Negro office holders in Wilcox and Hale counties, two white-supremacy strongholds that were rocked by civil rights demonstrations last year, has upset many of the white residents.

All of the Negro candidates have been active in the civil rights movement.

"We've never experienced anything like this before," Probate Judge Bell Dannelly of Wilcox County said. "We don't know how far they're going or how far the federal government is going. Sure, we're upset."

The Negro candidacies also have white politicians out looking for Negro votes for the first time.

"I'm looking for a good bit of colored support," said State Sen. Roland Cooper, an auto dealer who is completing his third four-year term. "This is not going to be a race-hatred campaign. I got colored folks working for my campaign in all four counties of the district."

Cooper's opponent is Lonnie Brown, an insurance salesman from Gee's Bend, an all-Negro community in a remote part of Wilcox County.

Judge Dannelly said other Negro candidates who have failed qualification papers with him to run in the May 3 Democratic primary in Wilcox county include:

For sheriff, Walter James Calhoun, operator of a rural grocery; Tax assessor, James N. Robinson, an insurance salesman, and one of four county-commission posts, Donnie Irby, insurance salesman. They will be opposing the incumbents, all veteran office holders.

In Hale County, the Rev. Henry McCaskill, 40, a Negro Baptist minister and an Army combat veteran of World War II and Korea, has picked up qualification papers to run for sheriff against two white deputies and a white highway patrolman.

At a mass meeting in Hale County, McCaskill told his Negro supporters:

"Some people say a man of God can't be sheriff, but you got to put a little bit of God into everything. God certainly ought to be going into the law and after all, who did God give the law to in the first place? Moses, and he was a preacher."

McCaskill, vice president of the local branch of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told a reporter:

"I ought to carry at least 95 per cent of the Negro vote. I expect to get some of the white votes, too. Some of the whites said they'd vote for me, but to not broadcast it."

One of his opponents, David Holloway, 58, a deputy sheriff for 14 years, said, "He's not gonna get all the Negro vote. I'm gonna get some."

Would Holloway campaign for Negro votes?

"Don't pin me down," he told a reporter. "I might have to do it. But I don't want to talk about that. The white people here are quite upset about this thing."

All of Hale's 3,594 whites of voting age, but only 236 of the county's Negroes of voting age were listed as registered at the time the Voting Rights Act was passed last year. Now Negroes have a slight voting majority.

Lewis Black, a Negro staff member of the Alabama Council of Human Relations, has announced as a candidate for State Representative. Black is a former high school teacher.

In Wilcox County, Negro voters now outnumber white votes 3,450 to 2,624.

Sen. Cooper said that while he expects to pull a significant number of Negro votes, he can win with only the white vote because white voters are predominant in the other three counties of his district.

"I believed in segregation before all this civil rights stuff and I believe in it now," Sen. Cooper said. "But that doesn't mean colored folks won't vote for me. Just because a person's colored doesn't mean he doesn't have good sense or won't listen to reason.

"I think qualifications will enter it and I'm not worried about Negroes voting for me."

J. C. Martin, an oil distributor and Wilcox county commissioner who may be challenged by a Negro candidate, predicted Negroes will not vote solidly against white candidates.

"If it's left up to the Negro in the county and the outsiders wouldn't bother 'em," he said, "they would vote for the best candidate.

"As far as myself," Martin said, "I reckon I've helped the Negro a lot, fixing his drive (paving it with county forces) just like he was a white person even if he couldn't vote. I'm sure I'd expect some of the Negro vote even if a Negro ran against me."

The deadline for qualification in the Alabama Democratic primary is March 1.

Cop Tickets Mayor, Then Nabs His Father

SPRINGFIELD, Ohio (AP) — Patrolman Olan Edington plays no favorites when he gives out parking tickets. After slipping a parking ticket on the windshield of the car of new mayor Robert C. Henry shortly after "his honor" too office, he ticketed the car of his father, Earl Edington, Sr. On the citation he added the words, "Sorry, Dad."

380,000 Indians Stay On Reservation Land

PHOENIX, Ariz. — About 143,000 Indians have left their tribal centers, but about 380,000 remain on reservations. Reservation land totals 50 million acres — more than New England.

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Post Office Box 932
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February 16, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Gerogia

Dear Sir:

I am seeking and asking for information as to the steps or process as to how to get a Community Action Self-Help project started. Interest for the present time: High school drop-outs, after school hours or summer work for Junior and Senior students.

Further, I am interested in getting a Day Nursery or Kindergarten in the City of Opelika, Alabama for manority groups.

I talked shortly with you about such projects in Montgomery, Alabama a few weeks ago.

Should you be in this area please feel free to stop. My office is located in the Public Housing Project, Hardaway Avenue, Opelika Alabama.

I await your reply.

Respectfully yours,

J. C. Moore

J. C. Moore
Relocation Officer

Mr. Dan Harrell
P.O ~~Box~~ 511
Camden, Ala.
Ph. 682-9145 or 682-4777

~~Mr. [illegible]~~

Francis Walter
Selma Inter-religious
Project
810 29th Ave.
Tuscaloosa, Ala
35401

Everett Werick
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Selma, Ala.

to Peas, squash,
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all of Coy, Ala.
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	AMOUNT PER ACRES $	PER POUND	LEADING STATES
Artichokes	500	6,000	Calif.
Asparagus	3700	26,700	Calif. & N. J.
Beans, lima	180	2,400	Calif. & Del.
Beans, snap	420	6,600	Oreg. & N. Y.
Beets	250	21,400	Wis. & N.Y.
Broccoli	460	6,000	Calif. & Oreg.
Brussels sprouts	1100	11,200	Calif. & N. Y.
Cabbage	440	19,200	N. Y. & Fla.
Cantaloups	530	10,800	Calif. & Ariz.
Carrots	570	19,800	Calif. & Tex.
Cauliflower	700	9,400	Calif. & N. Y.
Celery	1600	46,000	Calif. & Fla.
Corn, sweet	140	7,800	Minn. & Wis.
Cucumbers	300	8,600	Mich. & Fla.
Eggplant	700	12,000	Fla. & N. J.
Escarole	590	13,200	Calif.
Garlic	900	10,000	Calif.
Honeydew Melons	910	16,000	Calif. & Tex.
Kale			Va.
Lettuce	750	18,000	Calif. & Ariz.
Mint of oil	240		Wash. & Oreg.
Onions	900	27,000	Tex. & Calif.
Peas, green	98	2,400	Wis. & Wash.
Peppers, green	700	9,000	Fla. & Calif.
Shallots			La.
Spinach	300	9,000	Calif. & Tex.
Strawberries	1100	6,000	Calif. & Oreg.
Tomatoes	650	24,000	Calif. & Fla.
Watermelons	130	10,000	Fla. & Tex.

2:55
6:10
7:02

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EXPENSE ACCOUNT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date________________19______

TRAVEL(type of transportation & destination)

____

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(auto @ .08 per mile) $ __________

TAXICABS & LIMOUSINES, ETC.

____ $ __________

HOTEL (dates & places)

____

____ $ __________

MEALS

____

____ $ __________

OTHER EXPENSES (itemize)________________

Advance Travel & expenses $ 100^{00}

Total $ 100^{00}

Less Advance $__________

Total Due $ 100^{00}

Signed________________________________
(Please type or print)

Address______________________________ City & State______________

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Date and purpose of trip______________________________________

____

Frank Pinder – way up in Dept of Agriculture.
– Trace through U. of Fla.

Robert W. Anderson – County Farm Agent in Greenville

Saluda Dam Rd, Greenville
239-2142

Wilcox County

Ken Vallas Migrant & Seasonally Employed
OEO
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Ext. 4016

Dr. T. T. Williams

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